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22737

# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

42° & 43° VICTORIÆ, 1879.

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VOL. CCXLIX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE FOURTH DAY OF AUGUST 1879,

TO

THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF AUGUST 1879.

---

**Seventh and Last Volume of the Session.**

---

LONDON:

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1879.





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VOLUME CCXLIX:

THIRD SERIES.

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*Moved to resolve,*

1. That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan:
2. That the Thanks of this House be given to General Sir Frederick P. Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C.;  
Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.;  
Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.;  
and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign:
3. That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour:
4. That the said Resolutions be transmitted by the Lord Chancellor to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein,—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*) .. 2

*After short debate, Resolutions agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

*Ordered,* That the Lord Chancellor do communicate the said Resolutions to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein.

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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### AFGHAN WAR—VOTE OF THANKS TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA AND TO THE MILITARY FORCES—RESOLUTIONS—

*Moved*, "That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander in Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 68

Amendment proposed,

To leave out the words "to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, and,"—(*Major O'Gorman*.)

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Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

1. *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan.
2. *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House be given to,—  
Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B. ;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C. ;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C. ;  
Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B. ;  
Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C. ;  
and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign :
3. *Resolved*, That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour :
4. *Ordered*, That the said Resolutions be transmitted by Mr. Speaker to the Viceroy and Governor General of India ; and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read ; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :"—

SOUTH AFRICA (MILITARY EXPENDITURE)—INCIDENCE OF EXPENDITURE—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

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### LORDS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

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### COMMONS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

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| After short time spent therein, Bill reported; as amended, to be considered <i>To-morrow</i> .  |     |

#### WAYS AND MEANS—

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

- (1.) *Resolved*, That towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding £1,200,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.
  - (2.) *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bonds.
  - (3.) *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof.
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| (1.) <i>Resolved</i> , That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account, for the year ended 31st March 1878, that the balances unexpended in respect of certain Votes for Navy Services for the said year amounted to the sum of £114,783 4s. 11d. ..   | 364         |
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| (Notice to Owners and Lessees of Railways, Tramways, or Canals crossed, affected, or interfered with by proposed Tramway.)   |             |
| "On or before the 15th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or   |             |

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crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited,"—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot*) .. .. 388

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- (2.) £5,034, Queen’s University, Ireland.
- (3.) £12,994, Queen’s Colleges, Ireland.

### ARMY ESTIMATES.

- (4.) £1,330,000, Manufacture and Repair of Warlike and other Stores.
- (5.) £853,300, Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works,  
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- (6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, “That a sum, not exceeding £165,800, be  
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- (7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, “That a sum, not exceeding £232,700, be  
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| <b>Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing Bill [Bill 262]</b>  |             |
| Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—( <i>Viscount Sandon</i> ) ..   | 488         |
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| <b>Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) Bill [Bill 204]</b>   |             |
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| Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Resolutions which, upon the 1st day of August, were reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, That they do make provision therein, pursuant to the Resolutions now reported and agreed to:—Bill presented, and read the first time [Bill 289.] |             |

## MOTION.

### —o—o—o—

#### POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—RESOLUTION—

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Moved, "That the Contract dated the 7th day of February 1879, entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the conveyance of the Mails between this Country and India and China, be approved,"—( <i>Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson</i> ) .. | 490 |
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#### PRIVATE BUSINESS.



#### PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDERS—

*Moved*, in Standing Order 24, at the end of the Order, to add "In cases of Bills whereby it is proposed to alter or extend the Municipal Boundary of any City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, a Map on a scale of not less than three inches to a mile, and also a Duplicate thereof, showing as well the present Boundaries of the City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District as the Boundaries of the proposed Extension, shall be deposited with the Town Clerk of such City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, who shall at all seasonable hours of the day permit any person to view and examine such Map, and to make copies thereof,"—(*Mr. Raikes*) .. .. . 498

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*Moved*, in Standing Order 33, line 9, to leave out the words "or Turnpike Roads;" and in line 18, after "relate," insert "and of every Bill relating to Turnpike Roads or Trusts, Highways, or Bridges,"—(*Mr. Raikes*.)

Motion agreed to.

*Moved* to repeal Standing Order 202, and substitute the following new Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 201:—"All Rates, Tolls, Charges, Duties, or Penalties of every description, the amount of Capital to be raised, and of Borrowing Powers, the names of Directors, the Period for Completion of Works or for Purchase of Lands, the quantity of Land to be taken for extraordinary purposes, the amount of Personal Luggage to be carried free of Charge, and all charges in any way affecting the Public Revenue, which occur in the Clauses of any Private Bill, shall be printed in Italics in such Bill when presented to the House,"—(*Mr. Raikes*.)

Motion agreed to.

*Ordered*, That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House.

#### QUESTIONS.



|  |     |
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| Amendment proposed,<br>At the end of the Question, to add the words, "Provided, That the period of the continuance of the Contract be reduced from eight years to three years,"—( <i>Mr. J. Holmes.</i> ) |     |
| Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After debate,<br>Question put:—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 54, Noes 142; Majority 88.<br>—( <i>Div. List, No. 217.</i> )                        |     |
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| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—( <i>Mr. Secretary Cross</i> ) ..   | 529 |
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| Saint Giles Cathedral (Edinburgh) Bill [Bill 238]—  |     |
| Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee .. .. .   | 530 |
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| Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill [Bill 119]—  |     |
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| Adjourned Debate <i>further adjourned</i> till <i>To-morrow</i> .   |     |
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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

|  |     |
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| Fourth Resolution read a second time.<br>Amendment proposed, to leave out “£1,330,000,” and insert<br>“£1,325,000,”—( <i>Colonel Arbuthnot</i> ,)—instead thereof.<br>Question proposed, “That ‘£1,330,000’ stand part of the Reso-<br>lution :”—Amendment, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .<br>Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .   |      |
| Fifth Resolution read a second time.<br>Amendment proposed, to leave out “£853,300,” and insert<br>“£849,440,”—( <i>Captain Milne Home</i> ,)—instead thereof.<br>Question proposed, “That ‘£853,300’ stand part of the Resolution :”—<br>Amendment, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .<br>Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .  |      |
| Sixth Resolution read a second time.<br>Amendment proposed, to leave out “£165,800,” and insert<br>“£165,300,”—( <i>Sir Arthur Hayter</i> ,)—instead thereof.<br>Question proposed, “That ‘£165,800’ stand part of the Resolution :”—<br>After short debate, Amendment, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .<br>Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .   |      |
| Seven subsequent Resolutions <i>agreed to</i> .<br>Fourteenth Resolution read a second time.<br><i>Moved</i> , “That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said<br>Resolution”<br>After debate, Question put:—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 85, Noes 39;<br>Majority 46.—(Div. List, No. 219.)  | 560  |
| <b>National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill [Bill 246]—</b><br><i>Moved</i> , “That the Committee be deferred till Monday next,”—( <i>Mr.</i><br><i>James Loviother</i> )<br>After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Committee <i>deferred</i> till Monday<br>next.  | 580  |
| <b>East India Loan (Annuities) Bill [Bill 275]—</b><br>Order for Second Reading read<br>After short debate, Bill read a second time, and <i>committed</i> for To-morrow.  | 580  |
| <b>East India Loan (£5,000,000) Bill [Bill 197]—</b><br>Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th July],<br>“That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :”—Question again<br>proposed:—Debate <i>resumed</i><br>After short debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill <i>considered</i> in<br>Committee.<br>After short time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> ; as amended, to be <i>considered</i><br>To-morrow. | 582  |
| <b>Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) Bill [Bill 289]—</b><br><i>Moved</i> , “That the Bill be now read a second time,”—( <i>Mr. Chancellor of</i><br><i>the Exchequer</i> )<br>After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read a second time, and <i>com-</i><br><i>mitted</i> for To-morrow.   | 588  |
| <b>Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) Bill [Bill 204]</b><br>Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee [ <i>Progress 7th August</i> ]<br>After short time spent therein, Bill, as amended, to be <i>considered</i><br>To-morrow.  | 589  |

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*Moved*, "That the Bill be taken into Consideration this day,"—(*Mr. Wheelhouse*) .. 593  
 After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "this day," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next," — (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*),—instead thereof.  
 Question, "That the words 'this day' stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to*.  
 After further short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Consideration, as amended, *deferred till this day*.

### WAYS AND MEANS—

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £34,986,621 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.  
 Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

## COMMONS, SATURDAY, AUGUST 9.

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PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN GALWAY—  
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 AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Burt,  
 Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 598  
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#### Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill [Bill 260]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 610  
 Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain*).  
 Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"  
 —After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.  
 Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed for Monday next*.

#### Banking and Joint Stock Companies (*re-committed*) Bill [Bill 264]

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#### Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment Bill [Bill 217]—

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 Bill *considered in Committee*, and *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed*.

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| <b>Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) Bill [Bill 289]—</b>  |      |
| Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee, and <i>reported</i> , without Amendment; to be read the third time upon <i>Monday</i> next ..   | 649  |
| <b>Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) Bill [Bill 204]</b>  |      |
| Bill, as amended, <i>considered</i> ..   | 650  |
| After short debate, Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .  |      |
| <b>Artizans' Dwellings Act (1868) Extension Bill [Bill 236]—</b>   |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—( <i>Mr. Torrens</i> )   | 654  |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—( <i>Mr. Rylands</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> :—Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill <i>considered</i> :—Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> . |      |

## M O T I O N .

|  |     |
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| <b>Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill — Ordered (<i>Mr. Raikes</i>, <i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>, <i>Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson</i>); presented, and read the first time ..</b> | 655 |
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## O R D E R S O F T H E D A Y .

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES [EXPENSES]—

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Travelling and other Expenses of any additional Judge sitting for the trial of Election Petitions, and of the Cost of receiving such Judge, and of all other incidental Expenses, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session relating to Election Petitions, and to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

### Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill [Bill 93]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—(*Mr. Wheelhouse*) .. 655

*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Rylands* :)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn* :—Original Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered*. [House counted out.]

## LORDS, MONDAY, AUGUST 11.

### PRIVATE BILLS—

On the Motion of the CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES—

Standing Orders 141, 142, 144, and 145 *considered*, and amended; and to be *printed*, as amended.

Then it was *moved* to resolve, That on or before the 16th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited.

Motion *agreed to*,

Ordered, That the said Resolution be declared a Standing Order, and that it be entered on the Roll of Standing Orders, and be *printed*. (No. 191.)

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| <i>Moved</i> , "That this House do now adjourn," — ( <i>Mr. Sullivan</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .  |             |
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### Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

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### University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 283]—

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill, as amended, be now taken into Consideration," —( <i>Mr. James Lowther</i> ) ..  | 720 |
| After short debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill, as amended, <i>considered</i> .   |     |
| After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time," —( <i>Mr. James Lowther</i> :)—Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> . |     |

### Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill [Bill 260]—

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Order for Committee read:— <i>Moved</i> , "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," —( <i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer</i> ) ..   | 743 |
| Amendment proposed,<br>To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the whole subject of local loans before any alteration is made in the terms under which the Public Works Loan Commissioners are authorized to advance loans to local bodies," —( <i>Mr. Rylands</i> ),—instead thereof. |     |
| Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:" — After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned," —( <i>Mr. Hutchinson</i> :)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 26, Noes 71; Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 224.)  |     |
| Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:" —The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 69, Noes 26; Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 225.)   |     |
| Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and <i>agreed to</i> .   |     |
| Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee ..  | 768 |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Preamble be postponed."  |     |

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| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—( <i>Mr. Chamberlain</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 22, Noes 67 ; Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 226.)   |      |
| Question again proposed, "That the Preamble be postponed :"— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—( <i>Mr. Gray</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 21, Noes 66 ; Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 227.)           |      |
| Question again proposed, "That the Preamble be postponed :,"— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—( <i>Mr. G. Palmer</i> :)—Question put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 19, Noes 66 ; Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 228.) |      |
| Question again proposed, "That the Preamble be postponed :"— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—( <i>Sir Henry Havelock</i> :)—After short debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .  |      |
| Question again put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 16, Noes 66 ; Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 229.)  |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—( <i>Mr. Stevenson</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .  |      |
| Question, "That the Preamble be postponed," put, and <i>agreed to</i> .  |      |
| After some time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> ; as amended, to be considered <i>To-morrow</i> .  |      |
| <b>PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES [EXPENSES]—REPORT OF RESOLUTION—</b>  |      |
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| <i>Moved</i> , "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution :"— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—( <i>Mr. Monk</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .  |      |
| Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .  |      |
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| After short time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> ; as amended, to be considered <i>To-morrow</i> .   |      |
| <b>East India Loan (£5,000,000) Bill [Bill 197]—</b>   |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—( <i>Mr. E. Stanhope</i> )  | 810  |
| Question put :—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 42, Noes 13 ; Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 234.)  |      |
| Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .  |      |
| <b>Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) Bill [Bill 290]—</b>   |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Order for Third Reading be discharged,"—( <i>Mr. Secretary Cross</i> )  | 811  |
| After short debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Order <i>discharged</i> ; Bill <i>withdrawn</i> .   |      |
| <b>Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill [Bill 93]—</b>  |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be read the third time this day,"—( <i>Mr. Wheelhouse</i> )  | 811  |
| After short debate, Question put :—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 35, Noes 11 ; Majority 24.—(Div. List, No. 235.)  |      |

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| <b>Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) Bill (No. 185)—</b>   |             |
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| <b>Neglected Lunatics (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]—Presented (The Lord O'Hagan); read 1<sup>a</sup> (No. 194)</b>  |             |
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- Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*),—instead thereof.
- Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question: "—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
- Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.
- Bill *considered* in Committee .. 838
- After some time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

### Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill—

- Moved*, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) .. 871
- After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill, as amended, *considered* .. 881
- After further short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

### National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill [Bill 246]—

- Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. James Lowther*) .. 885
- Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Courtney*),—instead thereof.
- Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question: "—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
- Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 899
- After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*.
- Moved*, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered,"—(*Mr. J. Lowther*):—Motion *agreed to*.
- Bill, as amended, *considered*; read the third time, and *passed*.

### Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 146]—

- Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That the Order for Committee be discharged,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 906
- After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*; Bill *withdrawn*.

### Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill [Bill 93]—

- Moved*, "That the Bill be read the third time this day,"—(*Mr. Wheelhouse*) .. 908
- Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "this day," and insert the words "upon Thursday,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*).
- Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to*.
- Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Third Reading *deferred till this day*.



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### M O T I O N S .



#### SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIES (TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION)—RESOLUTION—

*Moved*, "That the Contract, dated the 9th day of May 1879, entered into by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury with the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance and Eastern Telegraph Companies, for establishing Telegraphic Communication with the South African Colonies, be approved,"—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) .. .. . 908

*Motion agreed to.*

#### WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)—

*Moved*, "That, in view of the fact that the Metropolitan Board of Works has been unable to pass any measure dealing with the water supply of London, this House is of opinion that it is a subject which ought, without further delay, to be dealt with by the Government,"—(*Mr. Fawcett*) .. .. . 909

*Debate adjourned till To-morrow.*

### LORDS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate— [House adjourned.]

### COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13.

### Q U E S T I O N S .



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BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—MULCAN DRAINAGE WORKS—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson .. .. . 911

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. . 912

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### M O T I O N .



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*Moved*, "That the Standing Orders respecting the Sittings of the House on Wednesday be suspended this day,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. .. . 914

Amendment proposed, after the word "be," to insert the word "not" in the said Motion, —(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*):—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Question put, and *agreed to*.

### O R D E R S O F T H E D A Y .



#### WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)—RESOLUTION—ADJOURNED DEBATE—

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—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. .. . 917

After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

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| Ordered, That the said Report be taken into Consideration <i>To-morrow</i> .   |      |
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| After short debate, Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .  |      |
| Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill [ <i>Lords</i> ] [Bill 235]—<br>Order for Committee read:— <i>Moved</i> , "That Mr. Speaker do now leave<br>the Chair,"—( <i>Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson</i> ) .. .. .   | 957  |
| Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee.<br><i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to<br>sit again,"—( <i>Mr. Rylands</i> ):—After short debate, Question put, and<br><i>agreed to</i> .<br>Committee report Progress; to sit again <i>To-morrow</i> . |      |
| Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—<br>Order for Third Reading read.<br>IRELAND — PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTABULARY AT DUNDALK—Observa-<br>tions, Mr. Callan, Sir Patrick O'Brien; Reply, The Attorney General<br>for Ireland .. .. .  | 958  |
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| BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—DRAINAGE WORKS IN LIMERICK—Obser-<br>vations, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Reply, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson ..  | 962  |
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| Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Education Bill [Bill 93]—<br><i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—( <i>Mr. Wheelhouse</i> )<br>[House counted out.]   | 963  |

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| National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill (No. 199)—<br><i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read 2 <sup>a</sup> ,"—( <i>The Viscount Cranbrook</i> ) ..  | 964 |
| On Question, <i>agreed to</i> :—Committee <i>negatived</i> ; Then Standing Orders<br>Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. <i>considered</i> (according to order), and<br><i>dispensed with</i> ; Bill read 3 <sup>a</sup> , and <i>passed</i> .  |     |
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| Amendment <i>moved</i> , to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the<br>Motion ("this day three months,")—( <i>The Lord Denman</i> ).<br>On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? <i>Resolved</i> in the<br><i>Affirmative</i> :—Bill read 2 <sup>a</sup> accordingly; Committee <i>negatived</i> ; Then<br>Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. <i>considered</i> (according<br>to order), and <i>dispensed with</i> ; Bill read 3 <sup>a</sup> , and <i>passed</i> . |     |
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## ORDER OF THE DAY.

### PRIVILEGE (TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE)—MR. GRISSELL—

Report of the Serjeant at Arms *considered* .. .. . 989

*Moved*, "That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded, until the close of the Session, the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant for taking him into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

*Motion agreed to.*

## MOTION.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY—

*Resolved*, That the First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to the Afghan Treaty,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (OFFICERS) BILL [*Lords*] [Bill 286]—  
 Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 13th August*] .. 990  
 After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, as amended; Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

## MOTION.

### AFGHANISTAN—THE TREATY OF GANDAMAK—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of any Despatches that may have reached the Secretary of State for India, with reference to the concentration of Troops in the Punjab in 1876 and 1877,"—(*Mr. Grant Duff*) .. .. . 996

After debate, .. .. . [House counted out.]

## LORDS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15.

### PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—

The ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills; And afterwards, HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH was delivered to both Houses by THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

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PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—continued.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the first day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the first day of November next.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15.

### QUESTIONS.

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| CRIMINAL LAW—CASE OF THE CONVICT PERRYMAN—Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Ascheton Cross ..                   | 1037 |
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# HANSARD'S

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 MARCH, 1874, AND THENCE CONTINUED  
TILL 5 DECEMBER, 1878, IN THE FORTY-SECOND YEAR OF  
THE REIGN OF

### HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SEVENTH AND LAST VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 4th August, 1879.*

**MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—***First Reading—*  
Land Tax Commissioners Names \* (173).  
*Second Reading—* Commissioners of Woods  
(Thames Piers) \* (168); East India Loan  
(Consolidated Fund) (172); Turnpike Acts  
Continuance \* (163).  
*Committee—Report—* East Indian Railway (Re-  
demption of Annuities) \* (160); Lord Clerk  
Register (Scotland) \* (164); Border Sum-  
mons \* (170).  
*Third Reading—* Industrial Schools (Powers of  
School Boards) \* (153), and *passed*.

AFGHAN WAR.

*Moved*, "That the Vote of Thanks to the  
Forces engaged in Afghanistan take prece-  
dence."—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

*Motion agreed to.*

VOL. CCXLIX. [THIRD SERIES.]

AFGHAN WAR—VOTE OF THANKS TO  
THE VICEROY OF INDIA AND TO  
THE MILITARY FORCES.

RESOLUTION.

**VISCOUNT CRANBROOK:** My  
Lords, it now becomes my duty, the  
war with Afghanistan having been hap-  
pily concluded, and a Treaty of Peace  
having been signed with the Ameer, to  
call your Lordships' attention to the ser-  
vices which have been rendered by those  
who had charge of the conduct of the war  
in that country. The sole object of the  
Resolution which I will propose will be  
not a discussion of the policy of the war,  
upon which your Lordships have already  
given an opinion, but simply to look at  
the military operations which have taken  
place, and which are of a character, as  
your Lordships will agree, creditable to  
this country, and have justified the con-

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fidence that was felt in the Officers by whom those operations have been carried on. It is my intention to look now at the Treaty which has been concluded, not in its political aspect, but simply as bringing the war to an end—at the peace which has been established and at the work done by our soldiers in the field. I will not trespass upon your Lordships now by discussing the Articles of the Treaty—we may have an opportunity of doing that hereafter—at present, as I have said, I regard it merely as the conclusion of the war and the beginning of the peace. Although, in the Resolution I shall propose, there are some whose names have not been mentioned among those who have been conspicuous in the field, still I think your Lordships would not feel justified in passing them over. Among them is the name of that distinguished officer who negotiated the Treaty with the Ameer and brought the war to a conclusion, Major Cavagnari. Before the affairs in Afghanistan his name was not much known in England; but now it is deservedly well known for the intelligence and sagacity which enabled him to bring about the Treaty of Peace which, in less skilful hands, might have failed. His power of understanding the Afghan Ruler, and his insight into the Native character, enabled him in a shorter time than, perhaps, any person with less skill and penetration into character could have done, to bring to a conclusion a Treaty of Peace which is likely to have the best results. I am sure that Major Cavagnari will bring to the conduct of the business with which he is intrusted at Cabul the same skill, tact, and prudence which have raised him to his present position, and which in the future, I believe, will obtain for him still greater recognition. Perhaps your Lordships will also allow me to say one word about another officer, Major Sandeman, who had charge of the negotiations at Khelat. He was placed in a position of great responsibility—it was necessary that all his proceedings should be in perfect harmony with all that was doing elsewhere, and the satisfactory relations into which we have been brought with the Khan and the useful results as regarded the conduct of the war in Afghanistan are in no small degree due to the admirable qualities which Major Sandeman brought to bear upon the mission which he had in charge. There-

*Viscount Cranbrook*

fore, I have thought it right to mention Major Sandeman before I pass on to consider the services which were rendered by the officers who actually conducted the campaign. But, my Lords, before referring to these special services, there are some special circumstances connected with the campaign to which I should like to allude. I will mention, first, that which has been spoken of in the newspapers during the last three or four days in terms which gave me great pain, because I thought there was great exaggeration. No doubt, there was at one time some anxiety as to cholera; but, according to the official information, this has, in the main, passed away. The statement that the 10th Hussars and the 17th Regiment had suffered very severely from disease was very much exaggerated. It is true that the 10th Hussars did suffer very much in coming back from Afghanistan to their quarters beyond Peshawur. It was also said that the officers were very much to blame for having led their men back by long marches through such a country at a period of the year when there is so much greater danger of cholera than at other seasons. Now, I have been allowed to see a private letter from one of the most distinguished officers serving in the Khyber Pass; I believe I may mention his name—it is Colonel Jenkins, who commands the Guides. He says—

“The march down was very trying. The heat was very great, and at every 100 yards of the route there was a dead camel or bullock. Besides this, there was cholera, and some of the regiments suffered very severely. In spite of all this, I am convinced the Government did right to get the army back from Afghanistan. If the troops had refrained on the road between Peshawur and Gandamak all the hot weather, they would have lost far more than they did in marching down, and they would still have had the march to do in the autumn, which is the most unhealthy part of the year.”

It is not true, then, that the officers who marched the men back have acted with rashness and imprudence. On the contrary, they acted with the greatest caution in getting the troops into a position in which they might suffer less. I come now to another point. Your Lordships will have observed in the history of this campaign that until the period at which the troops were marched back very little disease has been mentioned. I am, therefore, fully justified in calling attention to the services of the



Medical Staff, and to the great skill and judgment which, looking to the healthy condition of the men, they must have exercised. Then, as to the Transport and Commissariat, no one can suppose that any great expedition, such as this, conducted on three lines, could be effected in a smooth and easy way. Much has been said of the difficulties with which the Transport and Commissariat Departments had to contend. Those difficulties were of a very serious kind; and the more praise, therefore, should be given to those who overcame them, though, no doubt, with considerable loss of camels and beasts of burden, and some delay in consequence. There is no period at which a march of some 500 miles from the Indus towards the North-West would not be considered an operation of a gigantic character in connection with the difficulties of route and of transport and commissariat; and great credit is due to these branches of the Service by which these difficulties were overcome, so that the men kept their health and received their rations without fail throughout the whole of that long march. And here, again, I must bring in one name which has not been mentioned in the active operations of the war. I allude to the aid rendered to the Transport Service by Sir Richard Temple. When Sir Richard Temple found that there were these difficulties he went up himself, and by his personal exertions got together 20,000 camels, and assisted in the most material way to overcome those obstacles which threatened to impede the march of the columns. I am bound, therefore, not to forget the name of Sir Richard Temple, though he is not among those whose names will be found in the Resolution.

And now, my Lords, for the campaign itself. There may be those who would have been more interested had this war been one of great battles and even of great disasters; but I have no such circumstances to mention to your Lordships. I may say that every operation has been conducted with success, and with less bloodshed than has ever accompanied a war of equal proportion. I rejoice to think that it has been so. Comparatively, it has been a bloodless campaign; and had it not been for the melancholy disaster which befel the 10th Hussars, upon which we cannot help looking with great regret, and thinking

that blame must attach somewhere, we should have had to lament no great loss. That disaster—the facts concerning which do not appear to have clearly come to light—resulted in a loss of one officer and 46 men to that splendid regiment. That was a severe blow, and the regiment has also since that period sustained losses by cholera. Such things, my Lords, I am afraid will happen in all wars. That, however, has been the only serious disaster in this war, and otherwise the loss of life has been small compared with the great results which have been attained.

Your Lordships will remember that the time allowed by the Ultimatum expired on the 20th of November last; and upon the 21st of November, such was the diligence and care which had been displayed in the preparations, though no steps had been taken before to move the troops, and no threats had been used to the Ameer until the Ultimatum was sent, the troops immediately crossed the Frontier. I think, my Lords, you will agree with me that that reflects the highest credit on the Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Generals, as well as upon the Adjutant and Quartermaster General, that 40,000 men were put on the march, that the Frontier was crossed at all points, on the 21st of the month, the day when the march began. If your Lordships will take into consideration the amount of work and labour necessary to bring about so great a result without disturbance to the Military Forces of India except at one or two points, you will see that it reflects the greatest credit on all concerned. The Frontier was crossed in three columns. General Sir Samuel Browne, a name well known in Indian affairs, crossed it on the morning of the 21st. In the course of that afternoon, he attacked Ali Musjid, his Forces turned the fortress, and in the course of the night the garrison fled up the Khyber Pass, leaving the guns behind, and were intercepted partly by the Khyberees and partly by our own troops, who, by a difficult march, cut off their retreat. Practically, on the very day and the night which succeeded the passage, Sir Samuel Browne was in possession of the fortress. This success, achieved at the very outset of the campaign, had the effect of breaking up and demoralizing the Forces of the Ameer on that side of

Afghanistan, and, so far as those Forces were concerned, there was no longer any opposition in that quarter. Shere Ali had gone on a different system from his predecessor. Dost Mahomed relied on the Tribal Forces; but Shere Ali raised a body of 10,000 to 70,000 troops, which he armed and trained in the European fashion. This was a course which alienated the Tribes, and broke the bond between him and them, and when the regular regiments were broken up there was no longer opposition. In a few days, therefore, Sir Samuel Browne entered into Dakka, the great military camp of the Ameer, and subsequently ascertaining that Jellalabad was undefended, and that no resistance would be offered to its occupation, advanced to that place. In consequence of these successful operations, his further advance on Gandamak was made chiefly for sanitary reasons, and that he might secure a healthy situation for his troops; but it had a very important political effect in expediting negotiations, because that movement produced the impression of a probable advance of our Army on Cabul. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with Yakoo Khan, who sent in his submission on the 8th of May. I must not allow your Lordships to suppose that Sir Samuel Browne's column had no fighting at all other than that that had taken place at Ali Musjid. On the contrary, there was a good deal of fighting with the predatory Tribes, who made attacks on our communications. Some of those Tribes thought they were beyond the reach of European troops; but General Maude soon proved to them that this was by no means the case.

I must now take your Lordships to the other two lines. Coming to the Candahar Column, General Biddulph was continually pressing on from the period I have mentioned in December, and I think that he reached his destination at the mouth of the Khojak Pass on the 9th of December. There he was joined by General Stewart, and the columns then marched together on Candahar. This march was through a comparatively friendly country, though the difficulties of the ground and of the Khojak Pass were very great. The columns reached Candahar on the 9th of January, where they were received with great courtesy by the Deputy Governor and the principal inhabitants of the place. There have been, it is true, some

*Viscount Cranbrook*

isolated acts of fanaticism perpetrated by individuals. These columns still remain in possession of Candahar, until the time shall arrive for its being handed over, as agreed upon, to the Ameer. It was found necessary to feel in different directions for the enemy, and, accordingly, General Biddulph went 75 miles further to Girischk, while General Stewart made his way to Khilabi Ghilzie. With the exception of an attack made on General Biddulph as he retired towards Candahar, there was no great occasion for fighting; but that attack afforded an opportunity of showing that our Cavalry, under that gallant and able officer, Colonel Malcolmson, were far superior to the Afghan Cavalry, who were put to flight. And here I may remark that on his way back to India General Biddulph rendered a great service in exploring and making known to us a tract of country and a route available for troops and artillery with which previously we were unacquainted.

General Roberts, with some 5,500 men, crossed the Kurram River. He found that the Army of the Ameer had retired 40 miles on that side, and that the Ameer was preparing to make his great defence on the Peiwar Kotal. There were rocks of great steepness, the position was in front impregnable, and the place was defended by some 4,000 men. General Roberts took three days to make reconnoissances, and on the 1st of December, by a circuitous and most difficult march, he turned the position, and with a force of Highlanders, Goorkhas, and Sikhs, and at the height of 8,000 feet, attacked it in the rear and captured it. General Roberts commenced his attack early in the morning, was admirably supported by Kelso with his guns, and it was not till dusk that the enemy gave way, and, upon his executing another flank movement which would have intercepted their retreat, fled in the direction of the Shutur-Gardan Pass, followed closely up by General Roberts. From that height he looked down upon the plains of Cabul, but withdrew, and contented himself with watching the Pass until it was effectually closed by the snows, and has since been in quiet possession of the Kurram Valley to Ali Keyl.

I must here mention one officer—Wigram Battye, of the Guides—who greatly distinguished himself, and whose

death India and England must deplore. In truth, however, India is rich in officers of that description, and others have been found in his family—men of great military capacity, who are always ready to sacrifice their lives gallantly in the service of their country.

My Lords, I have not attempted, in making these remarks, to show that this was a great campaign in the way of battles; nor have we, I am glad to say, to bewail any grave disaster. These men have served their country with courage and devotion, their leaders have received honours from Her Majesty, and it now remains for the Houses of Parliament to do honour not only to the officers in command, but also to every soldier who has fought under the flag, and they are embodied in the Resolution I am about to move. I am sure there is not one of your Lordships who does not recognize in this campaign the bravery of the soldiers who have been employed in it. I ask you to give due honour to their patience under hardship, to the gallantry which they have displayed in every encounter, and to that great combination of military qualities which has enabled them, in an incredibly short time, to achieve a great success—bloodless in its character, but one which, I hope, will secure the permanent peace of India. In thanking all those who have been engaged in this campaign, you will encourage others to take a like course to that which has been followed by those who have won such honours for the name of England. The noble Viscount concluded by moving the Resolution.

*Moved to resolve,*

1. That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan:
2. That the Thanks of this House be given to General Sir Frederic P. Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.; Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.; Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Mordaunt, K.C.B., V.C.; Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.; Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.; and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity,

skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign:

3. That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour:
4. That the said Resolutions be transmitted by the Lord Chancellor to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein.—(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I rise with great pleasure to express my warm concurrence in the Vote of Thanks to the Army which has been proposed by the noble Viscount. In proposing this Motion, the noble Viscount has properly adhered, on several points, to the precedents which bear most closely upon the present case. The Resolutions, *mutatis mutandis*, are the same as those proposed at the close of the last Afghan War, and nearly the same as those proposed at the final suppression of the Indian Mutiny. He has also adhered to those precedents in abstaining from making any observations on the policy or results of the war. But there is a point, and an important one, on which he seems to have entirely departed from previous precedents. Charges have been constantly brought against Her Majesty's Government of the extraordinary economy with which they furnish information to a Parliament which is always ready, by a large majority, to register facts accomplished without their knowledge. Her Majesty's Government always repudiate and deny this accusation—it is unlucky that, on this occasion, their proceedings tend to support this accusation. On looking back to the case of the close of the last Afghan War, I find that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel gave a fortnight's Notice of the Vote of Thanks—explaining that they postponed it for so long in order to comply with former precedents; that Papers containing full information with regard to the military operations should be in the hands of Peers and Members for a considerable time before they were asked to vote

Thanks. I find that four more days were given to both Houses, in order to give more time for consideration of these Papers. We are now asked to vote, without, as far as I am aware, a single scrap of Paper having been laid before Parliament on the subject. The technical objection to this proceeding seems so strong that I hardly know how Her Majesty's Government could, with propriety, resist if we were to press strongly for a delay until the Papers were laid before us. On the 10th of March I asked when a statement would be made, and when Papers would be presented regarding this war? The noble Viscount replied that it would not be convenient at that moment to do so; but he promised that, on the earliest opportunity, he would do both. Five months have now elapsed, peace has been made, a Treaty signed, and we have had no statement and no Papers bearing on this particular question. The noble Viscount has given us a clear and interesting account of the military operations; but he has not supported that account by a single despatch. We have been up to this time left to gather our information as we best can. I am, however, bound to say that I cordially accept what the noble Viscount has told us about the services of the Army. All the accounts which we have received concur as to the judgment, energy, and ability of our officers, and the discipline, courage, and endurance of their men. They have fully and nobly fulfilled the prognostications made with regard to them, and their only regret was that of a soldier—but is one in which we cannot agree—that the foe did not prove to be more worthy of their steel. Have we, however, the same assurance as to the Governor General, whose name—I admit, according to precedent—has been introduced? On the occasion of the Thanks to Lord Canning, Lord Derby in this House, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Beaconsfield) in the House of Commons, while they stated that they reserved their final opinion, made strong attacks upon Lord Canning. The noble Earl opposite spoke of Lord Canning's inconsistency, and of his incoherence—of his want of vigilance and energy; and he blamed him, curiously enough, for having during the Mutiny gagged the Indian Press. I imagine, at this time, the noble Earl would not be the

*Earl Granville*

last to acknowledge that never was a man suddenly placed in a more responsible position than Lord Canning, and that in that position he showed the wisdom of a great statesman, the energy of a great administrator, and the justice and calm courage of an English Christian. The moral I draw from this is, that in Opposition we may be too prone to blame, and I do not wish to form any rash judgment as to the manner in which Lord Lytton has shown ability and judgment in applying the resources of India to this war. But we are asked to affirm a certain proposition, without any Papers, and with nothing but a statement of a most general character from the Secretary of State for India. And as to other sources of information nothing can be more absolutely contradictory. On the one hand, correspondents—evidently in possession of information, sometimes of a semi-official character—have been loud in their praise of the ability, decision, and energy of Lord Lytton. On the other, exactly opposite language has been held; and not only censure applied, but particular facts alleged. Thus, it has been stated that Lord Lytton, without authority from Her Majesty's Government, gave positive orders for an attack upon the Khyber Pass without an adequate Force, which must have ended in a great disaster, and which was only stopped by the obstinate determination of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines; and that since that time the relations between the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief have not been of a cordial character. It will be satisfactory if Her Majesty's Government can deny these allegations. It would be still more satisfactory if they could, like Lord Palmerston, refer to a letter from the Commander-in-Chief referring in enthusiastic terms to the great services rendered by the Governor General to the military authorities. It has been stated in the same way that the march of General Stewart on Candahar, as it turned out, was successful; but it was due to an accident on which the Governor General had no right to rely; that snow generally falls in Bolan and round Quetta in November—it did not fall on this occasion till the end of February; that, if the season had been an ordinary one, at the time we had 12 regiments and batteries struggling through the

Bolan Pass, that Pass would have been swept by hurricanes of wind and snow, rendering all progress impossible. As there is neither food nor forage in the Pass, any compulsory halt would have caused the death of both horses and baggage animals, besides great mortality among the men. It is said that General Stewart was opposed to an advance into Afghanistan until seven months' supplies had been collected for his column at Quetta; but that he was ordered on; and in order to do so he had to take on 20,000 camels which the Commissariat had collected there for the conveying of supplies at Quetta; that not one of these camels ever got back to Sukkur, and that the consequence was that when Biddulph and Stewart's united columns got to Candahar the transport train which was to have supplied them with food from their base on the Indus was no longer in existence, and to preserve them from starvation 8,000 men were immediately withdrawn to India; that about 4,000 men remained in Candahar; but carriage was so deficient that even this small Force could not have moved collectively for 50 miles in any direction—that it was in fact isolated, and, if the resistance of the Afghans had not collapsed, would have been in great danger. Whether these allegations affecting the question of the judgment of the Governor General which we are called upon to praise are true or not I have no means of knowing. The facts must be known to the Government, and it will be satisfactory if they give some explanations. In our state of doubt, it would be better not to be called upon to give a vote. My only excuses for agreeing to do so are these—that the noble Earl himself gave me an example, when he withdrew his Motion of the Previous Question in the case of Lord Canning, on the ground that the Government had avoided calling upon the House for any expression of opinion on the policy of the war. A still better excuse is my strong desire that nothing should occur which can diminish the appearance of cordial and complete unanimity with which a brave and successful Army receives the great compliment of the Thanks of this House. The late Lord Lawrence and my noble Friend the late Governor General (the Earl of Northbrook), although strongly opposed to the war, always maintained that the invasion of Afghanistan by our Army

would be almost certain of success. The Army has nobly fulfilled these prognostications, and is entitled to the best Thanks of this House.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: My Lords, I desire to say a few words on this Motion, which I most cordially support—entirely, of course, upon military grounds. As Head of the Army, it is my duty to be fully cognizant of all circumstances connected with the operations of war in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions; and it has, therefore, fallen to my lot to follow with great care the advance of these separate columns forming the Army which executed the recent campaign in Afghanistan. The noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India has so well given the details connected with those three columns that it is unnecessary for me to go over them again. But I entirely endorse every word he has said on military grounds as to the ability with which those columns were conducted, and as to the energy displayed both by those in command and by the troops under their orders. There can be no doubt that the great difficulty of this campaign has been that of transport. I will only say that this campaign has not been singular in that respect. The real difficulty of all our campaigns, particularly in recent years, has been that of transport. People are disposed to think that transport can be easily found when great operations are to be undertaken; but it is the very thing which you cannot find under such circumstances. My noble Friend who has been in India (Lord Napier of Magdala) and also my noble and gallant Friend on the Cross Benches (Lord Strathnairn) must be aware of the immense difficulty of finding transport and of the enormous amount that is required there. I think it ought to be clearly understood that it is impossible to improvise the transport which is necessary, and that if we are to have it available when it is indispensable, we must keep up permanently a very considerable nucleus of transport, whether in India or elsewhere. As regards the conduct of these operations, whether by General Stewart and General Biddulph, who acted in concert, or by General Roberts, General Browne, or General Maude, I cannot think that there is anything to choose between these various officers. They have all had very grave and difficult duties to

perform, and they have performed them in a manner not only thoroughly worthy of the high reputation they had already won before this war commenced, but also so as to add largely to that reputation. The late campaign in Afghanistan has been short, and comparatively bloodless; but it has been attended with great difficulties. One of those difficulties has been connected with the keeping open our communications. Communication through the Khyber Pass, especially, has been a very great difficulty. Sir Samuel Browne was in command of the troops at Ali Musjid, and then went to the front; and another division followed under General Maude, who, in conjunction with some of Sir Samuel Browne's troops, kept up the communications—a task requiring great tact and judgment. There was one misfortune, which we must all deplore—namely, that which befell the 10th Hussars; but I believe it was simply one of those accidents which must sometimes occur in war. I do not believe there was anyone to blame in the matter. It is always a difficult matter for mounted troops to cross a difficult ford in the night; and, at the same time, it is often essential that it should be done at night, because if not conducted at night the object of the operation would be frustrated. The risk, therefore, had to be run, and, unfortunately, a good many men and one officer were drowned; but after reading the evidence given at the inquiry I really believe that no special blame can be attached to anyone. Besides, it is not certain that there was not a freshet of water that would carry the horses off their legs, and which would subside as suddenly as it had arisen. I do not know that I need say more, except that, while I feel satisfied from all I hear that the European troops of Her Majesty's Army have behaved in a manner highly to their credit, and in a way deserving of your Lordships' commendation, they were cordially and fully supported by the Native troops. This is the largest campaign we have had in India for some time, and we have had no recent opportunity of seeing of what kind of troops our Native Army was composed. I think the result is highly satisfactory, and shows the Native Army to be in a very serviceable condition both for the field as well as

for garrison work. The officers have always been conspicuous for their gallant conduct, and the recent war has shown that they are now as brave and efficient as they ever have been. Another point is the question of the Cavalry. We have heard it said that the days of Cavalry are gone by, and that they are an expensive arm of the Service, and that they can now be dispensed with, and that such a step would greatly tend to economize the expenditure for the Army. My Lords, I believe that no greater mistake was ever made. I believe that Cavalry is as essential as ever, or even more so, because movements in the field are now much more rapid than they used to be; so that unless you have a good body of Cavalry, to be the eyes and ears of your Army, you would be in a most dangerous position. The Cavalry in India, whether Native or European, have displayed the utmost gallantry. They have performed acts of great valour now, as on all former occasions; they have showed themselves in every respect good soldiers, and highly qualified for the duties which they are called upon to perform. The highest tribute is also due to the Commander-in-Chief in India and to the Quartermaster General. They have acted in the most cordial manner with the various authorities in regard to the different operations of the war. I must also say one word in regard to Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was acting Military Member of the Council during a part of the war, and whose experience and assistance were most beneficial to the Governor General during the period that he acted. He took the place of another gallant and distinguished Officer—Sir Allen Johnson—who was absent from ill-health, but who was able to return to his duties before the war was over. I think it right just to state their names. My Lords, I cordially and entirely support the Vote of Thanks which has been proposed.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, as he had the honour of being personally acquainted with nearly all the officers who had filled high commands in the war, and as he had upon a former occasion expressed his confidence, both in the Army and in the measures to taken to make the campaign successful, wished only to say that he most heartily and cordially joined in the Vote of Thanks.

*The Duke of Cambridge*

The remarks of the noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India, and of the illustrious Duke, rendered it wholly unnecessary for him (the Earl of Northbrook) to enter into any details. He felt sure that the Native Army would be gratified, not only with the honour conferred on them by the Thanks of the House, but also by the expression of opinion of the illustrious Duke. If there had been no very great military operations, yet there had been long marches, considerable privations, and exposure to heat and cold to be endured such as were calculated to try the discipline of any troops. It was most satisfactory to all who had been connected with the administration of the Army in India that nothing whatever had been said against the discipline or behaviour of the troops employed.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, who was indistinctly heard, said, he could scarcely venture to make any observations after the addresses made to their Lordships by the noble Viscount and by His Royal Highness; but he rose to address to their Lordships a few words which he thought were due in justice to Lord Lytton. First, he considered that Lord Lytton deserved the greatest credit for his just appreciation of the powers of resistance of Shere Ali and his Army. Secondly, he thought he deserved the highest credit for his treatment of the Native Princes, and his just estimate of their loyalty and that of the people of India, which enabled him to conduct the war to a successful conclusion with a very slight addition to the British troops in India. There were a few remarks which were also due to the Generals commanding and their troops. He thought it had been little appreciated that war in these mountains was a warfare against the forces of Nature; and the success of our troops, with little loss, had, perhaps, led people unacquainted with the character of the mountains in which the several operations had been conducted to make light of the difficulties they had had to encounter. Those mountains abounded at every step with natural fortifications—natural citadels of the most difficult and inaccessible character. Every hill and ravine and every defile was thoroughly well known to their Native occupants, while our policy had made them a sealed book to our officers. Of course, reconnoissances were

most difficult where each ravine might contain an enemy who never left a prisoner alive. Too much credit could not be given to the Generals and their troops for the skill and bravery with which they overcame those difficulties. He had known and watched the rise of nearly all the principal officers engaged. They had most fully justified the expectations that he had formed of them, and he had noticed their progress with the greatest joy. The conduct of the British troops was, as it ever had been, most brilliant, and deserved every credit. With regard to the Native troops, the House was aware that there had been much discussion regarding them. No one could give too high praise to the British Army; but there were facts connected with the Native Army which he thought would cause all to admit that the policy of placing Natives in the position of officers, and not treating them merely as nonentities, as they were before that policy was adopted, had proved a just and wise policy. Therefore, he desired to bring to their notice the conduct of the Native officers of the Indian Army. Yussen Khan, an Afridi Jemadar of the 24th Punjab Native Infantry, had conducted negotiations with the Afridis of the Bazaar Valley, during Generals Tyler's and Maude's expeditions, and was mainly instrumental in procuring satisfactory terms of peace. This man was a young Afridi Mullick, brought into a direct commission in 1873. Subadar-Major Azeez Khan, of the 5th Punjab Infantry, died of wounds received at the Peiwar Pass. His commanding officer reported of him as his right-hand man, and that he could better have spared any other officer, British or Native. Reisaldar Mahomed Kahn, corps of Guides, would not desert the body of his commanding officer, Wygram Battye, in the action with the Khugiani, but remained and fell with him. Subadar Faiz Tallab, a Khuttuck of the 1st Punjab Infantry, was on detached command with 30 men in the Atchakzai country, in the vicinity of the Khojak Pass, and was warned that he would be attacked by a large body of the enemy. There was no time for him to send in for reinforcements, so he struck his tents, threw up a sunga, and awaited the attack, which was carried on by about 400 Atchakzais, whom Faiz Tallab's party drove off with very heavy

loss. This man was admitted to the Order of Merit for his conspicuous gallantry and ready resource on this occasion. Lastly, his dear friend and comrade, Gholam Hussein Khan, after fighting our battles for 30 years, and rendering us great diplomatic services, was now the Governor of Candahar, where, by his wisdom and justice, he had become most popular with the Afghans, and had won the respect and regard of everyone in our own Army. With such examples as these, he thought there could never again be a question of not placing the Native officers in positions of command.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I am extremely gratified that my noble and gallant Friend has spoken, as he informed me that he would do, in the terms which he has done of the Native Army. I feel, myself, that I made an omission in not more specially referring to the services of that Army, and, perhaps, your Lordships will now forgive my adding this one word on the subject. Besides our own Native troops there was a contingent of 4,000 furnished by some of the Native Princes, and one of those Princes has been awarded the Grand Cross of the Star of India. With regard to the absence of despatches, I felt the difficulty to which the noble Earl (Earl Granville) referred. The despatches narrating all that has happened have not yet come home. I expected that they would have been here by this time, and I understand that they are coming. The precedents of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel scarcely apply to this case. We knew, day by day, through the public journals from their Correspondents on the spot, every incident that has taken place, and I have furnished every telegram which gave any information with regard to operations in the field. Such was not the case in the time to which the noble Earl referred. I think that it may be said that, generally, your Lordships are in full possession of the facts of the war. With regard to Lord Lytton, this is the first time that I have heard he gave any directions with regard to the force to be used against Ali Musjid. Sir Samuel Browne crossed the Frontier, and the same day he attacked Ali Musjid; and it was abandoned in the night, and occupied next day. I do not see how there could have been such orders. In

*Lord Napier of Magdala*

regard to the commissariat of the Candahar column, Lord Lytton gave all the orders that were necessary. The difficulties were immense; there was great difficulty in obtaining beasts of burthen, and a long line had to be maintained; and it would be rather a strong measure to hold Lord Lytton, who was at Calcutta or Simla, responsible for the conduct of the details of the commissariat on that line. General Biddulph has informed me that the difficulties with regard to the commissariat of this column have been greatly exaggerated.

*Motion agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That the Lord Chancellor do communicate the said Resolutions to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein.

#### CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON rose to call attention to the Petition of the Representatives of 32 county and five borough Asylums, against the placing of criminal lunatics in county lunatic asylums. The noble Lord said, that the practice had arisen of sending persons who became lunatics during a sentence of imprisonment to county lunatic asylums. That practice was very objectionable, because county asylums were not prisons, nor were their staff and attendants warders; but not only were criminal lunatics more dangerous than other lunatics, but their presence in ordinary asylums rendered the treatment of the other lunatics more difficult. He believed that such persons could be amply provided for in one or two prisons at the disposition of the Home Secretary—the expense, of course, to be borne by the counties. The question had been considered in France and in the United States, and the separation of these prisoners from others was indispensable. He wished to ask the Government whether they were prepared to carry out some such an arrangement as he suggested?

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, that the matter referred to by his noble Friend was of a difficult and complicated character, having to do with no fewer than 19 Acts of Parliament, and numerous local practices. There was, therefore, considerable difficulty connected with the subject; but he could assure



his noble Friend it had received the best attention of the Government, and reports had been asked for from persons qualified to express an opinion on the subject. The object of the Petitioners was to prevent criminal lunatics being sent to county lunatic asylums; but it should be remembered that a prisoner having undergone the punishment to which he was sentenced, and having become a lunatic, was entitled to be placed on the same footing as an ordinary lunatic. He did not propose to follow his noble Friend in the question of expense; but he was glad to hear him say that the expense of the new asylums which he contemplated would be borne by the counties. When these asylums, which would have to be constructed, were built, the question of expense would have to be considered. It was matter of great regret that some of these asylums were choked with a number of chronic lunatics. His noble Friend had spoken of classification; but the actual commission of crime, he feared, was not a sufficient test. The careful attention of the Home Secretary was being given to the subject, and he hoped the result would be some solution of one of the greatest difficulties connected with lunacy.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING—THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

##### OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

**LORD SUDELEY:** My Lords, in rising to call your attention to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Parliamentary Reporting, appointed by the Government, and which Report has been communicated to your Lordships' House, I feel that it is only necessary to do so to insure a satisfactory settlement of the question. At present, and for many years past, the reports of Parliamentary proceedings in both Houses of Parliament have been entirely dependent upon the voluntary efforts, so far as the production of these reports is concerned, of the newspaper proprietors, whose interests, very often, will not allow of their giving a full report. For a more complete record of our proceedings, in both this House and the other House of Parliament, we are indebted to Mr. Hansard for the only trustworthy report of the Parliamentary debates which are in

existence. It is well known that for many years that gentleman has devoted himself to the extremely laborious task of collating, correcting, and supplementing the reports which appear in the newspapers, of the debates, both in this and the other House of Parliament; and we must all gladly acknowledge that he performs that duty with great ability and energy, and with the most untiring courtesy. Unfortunately, however, the necessity for complying with the great demands upon the space of the newspapers renders it extremely difficult to devote many columns to the publications of our proceedings. The difficulty, we know very well, is owing to the increase of population, the commercial activity of the country, the advance of science, which has rendered it comparatively easy to transmit news rapidly from almost every part of the world, and various other causes. The consequence has been that the space devoted to Parliamentary reports has become less and less. And there is another element, and that is one which, no doubt, greatly actuated the managers of newspapers—namely, that the public like to see reports of, what I may term, highly special and sensational intelligence extended to their utmost limits, far better than any details of Parliamentary debates. The result has been that, year after year, the reports of debates not only here, but in the other House of Parliament, have been everywhere curtailed. My Lords, there is also another cause which leads to the curtailment, and to the inaccuracy of the reports of the debates which take place in your Lordships' House, and that is the extreme difficulty of hearing, especially in the Reporters' Gallery; and the complaint made by the reporters is that even if they have instructions to report the debates fully they experience the greatest difficulty in carrying out their instructions. I have myself often noticed the anxious and even painful expression with which the reporters regard the speaker, and strain forward their necks in their endeavours to hear him distinctly, and some have gone so far as to say it is perfect torture. If that difficulty is felt by experienced reporters, even when those noble Lords who occupy important and responsible positions are speaking, how much more difficult it must be in the case of those

has taken place, and the report of what we have said gives rise to any misconception abroad, we have the privilege of coming down here and addressing your Lordships, and repairing the error if the reporter has made any mistake. I must confess that I have felt it a little hard, when occasionally my name has appeared in the newspapers, accompanied by the remark, "after a few words," as if what I had said was not worthy of being reported; and I would rather have my name omitted altogether. I am aware that it is said that "brevity is the soul of wit;" and on one occasion the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition said that he wished the debates of your Lordships' House should be short; but I do hope that your Lordships will not adopt anything that will tend to make you responsible for the reports which appear of what is said in this House. There is really no authority to report our speeches at all. What we say is to convince one another, and to influence each others' votes, and I think it will be a much more dignified course to pursue if we remain as we are, and not change our mode of proceedings in any way, rather trusting to the common sense of what is uttered to secure for those utterances a proper report, thus leaving our words to work their own way, and produce their own natural effect, without the necessity of making any of the changes which the noble Lord has proposed.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, I think that this is rather a difficult subject, and I do not quite understand what is the real object which the noble Lord who has introduced the subject wishes to obtain. He complains, or the House generally complains, that the declarations made in this House, either by Members of Her Majesty's Government or by influential Members of the Opposition, not being reported with accuracy or at length, great misconception is occasioned thereby in foreign countries or in our own Colonial Dependencies; and, certainly, if that be so, it is a very great evil. But, my Lords, I cannot in any way collect from the noble Lord that the arrangements which have been made in the House of Commons, which he wishes to be applied to this House, would meet the difficulty, or tend to remove it in any way. The arrangement made in the House of Com-

mons with Mr. Hansard, as I collect it from the noble Lord, is, no doubt, as far as it goes, a very good arrangement for the purpose of securing for the House of Commons a correct record of what has taken place. But, my Lords, I apprehend that we want something more than that. We do not want merely to have a correct record to be found only in Mr. Hansard's Volumes, to which we may subscribe, or which we may refer to if we do not subscribe, but which will not affect public opinion, because the world in general will not take its views of what occurs in Parliament from this particular record, however authoritative it may be, as an accurate record of the proceedings of the House of Commons. But that is, really, not what is required. We want more than that. We desire that the reports of what takes place in the two Houses of Parliament should be accurately—that is to say, with fair accuracy—conveyed to the millions, I should say, who read the English newspapers. Well, you may obtain that in the House of Commons either by the journals themselves, or the Government or the Houses of Parliament establishing a body of reporters, so skilled, so accomplished, and so experienced, that they will furnish a report similar in its general character to that which we have for many years enjoyed, but still more remarkable for its finish and accuracy. But, my Lords, although you may, in the House of Commons, feel it your duty to establish a body of reporters, and thereby obtain very desirable advantages, still, in this House, where the debates are generally much shorter, where they are uncertain, but where, occasionally, subjects are discussed at much greater length, it would be almost impossible to establish a body of reporters similar to that which has been indicated as having been established in the House of Commons, and which could not be obtained without incurring considerable expense. I do not see exactly how the object which the noble Lord desires, which is that we should have a condensed record, is to be obtained by adopting the arrangement that has been made in the House of Commons. The arrangement which has been made there will, no doubt, secure an accurate record of what takes place; but it cannot secure that it shall come into the hands of the nation, so that they may be per-

*Lord Denman*

fectly acquainted with what their Representatives think and say. I think that the best course we can take, under existing circumstances, is really not to endeavour to follow exactly the arrangements which the House of Commons has adopted, but to appoint a Committee of our own, and if your Lordships approve of the suggestion, I will move, next Session, that there shall be a Committee appointed to consider and report upon the question, in order to see what are the best steps to be taken to secure what you want—namely, an accurate and efficient Report of the proceedings of your Lordships' House.

EARL GRANVILLE: I am very glad that the noble Earl opposite has come to the conclusion which he has indicated. I quite concur with the noble Lord who introduced the subject that it is one of considerable importance, and I was just saying to him that I should make the same suggestion to your Lordships which the noble Earl has made. There is, however, one point on which I think there is some misconception, and that is with respect to this House being such a very bad place to hear in. I have myself noticed, on more than one occasion, when Her Majesty has opened Parliament in person, and when the House has been crowded in every part, that every single word that fell from Her Majesty when reading the Speech has been distinctly heard from one end of the House to the other; and also that when the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack reads the Speech from the Throne, and your Lordships are silent, every word reaches the ears of all who are in the House. I think, my Lords, that a great deal of the difficulty that occurs is occasioned by ourselves and by the tone in which we speak. We mutter; we talk to each other in colloquial tones across the Table, and we do not at all facilitate the work of the reporters. I think that if we all addressed the House in the manner which I am bound to say the Prime Minister generally does, the complaints made by the reporters of the speakers being inaudible in the Gallery would be much rarer than they are. The question is a very difficult one; but it is one that is very important to the House. Many of us, and especially those who fill, or have filled, an official position, have, I think, no right to complain of the way in which

the reporters treat us; but when independent Members make unexpected speeches, and contribute valuable remarks, which are condensed into a few lines, a great loss is sustained by the public. I think it will be an advantage if the noble Earl will carry out his suggestion, and move for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the subject, so that we may have the opportunity of hearing some evidence, not only from Mr. Hansard, but also from those newspaper reporters who are so generally in attendance upon your Lordships' House.

# EAST INDIA LOAN (CONSOLIDATED FUND) BILL.—(No. 172.)

## SECOND READING.

(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>d</sup>."—(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that he had expected their Lordships would have received from the Secretary of State some explanation of this measure. He (the Earl of Northbrook) had expressed his opinion on a former occasion that the Afghan War had been the direct consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, and had not arisen from anything immediately connected with our Indian Empire, and, therefore, that the charge ought not to be thrown on the Indian finances. Her Majesty's Government had intimated that they might do something to relieve India; but, if this Bill was intended to carry out that intimation, no more unsatisfactory result could be imagined. The question resolved itself into this—had the war in Afghanistan been undertaken purely for Indian purposes, or had it not been rather for European purposes? If the war was an Indian war, it was a very bad precedent that assistance should be given to India from the Consolidated Fund. If, on the other hand, the war had been undertaken mainly for European purposes, then England ought to bear some substantial share of the cost. This was a miserable proposal. The Government of this country proposed to assist the Indian Government to the extent of £60,000 a-year for a few years, and would then throw on India the task

of repaying £2,000,000 by yearly instalments. It might be much less inconvenient to Indian finance if the Government of India were to borrow the money in the open market. The death of Shere Ali had enabled the war to be rapidly brought to a conclusion. He hoped that Yakob Khan—for his (the Earl of Northbrook's) intervention on whose behalf he had been taken to task by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack a few months ago—having been well treated by the Government of India in times past, would be loyal to his engagements, and that the results of the Afghan War in the future would be satisfactory. But he confessed he looked with apprehension to some of the terms of the Treaty which had been laid on the Table, as he believed the effect of them would be to throw upon Indian finances burdens of a very serious nature. As yet no explanation had been given, though on several occasions, both in that and the other House of Parliament, Her Majesty's Government had promised to make a statement of their objects and intentions with respect to the rectification of the North-West Frontier. He had learned from the ordinary sources of information that the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he had forgotten the promise. It was to be hoped, however, that some statement on the subject would be made in the other House of Parliament. He had seen the other day a comment on the Treaty by one of the most competent authorities—an officer of the highest position, occupying a seat in the Indian Council, a member, he believed of the Political Committee of that Council, and, therefore, in confidential communication with the noble Viscount. In default of information from Her Majesty's Government, he turned with interest and curiosity to the Paper written by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and published the other day. As a question of policy, and with a regard to financial considerations, all would agree that there were three objects which should be kept in view with respect to the North-West Frontier of India. The first was to keep on good terms with the wild Tribes on the Border, so far as was possible, punishing them, of course, if they molested British subjects. The next thing we should desire was such a condition of affairs in Afghanistan that it should be "a strong, independent,

*The Earl of Northbrook*

and friendly Power"—words used by Her Majesty's Government on several occasions. The third was that the susceptibilities of two great nations should be considered—Russia in Central Asia, and England in India. It was desirable for the peace of that part of the world that there should lie between those two great Empires some independent territory. That was the view entertained by the Governments of this country during many years. What, then, was to be deduced from Sir Henry Rawlinson's Paper with respect to these three points? With respect to the Tribes, he was sorry to say Sir Henry Rawlinson held out slight hopes that the Treaty would improve our relations with them. After enumerating the Tribes with which the new Frontier would bring us into contact, the names of which would be unfamiliar to their Lordships, Sir Henry Rawlinson added that—

"Our relations with the independent Afghan Tribes must be largely developed, and therein lies the danger, or rather the inconvenience, of the new situation."

Some time ago, the Prime Minister recounted the different expeditions during many years against those Tribes, and said that since 1848 some 60,000 men had been employed in those expeditions. But the noble Earl omitted to notice that during the last 10 or 12 years such expeditions had become very much less frequent owing to the judicious policy which had been pursued. If we pushed on our posts far from India, it must give rise to quarrels with the Tribes; these quarrels must occasion expeditions, and that must lead to disturbance and expense. As to the second point, should we have a strong as well as an independent Afghanistan? That we should have a friendly Afghanistan he hoped; that we should have an independent Afghanistan with this Treaty none of their Lordships could expect. Afghanistan had become a subordinate State as regarded the British Power. Sir Henry Rawlinson gave what seemed to him (the Earl of Northbrook) to be a most disheartening account of the position of Afghanistan after the war. He said there was already an insurrection in one of the Northern districts, that there was reason to apprehend a similar revolution at Herat, and that a pretender was prepared to come down and try his chance at Balkh. If this was a correct view of

the prospects of Afghanistan—and no one had better sources of information than Sir Henry Rawlinson—in his (the Earl of Northbrook's) opinion, it was out of the question that Afghanistan should be so strong as it was in the time of Shere Ali, or in the latter years of his father, Dost Mahomed. With regard to the third point, as to an interval between the Russian and the British Dominions in the East, Sir Henry Rawlinson, or some friend of his, appeared to have been told by a high Russian functionary that the Afghan War would compel the Russians to take Merv, whether they liked it or not—

"Our Empire," he is reported to have said, "is founded on prestige as much as yours; and it becomes, therefore, a matter of State necessity that we should redress the balance in Central Asia."

What Her Majesty's Government had done would, in his (the Earl of Northbrook's) opinion, have the effect of producing the very result which it was desired to avert—namely, that the Russian Empire would become conterminous with the British Empire. He could not come to any other conclusion than that this peace would have the effect of throwing greater and increasing expenses upon India. Her Majesty's Government ought, in his judgment, to have accepted some, at any rate, of the liabilities which had been thrown upon India, not, as he contended, for Indian interests, but for some other purposes that had not yet been explained. In the winter of 1877, the noble Marquess the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had to consider two very important proposals which were made to the Government of India. One was a proposal for making an alteration in the administration of the North-West Provinces, and Lord Salisbury, in a despatch dated the 29th of November, 1877, addressed to the Governor General of India in Council, said—

"A policy of conquest on your north-west frontier would lead to no advantage which would in any degree countervail the certain financial and political embarrassment it would cause."

Another matter of importance came under consideration in the year 1877—namely, the occupation of the post of Quettah. While approving a temporary occupation, Lord Salisbury gave strict injunctions that nothing should be done which would lead to the supposition that

British troops were to remain permanently at Quettah. His Lordship, in a despatch to the Governor General of India, dated the 13th of December, 1877, said—

"It is a grave matter for the Indian Government to undertake the pacification, or the control, of any portion of the wild district which lies outside its frontier. It cannot lightly abandon responsibilities it has once acknowledged. It cannot recede at will from any position it has once occupied. Dangers and difficulties, of which the chances ought to be deeply weighed before any advance is made, will not furnish subsequently a justification for a retreat; on the contrary, they may make it impossible to withdraw from an undertaking of which the inutility has been recognized."

The opinion given by Her Majesty's Government was that an extension of Frontier would be detrimental to the interests of India, and that opinion was expressed after the suspension of our relations with Shere Ali, and the withdrawal of the British Native Agent from his Court. Pending further explanation from Her Majesty's Government, he was entitled to assert that there must be a reason connected in some way with the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Europe that had dictated arrangements which, in his opinion, and in the opinion of Lord Salisbury in the winter of 1877, were injurious to the interests of India. Speaking of the question of expense, Sir Henry Rawlinson frankly said that he did not pretend to look on the new Frontier arrangements as economical, and that he should be surprised if they did not entail an increase of expenditure. The moral to be drawn from the war, now fortunately concluded, appeared to him (the Earl of Northbrook) to be that we need no longer give credence to those persons who had been trying to frighten us with apprehensions of danger from Russia. He believed he was not wrong in saying that the difficulty of transporting the ammunition and provisions of the small Force we sent to Candahar was at one time so great that it would have been impossible for us to make any material further advance in that direction. Instead, then, of making the recent extension of our Frontier, it appeared to him that we ought to have been content with what we had done. We ought to have seen that the success of our arms was sufficient to establish the prestige of this country, and that the difficulties of transport in those districts were so great

that we need not be afraid of any attacks from without. For his own part, he did not believe in our weakness. He thought that we were strong in India, and that we could afford to despise altogether the panic-mongers who, from time to time, endeavoured to frighten the people of England. The real danger to India was increased taxation. There were some taxes imposed on India, especially the licence tax, which were oppressive, and which ought to be taken off at the earliest possible opportunity. He regretted that Her Majesty's Government had not placed a fair share of the expenses of the war on the Imperial Exchequer, instead of throwing the whole burden, as this Bill practically did, on the people of India, who were scarcely able to bear the charges at present imposed upon them.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, besides the reasons stated by the noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Northbrook) why Her Majesty's Government should have charged the expenses of the Afghan War upon England and not upon India, there was this, that Her Majesty's Government said that India had a surplus available for it. But this surplus was not available, since it was the Famine Fund raised by an increase of the salt tax—that most oppressive of all taxes—and Sir John Strachey had promised that this Famine Fund should not be diverted to any other purpose. The discontent as to this had now extended from the Natives of India to the English, and we now heard that the language of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on the subject having been disapproved of, the Chairman, Mr. Yule, and the Committee had resigned, and had been re-elected. The noble Earl who spoke last referred to recent speeches of Lord Salisbury. In one of these he said that the North-West Frontier of India was fixed and immovable. Her Majesty's Government would have to ask themselves which words would be most enduring—their own words, that they wanted a scientific Frontier; or the words, "Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark?"

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK admitted that the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) was in his right in bringing forward, on the second reading of this Bill, any question connected with India which he might desire to submit to the con-

*The Earl of Northbrook*

sideration of the House. He should have thought, however, that it would have been more consistent with the courtesy due from one noble Lord to another, and with the practice usually pursued in this House, if public or private Notice had been given of the attack which the noble Earl was about to make on the policy of Her Majesty's Government. That Bill was simply a question as to whether this country should advance £2,000,000 to India for a certain number of years in order that, under her extreme pressure from Famine and other causes, India might not have to bear additional taxation. The noble Earl opposite complained of want of opportunity, but had a perfect right to put on the Notice Paper any Motion he pleased since the Treaty of Gandamak had been laid on the Table—it had been laid upon the Table some time since, and no notice had been taken of it. There was no want of time in that House for discussion of any great question. As to the Government coming down to the House and making a statement, he had never undertaken to do anything of the kind. He told the noble Earl that he should have certain Papers when they were in a condition to be produced, and so he should; and one despatch which had arrived would be put on the Table as soon as possible. The noble Earl spoke of the war being for British and not Indian interests. What did the noble Earl mean by "Indian interests?" and how did he separate them from the interests of this country? For himself, he had intimated from the beginning that it was his opinion that India ought to pay for this war, and that it was a war waged for the interests of India, and to give her security and peace. When the balance was struck of the cost incurred by England for her Indian Possessions, directly and indirectly, it would be found that she had not been niggardly. When the noble Earl assumed that the article written by Sir Henry Rawlinson had been written under his inspiration, he must say that he did not even know that Sir Henry Rawlinson had written the article until he took up the copy of *The Nineteenth Century*, in which it appeared, on Saturday, to read another article it contained, which, from its authorship, demanded attention. It was a remarkable thing, however, that those who thought with the noble Earl, and

he thought the noble Earl himself, referred in the most depreciatory tone to Sir Henry Rawlinson's writings, and called their author a Russophobic. The article now in question was not written to order, but written in conformity with Sir Henry Rawlinson's private opinions, expressed before in all forms and shapes. He had nothing at all to say to its publication, and was not responsible for a single word of it. But, having read the article that day, he said that the noble Earl had misread or misrepresented it, and that, so far from being against the Treaty with Afghanistan, the article was in its favour.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK explained, that he had brought forward from that article certain statements, and those statements—which he had read accurately to their Lordships—bore out the opinion he had himself expressed. He had not further alluded to the article.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, again, that the article was in favour of the Treaty, and the noble Earl led the House to believe it was not; but he (Viscount Cranbrook) would appeal to all who heard the noble Earl whether such was not their impression. He took exception to another point in the noble Earl's speech. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Marquess of Salisbury) had left the House; and the noble Earl, having given him no Notice, took occasion to quote certain passages from the noble Marquess's speech or despatch, without giving his noble Friend an opportunity of contradicting him, or of giving such an explanation as he himself had just given in respect to Sir Henry Rawlinson's article. He supposed that the noble Earl was going out of town, and thought it so important that the world should know his opinions, that, departing from his usual courtesy, he snatched the occasion of this Bill for discussing the whole policy of the Indian Government. He was ready to meet the noble Earl; but the occasion was not a fit one, when no Notice had been given, and the House was empty. The noble Earl was taking advantage of the House, and of those who were absent, in calling upon them to engage in such a discussion now. He would only say he believed that that war was justly undertaken in the interest of India, and

to give security to India; and when the noble Earl quoted Sir Henry Rawlinson's article, and stated that there was no danger or apprehension, he said—without expressing any opinion of his own on the article—that Sir Henry Rawlinson held that there was a danger which they were guarding against by the stipulations of that Treaty. The noble Earl would lead people to believe that he had never negotiated with respect to Russia, and had had no dread of her. What, however, was the meaning of the negotiations with regard to their having a neutral zone between Russia in Central Asia and Afghanistan? Why did the noble Earl, when Viceroy, telegraph home that the late Ameer was afraid of Russia, and say he wished, in certain circumstances, to support the late Ameer with men, arms, and money—the very things provided for by the new Treaty? Yet the noble Earl now turned round on that which he had himself proposed. He said that the Government were taking steps for the security of India, and for economy connected with that security. In India there were many unhealthy posts which might be given up in consequence of the acquisitions or assignments which they had received. And when the noble Earl said they were going too far, and undertaking too much—why, the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) admitted that he would not have endured that Russia should have an Envoy at Cabul, but thought that was a little too strong for him. Neither told their Lordships what course they would have adopted to get rid of him. Reverting to the Bill before the House, the noble Earl said that to lend £2,000,000 to India without interest was a shabby proceeding. Those who were responsible for the finances of India did not so regard the measure. Her Majesty's Government had told them that they could not undertake to bear the cost of that war, which was an Indian war, just as the former Afghan War was, and as were all the wars for the protection of the Frontiers of India. And when the noble Earl said that Russia would not come there, or do this, or that, he asserted that it was for the interest of India that they should show they were able to prevent Russia from doing those things. We had our positions and our men in them, and the Government meant

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 4th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee  
War in South Africa (Vote of Credit); ARMY  
ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [August 1 and 2] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS — Ordered — First Reading —  
Prevention of Crime \* [281].

Second Reading—Saint Giles Cathedral (Edinburgh) \* [238]; Endowed Schools Acts Continuance \* [272]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [268]; Chartered Banks (Colonial) [278]; Expiring Laws Continuance \* [279].

Committee—Report—Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) [143]; Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance \* [270]; Civil Procedure Acts Repeal \* [253-280]; Public Offices (Fees) \* [266].

Third Reading—Mungret Agricultural School, &c. \* [213], and passed.

## QUESTIONS.

THE MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH.  
QUESTIONS.

MR. FAWCETT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, as in the "Estimated Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Home Treasury of the Government of India from the 1st April 1877 to the 31st March 1878" the allowance to Maharajah Dhuleep Singh was stated at £21,067 and in the similar Account of Receipts and Disbursements from the 1st April 1878 to the 31st March 1879 at £34,067, he can inform the House of the reason of this increase in the allowance?

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If no papers regarding an increased allowance to Maharajah Dhuleep Singh can be laid upon the Table of the House during the present Session, he can state the reasons why the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India is prepared to reopen the question, considering the present allowance to his Highness was fixed after the fullest consideration by the Government of India and the Home Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, advances of £10,000 and £3,000 were sanctioned to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh by the Secretary of State in Council on the 29th of August, 1878, and the 4th of March,

1879, respectively. Both were made subject to such conditions as to interest and eventual adjustment as may hereafter be determined upon, and were made pending the final settlement of the Maharajah's affairs. My hon. Friend the Member for Guildford asks why my noble Friend the Secretary of State has consented to re-open this question. The fact is that he has done nothing to re-open it. The state of affairs between the Maharajah and the Government of India is of a very complicated character and concerns not only the pecuniary position of His Highness himself, but also the future welfare of his children. The desire of the Secretary of State in Council at the present moment is to effect a final settlement of all these matters. So far from re-opening the question, they are desirous of closing it once for all, and it is for this purpose that they have been in communication with the Government of India.

MR. ONSLOW: Is it proposed to permanently increase the Maharajah's allowance?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The whole subject of the relations between the Maharajah and the Government of India is under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

MR. FAWCETT: I should like to know, Whether, when the £13,000 of the people of India was advanced, any security was taken for its re-payment, and if so, what was the nature of the security also, whether the application to increase the allowance to the Maharajah was made subsequently to those advances?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I am not quite sure that I understand the Question, but there certainly have been communications with the Maharajah since those advances; but the whole matter is subject to further consideration.

MR. FAWCETT: The Under Secretary has not answered my first Question in reference to security for re-payment of the £13,000.

MR. E. STANHOPE: These advances were made in connection with the general considerations of the Maharajah's position, and I do not doubt that when a general settlement is arrived at a satisfactory conclusion will be come to on that point.

MR. FAWCETT: I think it my duty to press the Question, even if I have to conclude with a Motion. We were re-



mind only on Friday of the great importance of saving to India £3,000, and I again request the Under Secretary to give a distinct answer to this Question—When the £13,000 were advanced to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, was or was not any security taken in exchange by the Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The answer is perfectly clear. The annual allowance made to the Maharajah is under the control of the Government of India, and it is perfectly open to them to increase or diminish it. The £13,000 could, therefore, if the Government of India thought fit, be struck off the Maharajah's allowance.

MR. FAWCETT: Is this £13,000 a temporary advance made by the Secretary of State to the Maharajah under security for its re-payment, or is it to be a permanent addition to His Highness's allowance?

MR. E. STANHOPE: It is a temporary advance, made, as I have said, pending a general settlement of the whole affair. It is rather hard to press the matter here, seeing that the whole question is as present under consideration.

MR. FAWCETT: I beg to give Notice that, in consequence of the answer I have received, I will certainly ask the House to express its opinion on the Motion, which stands in my name upon the Paper, with respect to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.

#### ADMIRALTY CLERKS.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether an Order of the 19th June of the present year places the clerks of the lower division in the Admiralty in an inferior position as regards sick leave to other clerks, and how this Order can be reconciled with his statement, made on the 12th July 1877, that—

“The lower division of clerks are now on the same footing, as regards leave and other advantages, as any other members of the Civil Service?”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I must say that the practice which prevails in this House of having Questions continually put as to details of the arrangements within the clerical establishments of the different offices renders it exceedingly embar-

assing to the Executive Government engaged in administering the Departments. With respect to this particular Question, I will refer, first, to an answer I gave to a Question put to me in July, 1877. I was then asked whether the writers were to be put on the same footing with the clerks of the lower division, and my answer was to the effect that it would be impossible to put all these writers on the same footing. I went on to say that the clerks were now an established force of the Civil Service, and that they were on the same footing, as regarded leave of absence, as any other Department of that Service, but that the copiers were not on exactly the same footing. It was not my intention to imply that the clerks were to have precisely the same advantages. I said that to a considerable extent, the different Departments regulated these matters according to the circumstances of each case. In July last a question arose as to the allowance for sick leave to the clerks of the lower division of the Admiralty, and the answer was to the effect that a certain practice which then prevailed should be continued. That practice fixes a somewhat different rate for sick leave for the clerks of the lower division than the amount allowed for the other classes. I do not know that the matter is absolutely settled; but that is the present arrangement with regard to the Admiralty.

#### TREATY OF BERLIN—THE PORTE—THE NOTE VERBALE.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any reply has been received to the Note Verbale addressed to the Porte on the 25th June; and, whether he can state to the House the general tenour of the Note handed to the Porte on the 15th of July last?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, I cannot say that any formal reply has been received to the *Note Verbale*. At the same time, the Turkish Government have most solemnly assured our Ambassador to the Porte that they have no intention whatever of evading the responsibility which has been placed upon them by the Articles of the Treaty of Berlin. They have also assured our Ambassador that the delay in carrying out the portion of the Articles in question has arisen from

the fact that the *réglements* which apply to the various Provinces, and have to be framed on the Organic Statute of Roumelia, require some time for consideration. That Statute is one which contains about 900 clauses. The whole have to be considered by the Porte in order to see whether they will be applicable to the various Provinces. They have been discussed by the Porte; but the *réglements* have to be read over to the Council of Ministers. That will be done in a few days, and then, we are informed, they will be sent to the Provinces. The Papers referred to will be presented to Parliament; but I cannot say that it will be done this Session.

#### INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

##### QUESTION.

THE O'DONOGHUE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether, under the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act (Ireland), it is lawful or competent for the managers of such schools to engage in the manufacture of goods or articles for sale other than the produce of work done by the inmates of such schools, and particularly if such managers are warranted in employing or engaging the work of tradesmen outside the institution, with the view to sale or profit or otherwise; and, whether it is within the duty of such managers and they are warranted by law in canvassing for work, such for instance as the making or providing of coffins and other articles, to the detriment and loss of the ordinary tradesman; and, in relation to this subject, if he will direct inquiries to be made as to the course of procedure in the Industrial School of St. Joseph's, Tralee?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, there is nothing contrary to law in carrying on productive occupations at industrial schools, and the practice, within reasonable bounds, appears to be a desirable one to adopt. I will, however, make inquiry into the case of the Industrial School of St. Joseph, in Tralee, in order to see whether there had been any cause for complaint.

#### ACCOUNTS OF THE INDIA OFFICE AND THE WAR OFFICE.—QUESTION.

MR. SEELY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his atten-

tion has been called to the last Report of the Committee of Public Accounts, in which it is stated that India is indebted to the War Office in the sum of £788,000, for the three years ending 31st March 1878; whether this sum represents the capitalised value of the proportion of soldiers' pensions payable by India during the years mentioned; whether the debt has accrued in consequence of an agreement entered into between the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for War, under which India undertakes to pay to the War Office the capitalised value of such pensions in lump sums from year to year, and the War Office undertakes the payment of these pensions as an annual charge; if so, whether he will lay a Copy of such agreement upon the Table of the House; whether he can inform the House what amount (if any) has been added to the £788,000 for the year ending 31st March 1879; whether he will endeavour to lay down a rule which will ensure that this House shall be kept informed of any large sums of money owing by one Department of State to another; and, whether he will direct that these sums of money, when they are paid by India, shall be handed over to the National Debt Commissioners, to be applied in the reduction of the National Debt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am aware that the Committee of Public Accounts has reported that £788,000 is due by India to the Imperial Exchequer on account of the non-effective charge of Her Majesty's regiments serving during the three years to March 31, 1878. Under present arrangements the share of military pensions due by India on account of service in India is capitalized; an Estimate is made before the commencement of each financial year of the amount of such capitalization which will become due within the year; but during these three years, owing to exceptional circumstances, the pensions falling due have largely exceeded the anticipation, and the sum of £788,000 represents the balance not provided for in the Estimate framed for each of those years. The hon. Gentleman asks whether the debt has accrued in consequence of an agreement between the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for War, under which India undertakes to pay to the War Office the ca-

*Mr. Bourke*

pitalized value of such pensions in lump sums from year to year, and the War Office undertakes these payments as annual charge. The hon. Member correctly describes the arrangement under which India pays down, once and for all, the capital value of the pensions for which she is liable. I will consider with the Secretary of State for War if there are Papers on the subject which he can lay upon the Table. The capitalized value of the pensions falling due in any year cannot be ascertained until some time after the close of the year in which they fall due, and I am not able to say what increase of the debt due by India may have accrued in the year to the 31st of March, 1879. The Public Accounts Committee have made a representation upon this point, which will have my best attention. I am not prepared at present to state the conclusion at which Her Majesty's Government will arrive as to the appropriation of the sums paid over by India. I have an arrangement with India under consideration to enable her to meet the excessive charge of this non-effective service during the past few years, and the decision at which we arrive with respect to that arrangement will be made known to the Committee of Public Accounts and, if necessary, to Parliament.

#### CYPRUS — REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—QUESTION.

MR. DODSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can now present to the House complete Accounts or Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of Cyprus under British Administration; and, if not, whether he will at once lay upon the Table the Estimates made by Mr. Kelner?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, assured the right hon. Gentleman that Her Majesty's Government had been very anxious indeed to lay all the Estimates in their power with reference to the Revenue and Expenditure of Cyprus on the Table of the House. It was true that in March last he stated that such an Estimate had been received, and would be produced; but some of its statements proved not to be absolutely accurate. But, substantially, the statement he made in March as to the Revenue

and Expenditure of the Island would be found to be correct. They had received within the last few days a further Estimate, prepared in a short form. They had been waiting in order that they might put these matters before the House with much more accuracy and detail; but they had not received many of the necessary items. The Estimate would have been ready to-morrow, but for the fact that the day was a Bank Holiday; but it would be presented on Wednesday, or, at the latest, on Thursday. Mr. Kelner's Estimate was also in the hands of the printers, and would be presented to the House on Thursday.

#### SALMON POACHING (IRELAND)— CARLOW MAGISTRATES.

##### QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the sentence recently inflicted by a County Carlow Bench of Magistrates of a cumulative penalty of four pounds in each case, or two months' imprisonment, on a boy thirteen years of age for having killed, and aided and assisted his father to kill, a salmon—for which offences the father had also been sentenced to pay a like fine or undergo a similar period of imprisonment; and, whether it is a fact that on the occasion in question some of the occupants of the Bench were Slany River Conservators, at whose instance the prosecution had been taken, and who, therefore, were prosecutors in the case as well as Judges?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I have inquired into this matter, and as to the sentences passed they appear to me to have been quite proper ones under the circumstances. It must be borne in mind that large profits are made as the result of successful salmon poaching on the extensive scale upon which it appears to be conducted in that and some other neighbourhoods. With respect to the last part of the Question, if the circumstances were as indicated, I think the matter would certainly justify inquiry, as it is the general law of the land that persons cannot be both prosecutors and judges in their own cases. It seems, however, that by some means which I am unable to explain, a special exception to the operation of this gene-

ral rule was introduced into some of the Fishery Acts, and, as a consequence, considerable public scandal has been caused—not in Ireland, however—by Conservators combining the positions of prosecutors and judges in their own cases. At the same time, I have no fear that such instances of want of good taste and feeling would be likely to be frequent among gentlemen occupying the position of magistrates; and, in this instance, I am happy to find that the prosecutions in question were instituted by a proprietor in his private capacity, and that, although some members of the Bench were Conservators, they were in no way connected with, or parties to, the prosecution.

#### EGYPT—THE EX-KHEDIVE.

##### QUESTIONS.

MR. E. JENKINS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government has received information that the ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha, before leaving Egypt stripped the palaces and public buildings of articles estimated to be of the value of six millions sterling, and also compelled the Ministers to pay over to him all the funds in the Treasury available for the uses of the State, amounting to £240,000, and conveyed the whole of the property thus abstracted away with him; and, whether, as he was deposed by the action of Her Majesty's Government, with other Powers, the Government can exercise any influence to prevent any further sums of money from being paid out of Egypt to the ex-Khedive until he has returned the property thus abstracted from the resources of Egypt, or will be able to take any measures to assist its recovery to that State?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, we have only heard officially that there is in Cairo a report that the ex-Khedive has caused a large portion of property to be conveyed on board his yacht; but we have not heard what the amount is. In fact, we have only heard a rumour that such a thing was done by the ex-Khedive. We do not know what the nature of the property was; and, therefore, neither Her Majesty's Government nor any other Power has taken any steps in the matter.

MR. E. JENKINS: Has the Government no information whatever?

*Mr. J. Lowther*

MR. BOURKE: Nothing, beyond the report of the rumour that a large portion of property had been ordered by him to be removed on board the yacht. We have no official information that any was taken.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—TRIM.

##### QUESTION.

MR. PARNELL asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether, so long ago as the 19th of April, a petition was presented by the Town Commissioners of Trim to the Local Government Board of Ireland, praying that the town of Trim might be separated from the rural sanitary district of Trim Union, and be constituted an urban sanitary district; whether an affirmative reply to this petition was only returned by the Local Government Board on the 15th of July, or nearly two months after receipt of the petition, and whether this reply stated that it was now too late to obtain the necessary Parliamentary confirmation this Session of the Provisional Order; and, if so, whether he has caused inquiries to be made as to who is responsible for a delay which prevents the Town Commissioners of Trim from undertaking for another year important sanitary works necessary for the comfort and health of the inhabitants of that town?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, in order to enable the Standing Orders of the two Houses of Parliament to be complied with, it is important that the necessary steps should be set in motion at an early period of the Session by the promoters of Provisional Order schemes. It appears, in this case, that the Town Commissioners of Trim consumed some time in preliminary correspondence with parties locally interested; and it was not until April 19, as stated by the hon. Member, that their Petition was received by the Local Government Board. On the 3rd of May the Local Government Board applied to the Commissioners for some further information, and on May 17 and 24, notices were published in accordance with the Statute regulating these matters. On May 31 the Local Government Board instructed their solicitor to prepare the Provisional Order, which was approved on June 17, by which time it was too late to proceed with the matter during the present Session.

**ARMY—HEAVY RIFLED ORDNANCE—  
THOMAS v. THE QUEEN.—QUESTION.**

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, when the judges in appeal ordered judgment to be entered for the Crown in the case of Thomas against the Queen, they did not do so on grounds which had no relation whatever to the question of Mr. Lynall Thomas's claim to the origination of the system of heavy rifled ordnance, of which the 7-inch 7-ton gun was stated to be the standard gun?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER): Sir, on behalf of the Secretary of State for War, I beg to say that, in the case of "Thomas v. the Queen," the verdict which was found for the plaintiff was based upon the assumption that a contract had been entered into by the War Office, on behalf of Her Majesty and Mr. Lynall Thomas, and that under such contract the latter was to receive reward and compensation in certain events. Upon an application, however, to the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court, the Court held that there was no evidence of any contract having been made, and ordered that judgment should be entered for the Crown. Against this decision Mr. Thomas might have appealed; but he did not do so. The question whether Mr. Lynall Thomas was or was not the originator of the system of heavy rifled ordnance was not involved in the decision of the Queen's Bench.

**NAVY—FLOGGING IN THE NAVY—  
MEETING OF PETTY OFFICERS AND  
SEAMEN.—QUESTION.**

MR. ANDERSON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table the Memorandum issued by Admiral Fanshawe consequent on the meeting of Petty Officers at Portsmouth?

MR. A. F. EGERTON, in reply, said, there would be no objection to lay the Memorandum referred to on the Table of the House if the hon. Gentleman would be good enough to move for it.

**PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE—SEPA-  
RATE OCCUPIERS.—QUESTION.**

MR. CHAMBERLAIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment, Whether his attention has been called to a letter from Mr. Bompas, Q.C. in the "Echo" of Thursday 31st July, in which that gentleman states that the vestry clerks of the Metropolis have decided not to act upon the provision of 41 and 42 Vic. c. 26, s. 5, removing a doubt and enfranchising separate occupiers of parts of houses; and, if the statement is true, whether the local authorities will become liable to penalties for the omission of the names; and, whether he can take any steps to prevent many thousands of persons from failing to gain the franchise which Parliament intended them to possess?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, his attention had not been called to this letter until the Notice of the hon. Gentleman's Question appeared upon the Paper. He had not yet had time to make inquiry of the vestry clerks; but he had directed inquiry to be made as to what the facts really were. As to the question of law, he would rather not express an opinion upon it until he had had an opportunity of consulting the Attorney General. He was afraid it was not in his power to take any such steps as were indicated by the hon. Gentleman at the end of his Question.

**POOR LAW (IRELAND)—NORTH DUB-  
LIN UNION.—QUESTION.**

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, as President of the Irish Local Government Board, Whether the seat on the Board of Guardians of the North Dublin Union, occupied by the chairman, Mr. M'Farlane, has been vacated by that gentleman's appointment as Local Government Board Inspector; if so, how long has it been vacant, and whether any intimation of the appointment or vacancy has been communicated to the Board of Guardians, who have been now for a considerable period without the services of Mr. M'Farlane?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, Mr. M'Farlane was appointed an Inspector on the 15th of May last, from which date he ceased to be eligible to serve as a Guardian. It is not the practice to make any official communications to Boards of Guardians respecting the appointment of Inspectors or the acceptance of offices by members of these bodies. The North

Dublin Union have, I apprehend, power to proceed to the election of a new Chairman at their discretion.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DUBLIN  
TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether, referring to the memorial of the Dublin telegraph clerks which has now been under consideration for so many months, it is a fact that they discharge duties at least as onerous and responsible as those of the telegraph clerks in Liverpool and Manchester; and, if so, whether he will consider the propriety of giving them equal remuneration?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Sir, the ordinary telegraph work in Dublin is of the same kind as that in Liverpool and Manchester; and when there is an opportunity, which I hope shortly to find, I shall be prepared to recommend similar scales of pay for the lower classes of clerks. But the superintending officers in Dublin have neither such onerous nor responsible duties as those in Liverpool and Manchester, and this must be considered in fixing their pay.

REGISTRY OF DEEDS COMMISSION  
(DUBLIN).—QUESTION.

MR. M. BROOKS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Report of the Registry of Deeds Commission (Dublin) will be laid upon the Table of the House?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the Report has not yet been presented to the Government. I understand, however, that it is ready for signature, and until it has been received it is impossible to say when it will be laid on the Table of the House, as the hon. Gentleman will see.

THE IRISH LAND ACT, 1870—THE  
CHURCH TEMPORALITIES COMMISSIONERS.—QUESTION.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether, with a view to legislation next Session in extension of the facilities of the Irish Land Act, 1870, for the purchase by tenants of their holdings, he will authorise the Irish Church Temporalities

*Mr. J. Lowther*

Commissioners to direct their valuator, who inspected and valued their property previous to sale, to visit during the Recess those properties which have been sold to tenants, and to report upon their present condition?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I agree in thinking it may be desirable to obtain information upon this subject; but I am disposed to doubt whether the particular mode of inquiry suggested by the hon. Gentleman would be advisable, as the gentleman alluded to is known to entertain very decided views in connection with the subject; and, therefore, it would probably be more agreeable to him, as well as more likely to serve the public interests, if some fresh authority was to appear upon the scene. I will, therefore, consider how this can best be carried out.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE DERBY MURDER.

QUESTION.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the evidence given in the late Derby murder case, from which it appears that the murderer was made drunk at the Royal Hotel shortly before he committed the crime for which he is now under sentence of death; and, whether any steps are to be taken for proceeding against those who supplied him with the liquor?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I have a telegram from the Chief Constable of Derby, stating that immediately the sentence was passed, proceedings were taken by him against the landlord of the Royal Hotel, that a summons had been granted, and that the case would be heard on Thursday next.

THE REVENUE—CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

QUESTION.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the falling off in the receipts of the Revenue under the head of Customs and Excise, amounting in the first four months of 1879 to one million, as compared with the similar period of 1878, is due merely to delay in collection, or is owing to a real decrease of consumption and consequent diminution of Revenue

beyond the amount estimated in the Budget?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The falling off to which the hon. and learned Member refers as having occurred in the last four months of 1879 is not really £1,000,000. The accounts up to last Saturday show a falling off of something less than £900,000. As regards the causes of the falling off, I have notes both from the Board of Inland Revenue and the Customs Office. Taking the Customs first, I have to say that the actual net receipt of duties in the year ending March 31, 1879, was £20,345,475. The Budget Estimate was fixed at £20,000,000, being a reduction of £345,475 on the year's receipt. The account under articles will not be ready until the evening of Tuesday next; but, according to the amount exchequered, the loss at the present date is, in round numbers, £270,000. If the exact proportion of estimated reduction were realized, the loss would now have been only £115,158; so that, in one sense, it may be said the reduction has travelled too fast by an amount of something like £155,000. But the position is explained by a reference to the heavy receipts of April, 1878, when the yield from tea and tobacco was in excess of the requirements of consumption. In the following months of that year the diminished receipts caused a natural adjustment of the Revenue. We have not yet advanced sufficiently in the financial year to show by comparison the relative strength of the two periods; but there is almost a certainty that we shall soon overtake the disparity; and, so far as present prospects are concerned, there is nothing to show that there will be a loss beyond that estimated—namely, £345,000. The actual falling off in the first four months of this financial year, as compared with the preceding year, under the head of Excise is £700,000. Of this sum the loss from deferred collection is £310,000, leaving a real loss of £390,000. The loss estimated in the Budget, chiefly from knowledge of malt charge, was £130,000, so that the excess beyond the estimated loss is £260,000. It will be observed that in stamps there is an increase of £217,000, and in Income Tax of £705,000, the excess over the Estimates under these heads being about equal to the falling off under the other heads.

ARMY—COURSE OF INSTRUCTION TO OFFICERS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES—VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.

QUESTION.

MR. GRANT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the difficulty experienced by many Officers of the Auxiliary Artillery engaged in business, and living at a distance from Woolwich, in Scotland and elsewhere, in giving an unbroken month to the first course of instruction at Woolwich, which is now insisted on, arrangements cannot be made for such Officers dividing the first month's course into two periods of a fortnight each, in the same manner as is already provided for Officers attending the second course?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, I think it requires some consideration and some examination of the subject before we say whether the same instruction could be given in two separate periods of a fortnight each, which can now be given in the period of one consecutive month. I, therefore, am not able to give a distinct opinion upon that point. As regards the inconvenience referred to in the first part of the Question, I would call attention to a reply I gave a month ago, in which I said that we were endeavouring to find some place in Scotland, or in the Northern part of England, at which to form a suitable school of instruction for Volunteer officers, whereby a good deal of trouble and expense may be spared them.

EGYPT—DEPOSITION OF ISMAIL PASHA.—QUESTION.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering that on more than one occasion he has stated that he has been unable to inform the House of the action taken by Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, and the reasons for such action, because the Government had been working in concert with France, and had not the consent of the French Government to any such information being afforded, M. Waddington obtained the consent of the English Government before giving to the French Chamber on Thursday last, the important account of the circumstances connected with the deposition of Ismail Pasha; whether he can explain to the House the divergence of

views entertained by the two Governments, as shown by his own statement that it was not in the interests of any private persons or creditors that the Governments had acted, and that made by M. Waddington in the following words:—

\* "In the interests of such of our countrymen as have fortunes in Egypt, we were obliged to instruct our representative to invite the Khedive to abdicate;"

whether it is correct, as stated by M. Waddington—

"That the deposition of the Khedive has made no change in the privileges of Egypt, which is ruled by firmans bought at the cost of enormous sacrifices;"

and, if so, what is the reason why the new firman has not been published; whether it is true that at the present moment negotiations for the new firman are really not concluded because the Turkish Government wished to curtail the privileges enjoyed by the late Viceroy, and will only consent not so to curtail them, in return for a considerable additional tribute to be paid by the Egyptian Treasury; and, whether, considering that a public statement has now been made by M. Waddington, he will not, in accordance with the engagement understood by many Members to have been entered into, afford the House a very early opportunity of discussing the policy of the Government in their recent and present interference in Egyptian internal affairs?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I cannot undertake, within the limits of an answer to a Question, to discuss the speech made by M. Waddington. But I would say that it is substantially correct that the deposition of the Khedive has made no change in the privileges of Egypt—that is to say, the last Firman which has been agreed to will leave the privileges of Egypt substantially as they were before. The terms of the Firman had, I believe, been settled; but the Firman has not yet been actually issued. There is no truth, so far as we are aware, in the statement that additional tribute was demanded in order to bring about the issue of the new Firman. As regards the other Egyptian Papers for which the hon. Baronet asks, I believe they will be out in the course of a couple of days, and there will then be an opportunity of discussing the subject.

*Sir Julian Goldsmid*

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID gave Notice that he would bring the question before the House on the Motion to go into Committee of Supply.

#### ARMY—PROJECTILES—CLAIMS OF MR. PADWICK.—QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether, in consideration of twenty-five years having elapsed without any person, other than Mr. Padwick, having claimed to be the inventor of the "Soft Stud System of Projectiles," he will refer Mr. Padwick's claim to three independent Members of this House to determine how far Mr. Padwick is justified in asserting his claim to the invention?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: When my hon. and gallant Friend asked me a Question upon this subject 10 days ago, I stated then that the Select Ordnance Committee had reported, in 1865, that Mr. Padwick could not be looked upon as the inventor of "elongated projectiles with soft metal studs," as experiments were conducted in France with these projectiles four years before Mr. Padwick claimed to have invented them—namely, in 1850. This was approved by the then Secretary of State (Lord de Grey), and Mr. Padwick was so informed. The case was again taken up by the right hon. Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) and by Colonel Fane in 1866; but the then Secretary of State (General Peel) affirmed the former decision, which was affirmed again in 1870 by Lord Cardwell. Under these circumstances, with every desire to do justice as between the public and Mr. Padwick, my hon. and gallant Friend will see the impossibility of re-opening a question which has been repeatedly decided by successive Secretaries of States in a sense adverse to Mr. Padwick, by referring his claims to a tribunal for which there is no precedent whatever.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING—THE REPORTERS' GALLERY.—QUESTION.

MR. RYLANDS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If it is the intention of the Government to propose a Supplementary Estimate to defray the charge for providing additional accommodation in the Reporters' Gallery, in accordance with the recommendations of the Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting?



**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, as the matter referred to in the Question of the hon. Member will probably give rise to an interesting discussion, and as the Session is now wearing out, and some hon. Members who would wish to take part in the discussion might find it inconvenient to remain in town, it has been thought best to postpone dealing with the matter until the beginning of next Session.

**THE NEW IRISH UNIVERSITY—THE SENATE.—QUESTION.**

**MR. HOLT** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can now communicate to the House the names of the persons whom the Government will advise the Queen to place on the Senate of the proposed new University in Ireland?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I am sorry to say that it is not in my power to do so. I think my hon. Friend will see that, before approaching any person to ask him to serve upon the Senate, it is necessary that we should know the precise form in which the House may approve of the Bill, and until that has taken place communications could not be opened. When they are opened I fear they will—as such communications always do—take some further time.

**PRISONS (IRELAND) — CASE OF PATRICK GRIMES.—QUESTION.**

**MR. PARNELL** asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is true that, on the inquest into the death of Patrick Grimes in Armagh Gaol, the prison medical officer deposed that on the 7th of June he had reported, for the information of the Lord Lieutenant, that he considered the life of Patrick Grimes, a prisoner then confined in that prison, to be in imminent danger by further confinement; whether any reply was made by the Prisons Board to this representation, or any action taken by them consequent thereon; and, whether the prison medical officer also deposed at the same inquest that the new scale of diet adopted by the Prisons Board is not sufficient for an ordinary man; and, if so, whether he will direct a full inquiry to be made into the death of Patrick Grimes by persons independent of the Government?

**MR. J. LOWTHER:** Sir, a Report was received by the Government from the medical officer on June 9, and was considered by the Lord Chancellor, acting as one of the Lords Justices. It was then referred, in accordance with the usual practice, to the Judge before whom the case had been tried, and his Report was received upon June 13, upon which day the prisoner died. I may, perhaps, as well mention that the medical officer's answers to the usual questions which had to be filled in by him were as follows:—

“Nature of disease?—Heart and kidney disease. Has the disease been caused by confinement in prison?—No. Has it been aggravated by confinement in prison?—No; not to any great extent. What benefit would the prisoner be likely to derive by being discharged?—Not much. Whether the prisoner would be likely to derive benefit by removal to an invalid establishment, in which the conditions of ordinary prison life would be changed?—He would not.”

Under these circumstances, it appeared undesirable to depart from the usual practice followed in such cases, and, meanwhile, the man was in the prison hospital, where every attention was paid to his case.

**ARMY—EXCHANGE INTO THE GUARDS. QUESTION.**

**MR. ERRINGTON** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the full Colonels of the Guards, in addition to their privilege of nominating for commissions, have, by Warrant or otherwise, the right to control and prevent exchanges into and from their regiments; whether his attention has been called to a case stated in the Army and Navy Gazette of the 26th instant as having recently occurred, in which an exchange between an officer of the Foot Guards and a Cavalry officer, though not objected to and even virtually sanctioned by the Horse Guards, was, to the serious inconvenience and loss of the officers concerned, prohibited by the full Colonel of the Guards regiment; whether the reasons on which the Colonel's decision was alleged to have been founded—viz., that the exchange would prejudice the rights of other officers in the regiment, can be maintained, and if admitted would not prevent all purchase officers in the Guards from being able to exchange; and, whether the Com-

mandar in Chief has not some means of protecting these officers from the hardships which may be entailed upon them by the irresponsible exercise of these powers by the full Colonels of their regiments?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, the full Colonels of the Guards had always had by custom, for all time, so far as he could trace—not by Warrant, he believed—the right to control admissions into their regiments, and to a certain extent that would also affect exchanges, inasmuch as the officer who exchanged into the regiment was to be looked upon as a first appointment in some respects. His attention had been called to the case stated in the Question, and he must correct the statement that the exchange was prohibited by the full Colonel of the Guards regiment. The exchange, which, like all others, was an indulgence to an officer, and not a right, was prohibited by the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities, after consultation with the full Colonel of the regiment. With regard to the third part of the Question, the hon. Gentleman must excuse his answering it except so far as saying that he did not admit that any seeming right or hardship to any officer ought to stand in the way of that which would be for the benefit of the Service. There was no doubt the Commander-in-Chief had absolute power in these matters, though the exercise of that power against the wishes of the full Colonel of the regiment was, of course, somewhat a matter of discretion. These matters in their general aspect were at present under consideration, but not as regarded any particular case.

#### ARMY—DEFENCES OF THE CLYDE.

##### QUESTION.

MR. JAMES STEWART asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has yet taken any action with reference to the defences of the Clyde; whether he has considered the statement in the Report of the Committee on the Volunteer Force, that "a School of Instruction for Officers of Artillery Volunteers is much wanted in Scotland or the North of England," and also the proposal for the formation on the Clyde and other places of Submarine Mining Companies; and, whether these three objects might not

advantageously be carried out in one scheme?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, he had not been able to take action yet with reference to the defences of the Clyde, because it was his desire that the defences of the Clyde and other commercial ports should be inquired into by a Committee of experienced officers. Force of circumstances had hitherto prevented his obtaining the services of the officers he had fixed upon. Steps were being taken to inquire what place in Scotland or the North of England might be suitable for the establishment of a School of Instruction. With reference to the foundation of Submarine Mining Companies, he had not seen his way to make any proposal this year. There was no necessary connection between the three objects, and he did not think they could be considered as a whole in one scheme.

#### LOANS FOR PUBLIC WORKS.

##### QUESTION.

MR. JAMES STEWART asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has fully considered the serious inconvenience occasioned by the protracted inability of Government to meet their obligations in respect to Loans for Public Works?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he was aware of the inconvenience. The sum at the disposal of the Public Works Loans Board was now reduced to £25; but he did not think the Government could do anything till the Public Works Loan Bill was passed.

#### PRISONS (ENGLAND) ACT—PHOTOGRAPHING PRISONERS.

##### QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a complaint made at the Mansion House, on Wednesday July 30th, of certain proceedings on the previous day, of the Governor of Newgate, by a prisoner under remand, of the name of Ambrose Fortescue, when the Lord Mayor said—"He had no power in the matter—that the complaint should be addressed to the Home Secretary;" whether it is true, that, on Tuesday July 29th, the Governor

*Mr. Errington*

of Newgate wished to take the portrait of a prisoner under remand, who refused to have it taken on the grounds that he had not been convicted of any crime, despite which refusal the Governor called to the warders, and the prisoner was seized and forcibly held while he was photographed; and, whether he can state if it is the usual practice to photograph prisoners not convicted of any crime—nor even committed for trial; and, if so, under what authority, and by the provisions of what statute, the Governor of Newgate is empowered so to act?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, in the case in question the Governor of Newgate acted entirely against his instructions and without any authority. It had been decided that in the case of an unconvicted prisoner photographing was not to take place, and instructions had been given to the officials to that effect. The Prisons Commissioners have investigated this case, and entirely disapprove of the Governor's action in the matter.

#### AFGHANISTAN—MILITARY OPERATIONS.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I wish to put a Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which I have given him Notice, to which it might be convenient that he should reply before he makes the Motion on the Paper in his name this day. I wish to ask him, Whether the despatch promised by the Government of India in a despatch dated June 2nd, on the subject of the recent military operations in Afghanistan, and generally upon the course of political events, has been received, and will be laid on the Table of the House; and, whether, and at what time, the Government intend to make any statement with regard to it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am not quite sure that I referred to the despatch of the 2nd of June, to which the noble Lord directs my attention; but I am aware that Lord Cranbrook has quite recently received a very full despatch from the Government of India, but he has not yet had time to communicate it to his Colleagues. I have seen it in his hand, and he expects in a few days to lay it on the Table of the House. As soon as that is done the Government will be perfectly prepared

to discuss the question—probably at the beginning of next week we shall be able to find an opportunity of doing so.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—CAPTAIN CAREY.—QUESTION.

MR. MILBANK said, he would like to ask the Secretary of State for War a Question of which he had not been able to give him Notice. It was—Whether the sentence of the court martial on Lieutenant Carey had been quashed owing to the illegality or irregularity of the proceedings; and, whether it was true that he was to be sent back to his regiment?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, I am afraid that is a Question which, at the present time, the public interest will not allow me to answer.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR. QUESTIONS.

MR. ANDERSON: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies a Question without Notice. I wish to know—Whether his attention has been called to the following statement which appears in to-day's *Pall Mall Gazette*:—

“ Captain Macleod has been commissioned to stir up the Swazies to aggression on the Zulus, stimulated by the price of 5,000 cattle placed on Cetewayo's head. Leigh has been deputed to the Amatongas, to kindle among them a mercenary friendship and constitute them our king-catchers. Colonel George Villiers goes to Utrecht as political agent with Oham, who is offered 5,000 cattle as a reward for his fraternal act of catching for us his brother?”

The thing hardly sounds very credible; but the names of the three officers being given attaches a sort of credibility to it, and I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman—Whether the Government know anything about the matter; and, whether it is the sort of warfare of which they approve? If not, I wish to know whether they will take any steps to ascertain the truth of the statement, and to put a stop to such a state of things?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I know nothing of any commission that has been issued for any such purpose to Colonel Villiers; but with regard to Captain M'Leod and Lieutenant Leigh, Captain M'Leod has been for some time past stationed as a resident with the Swazies, and Lieutenant Leigh has visited the Amatongas;

but they have been employed, not in stirring up the people against the Zulus, but in doing their best to prevent those Tribes from joining the Zulus.

MR. ANDERSON: Does the Government know anything about the 5,000 head of cattle offered for catching Cetewayo?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I know nothing whatever about that.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE IMPRISONED GRIQUAS.—QUESTION.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any steps have been taken to secure the release of the prisoners who had been taken from East Griqualand and imprisoned at Cape Town?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Having considered the representations which have been made to me of the length of time for which the East Griquas had been detained as prisoners at Cape Town, I wrote on Thursday to Sir Bartle Frere, requesting him to bring the subject before his Ministers, and suggesting that they should consider whether the time might not now have arrived when these men, with the exception, perhaps, of the ringleaders, might be allowed to return to their homes. Of course, the matter is one for the decision of the Cape Government, who are much better acquainted than I am with the present condition of the district in question, in which the duty of maintaining order falls upon the Colonial Forces.

#### NAVY—REPORTED ORDERING OF THE FLEET TO BESIKA BAY.

##### QUESTION.

MR. E. JENKINS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true that the Fleet has been ordered to Besika Bay; and, if so, for what purpose?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Will the hon. Gentleman please give Notice of the Question?

#### PARLIAMENT—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

##### QUESTIONS.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA asked, Whether the Banking Bill would be taken to-night?

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*

MR. DILLWYN said, he would like to know what Business would be taken to-morrow? At the same time, he suggested that the Paper might be cleared by the discharge of some more Orders.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not think it was necessary to clear the Paper at present. As to the Banking Bill, he hoped the House would to-night let Mr. Speaker leave the Chair, and he would undertake not to proceed further. To-morrow they would take the Irish University Bill at the Morning Sitting, and, if necessary, also at the Evening Sitting. If time permitted, Supply would also be proceeded with.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH remarked, that he did not intend to proceed with the clauses in the Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) Bill, which related to the election of Guardians.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, having regard to the lateness of the Session, he would not now consent to drop the portion of the Public Works Loans Bill which had given rise to so much opposition?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that as soon as he could find time he proposed to proceed with the Public Works Loans Bill. He could not, he might add, consent to drop any portion of the Bill before the decision of the House had been taken upon it.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### AFGHAN WAR—VOTE OF THANKS TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA AND TO THE MILITARY FORCES.

##### RESOLUTIONS.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I rise to move that the Thanks of the House be given to those distinguished persons and those gallant Forces who have been employed in the recent operations in Afghanistan. I must, at the outset, request permission to supply an accidental omission in the first Resolution as it stands on the Paper—an omission which would suggest itself to every person as an accidental one. I mean that the name of the gallant and distinguished Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Frederick Haines, has been omitted. I intend to move—

1. "That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan.
2. "That the Thanks of this House be given to—  
Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C.;  
Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.;  
Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.;  
and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign:
3. "That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour:
4. "That the said Resolutions be transmitted by Mr. Speaker to the Viceroy and Governor General of India; and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein."

MAJOR O'GORMAN: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the words inserted now by the Chancellor of the Exchequer are to be considered as an Amendment, or whether it is part of the original Motion?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I apprehend, Sir, I am in Order in making my proposition to the House. If not, you can put me in Order by correcting me. Now, Sir, I am sure I need say very few words to recommend this Motion to the House. Parliament has never been slow to acknowledge the services of those who have been employed in the field, and who have been employed in sustaining the honour of the British arms. And I may say, also, that the soldiers of England have never been slow on their side to show themselves worthy of the acknowledgment which Parliament has always been ready to make to them. I believe that there is but one spirit which animates all, whether they be Europeans or soldiers of

the Native Princes, who follow the standard of Her Majesty, and that is the spirit which arises from the conviction that the honour of the Empire is in a special sense committed to their hands, and that the eyes of this great country are upon them in the discharge of their duties and in the perils they have to encounter. And I venture to say there has never been any occasion in the military history of this country in which that spirit has been better or more truly shown than in the short campaign in Afghanistan. It has been short; but it has been a highly creditable campaign to all who have been concerned—from those who have organized the preparations which led to this complete and rapid success to those who have been ready to undergo all the hardships which were imposed upon them and to face any dangers which they might be called upon to encounter. I need not, I am sure, detain the House by giving any lengthened account of the operations of that campaign. They were followed by us all with an interest which never flagged from the beginning to the end. We all remember the first operations. We know that there were many who felt, or appeared to feel, that we were undertaking a work of great risk, and one which it would tax all the energies of this country to accomplish. I do not know that the risks which were then spoken of were at all exaggerated. The difficulties of the country, the difficulties of the season, the valour of the enemy; all these matters were put before us in a manner which, undoubtedly, was not exaggerated. The only thing which, perhaps, was not overrated, was the skill and the resolution and the perseverance which were shown by those to whom was committed the task of overcoming and subduing these difficulties. Perhaps it is the case that in enterprises of this kind the task appears larger to those who are at a distance than to those who have to encounter it, and whose spirit rises to the task before them. Afterwards, perhaps, a contrary feeling comes on, and some of those at a distance begin to underrate the services which have been rendered, and which appear to be less because they have been rendered with such complete success, which is not altogether just to those who have been employed in the undertaking. I remember well, before we undertook

this campaign, there were some competent critics, not only in this country, but in other countries also, who thought it quite impossible for us, at so short a notice, and at such a season of the year, to accomplish the objects we had in view in a single campaign. It was thought we might make preparations, but that an actual advance must be delayed till the spring. But the Indian authorities felt, and felt rightly, that promptitude in the attack, and a complete and an immediate advance, was at least as important, perhaps, and even more important, than the ultimate success itself, and so perfect were the preparations made, and so complete were the plans, that on the very day when the time allowed to the Ameer for an answer to our demands expired, orders were sent to the three great divisions which were to attack the country from the three points converging on the capital; and at daybreak on the morning following those orders the three divisions of the Army entered the enemy's country. There was the division of Sir Samuel Browne, which advanced at once on the morning of the 21st November—advanced at once into the dreaded Khyber Pass and attacked the fortress of Ali Musjid. On the morning of the 22nd that fortress had been evacuated by its defenders and put in possession of Her Majesty's troops, and within three days more, on the morning of the 24th, Sir Samuel Browne and his troops were in possession of the Pass from end to end, and in occupation of the fortress of Dakka. The whole of that important work was done in three days, and the position carried, which placed the Khyber Pass, for once and for all, at the command of the British. On the same day another Force, under the command of that gallant officer, General Roberts, advanced and drove the enemy through the Kurrum Valley, and they retreated on the strong and well-defended position of the Peiwar Khotal. I think it was about the end of November when General Roberts prepared to attack the position of the Peiwar Khotal. We all remember the brilliant accounts we received of that action—the night marches of the gallant Highlanders, the Goorkhas emulating one another who should be first on the steep; how they gallantly scaled the stockades, and carried them at the point of the bayonet, after a gallant resistance; how

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

the mountain guns were served under Captain Kelso, who fell on that occasion; and how, under the command of General Roberts himself, at last the position was carried, and the British troops were in possession of that difficult and well-defended fortress. Within a few days afterwards—I think it was the 8th December—the Force advanced further, and General Roberts, with his Force, found himself on the top of the Shutargardan Pass, 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, and in complete command of the roads to the capital of Cabul. It is natural that our minds should be more excited by exploits of this kind than by the less exciting, but at the same time equally creditable, advance that was made by the third column, under General Biddulph and General Stewart. The advance by that Force, which had marched 500 miles encumbered with a large quantity of stores, which had to advance at an inclement period of the year and in a country very imperfectly known, and prepared at every moment to receive an attack of foes on front, flank, or rear, no matter from what quarter it might come—the advance of that Force so encumbered and so threatened, at such a time of the year, without any serious casualty, without any serious loss, is, I think, one of the most creditable of military acts, and it is to the completeness of the services rendered by this part of the Force, as by other parts, that the success of the campaign is owing. I ought also to mention those who took part subsequently in support of the advance. General Maude's was another portion of the Force who had to support the advance through the Shutargardan Pass, and rendered the greatest possible service in maintaining the communications in the Pass and in keeping quiet the Tribes in the disturbed district; and the effect of those operations have been that they have impressed on the people of the country in which the operations were carried on a sense of the power, of the firmness, of the readiness, and, at the same time, of the justice and good behaviour of the British troops who had been employed there. I ought not to pass from this subject without referring to one more class of men to whom the Thanks of the House must be given. I refer to all those Native officers and soldiers who took so distinguished a part

in the whole of the campaign, including not only those who are in the service of Her Majesty, but of others who had tendered their services to the Empire—namely, the independent Princes of India. One feeling animated them all. I believe that the fact of men like the Sikhs, the Goorkhas, and British troops serving together, will have a good effect for many years to come. I have already expressed my regret that the name of Sir Frederick Haines was omitted in the first draught of the Resolutions, and, undoubtedly, the Commander-in-Chief in India ought to have a full share of the acknowledgments to those who organized the campaign. I ought also to mention the Adjutant General and the Quartermaster General as those who have taken a great part in the preparations. I have very rapidly, very briefly, and, I know, very imperfectly, attempted to sketch to the House what appear to be the leading features in these operations. I feel it is impossible for anyone—certainly, it is impossible for me—to do justice to such a subject as the gallantry of our troops and the success of our expedition; but I feel sure that, simple as the account is which I have been able to give, it is one which will sufficiently justify the Vote which I am about to ask the House to pass. The very speediness, the very rapidity of the movements, have to some extent, perhaps, obscured and diminished the interest in the campaign; but, at the same time, we cannot, I think, too highly appreciate the value of that rapidity and of that speediness. It has had more than one advantage. Not only has it shown what the strength of the British Empire is in India, but the readiness with which we can put forth our strength. It has also had the effect of diminishing greatly the suffering and privation of our own troops; it has had the effect of diminishing the drain on our resources and the loss of life; and it has had an effect also, which I think we can hardly overrate, of diminishing also the sufferings of those against whom we were conducting our operations. This, at least, we shall be able to say—that we have carried through this campaign against those who were lately our enemies, but who are, we trust, now and henceforth our friends, in a manner which ought to leave the least possible sting behind it. We have done nothing

to humiliate the brave people against whom we fought. They have been overcome by a display of overwhelming power, and they have been overcome without any faltering on their part, and without any derogation of the high character for valour they have undoubtedly earned. They have been overcome by superior power, to which they can feel it no disgrace to have to submit; and I trust and believe that the feelings which will remain among the people of Afghanistan will be feelings such as will in no way interfere with their proper relations with the Government of India, and that neither we nor they shall have cause to regret the campaign. I beg, Sir, to move the first of the Resolutions which I have placed in your hands.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander in Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, there has been great difference amongst us in this House as to the policy which led to this war. It is probable there may yet be differences amongst us as to the results which have been obtained by the war, and even as to the manner in which, in some respects, the war has been conducted; but I am sure there will be no difference in any part of this House on at least one point—there will be no desire to grudge the officers and soldiers who have been engaged in the war the thanks which are due for the manner in which it has been conducted so far as they are concerned. The events of the war have been admirably and briefly described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and I may say we must all feel, if this has not been a war in which it has been possible for the Army to earn so much military honour as in some wars we can recall, yet, nevertheless, it has been one which has called forth some of the highest qualities which are required in the soldier—patience, perseverance, and endurance, even if it should have been the case that the enemy we have had to encounter has been less formidable than

was originally anticipated. But it appears to me there are two things which are essentially desirable on occasions of this kind. It is extremely desirable, in the first place, that there should be absolute unanimity on the part of the House; and it is desirable, in the next place, that there should be a substantial expression of the opinion of the House, and that it should not be reduced, or be liable to be reduced, in any way to a mere matter of form. I cannot but think that the mode in which this Vote is now proposed is not the best calculated to attain either of those ends. I am not going to blame the Government for the course they have taken on this subject; but I do think it would have been a proper subject of consideration whether the Indian precedents ought to be so strictly followed, and whether it was desirable, on a Motion of this kind, to mix up the Vote of Thanks to the officers and soldiers, which nobody can grudge, with a Vote of Thanks to the Governor General of India, which, to say the least of it, introduces more debatable and disputable matter. As far as I have been able to examine the precedents, none of the most recent are entirely satisfactory. In 1840, a Vote of Thanks was moved to the Army engaged in the first Afghan War, and the proposal was in precisely the same form as has been adopted on the present occasion. But, upon that occasion, Sir Robert Peel, who was then the Leader of the Opposition, said that—

“No difference of political opinion could for a moment induce any political party to withhold the expression of their satisfaction at the success of the British Army and their admiration of the valour and perseverance by which that success had been achieved.”

Sir Robert Peel added that he reserved his opinion on the policy, on the conduct of the war, and on its results; he said he should like to see the Bill before he pronounced an opinion upon the advantages to be derived from it. But Sir Robert Peel had not expected that the Vote was to include Thanks to the Governor General, for he had grave doubts as to the policy of including civil officers, whatever their merits, in the expression of a gratitude which had reference to military operations alone. On the occasion of Thanks being voted to the Army at the close of the Indian Mutiny, in 1858, the risk of a difference

of opinion, in a case where there ought to have been, if possible, absolute unanimity, was still greater. Lord Palmerston proposed a Vote of Thanks in the same form in which it had been proposed in 1840; and, upon that occasion, Mr. Disraeli, the then Leader of the Opposition, having asked Lord Palmerston to postpone the first Resolution, which Lord Palmerston refused to do, actually moved the Previous Question upon the whole of the Resolutions. The Motion was not, it is true, pressed to a Division; but it led to a considerable debate, in the course of which a very severe—I may almost say a bitter—attack was made by Mr. Disraeli and other speakers upon Lord Canning, the then Governor General, and upon the policy of his Government. I am not going, on this occasion, to follow the example of Lord Beaconsfield, although he has been on so many occasions held up to our admiration as the very model of a patriotic Leader of Opposition. I do not intend to move the Previous Question on this Resolution, and I certainly do not intend to take this opportunity of making an attack on the policy of Lord Lytton; but I think that one or two observations of the Leader of the then Opposition may be appropriately quoted on the present occasion. Mr. Disraeli said—

“When I am told, if I make any observation on the manner in which these Votes have been brought forward, that it is the usual form and the usual precedent to name in the same Votes persons whose actions are of far different degrees of excellence, I will say that we should beware that we do not make our votes mere votes of form, because, without honouring those who receive them undeservedly, we shall destroy the distinction to those who have been prepared to give their lives in order to obtain it.”—[3 *Hansard*, cxlviii. 883-4.]

Further on, Mr. Disraeli said—

“There are passages in the conduct of Lord Canning which require great explanation and a vindication which I have not yet heard. I am not prepared to say that a satisfactory explanation cannot be given, or that a triumphant defence may not be made; but I am prepared to say that we ought not to vote these thanks, and Lord Canning ought not to deign to accept them, until we have arrived at the clear conviction that his services are entitled to our approbation.”—[*Ibid.* 884.]

And, again, Mr. Disraeli said—

“Do not let the mail go out and tell him—‘Well, we have smuggled a Vote of Thanks to you through Parliament.’ Will that reward him, and will that sustain him in his labours? Will that add to his moral influence in Calcutta?”

*The Marquess of Hartington*



No! There is not an hon. Gentleman in this House but must feel that a Vote of Thanks under these circumstances is worse than nothing. It excites the passions of party, and, instead of Lord Canning being held forth as a statesman who has deserved well of his country, an impression will go about that he is used as a stalking-horse, and that for factional purposes the Vote has been bestowed."—[*Ibid.* 888.]

It may be said that this Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton and the Government of India does not deal in any way with the question of the policy of the war. That is perfectly true. If it were otherwise, I should not feel justified in confining myself to these observations; but I should think it necessary to challenge the Vote. But I may say it is extremely desirable on this occasion that these Votes should be passed, not as a mere matter of form. I must call the attention of the House to the fact that we have not before us any information which would enable us to pass this Vote of Thanks to the Government of India otherwise than as a matter of form. Indeed, I think, as a matter of justice towards all those who have been in command of the troops, it would have been desirable that this Vote should have been postponed until the House was in possession of some fuller information than any before it respecting the actual character of the services rendered by the Governor General. The accounts we have had in the newspapers and the despatches published in *The Gazette*, coupled with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, justify us in giving any thanks in our power to the Military Forces that have taken part in the campaign; but, from the same sources of information, we cannot help being aware that, as to the conduct of the campaign by the Indian Government, there has not been the same unanimity of opinion. I do not say whether things that have been said can be proved or not; probably, there may be a good defence; but it certainly was currently rumoured at the commencement of the war that Lord Lytton had been restrained by the strongest remonstrances on the part of the military authorities from precipitating military operations before adequate preparations had been made. We have been told, further, that the commissariat and transport arrangements have left a great deal to be desired, that the defects in transport have involved enormous loss, and that the cost of transport was

so enormous at one time as to all but render it necessary to suspend military operations. There may be an answer to all this; but, certainly, we have not in the official Papers any information which would justify us in agreeing to the Vote of Thanks. If we are asked to pass a Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton and the Government of India for the way in which the resources of India have been applied to the furtherance of this war, we can only do it as a mere matter of form, and it will not be a Vote of Thanks which can convey any very substantial gratification to Lord Lytton. It is but a short time ago since we have heard of the arrangements made for the return of the troops, and those arrangements seem to have been far from perfect, and very unsatisfactory—some of them, it appears, had suffered very severely in their march across the plains in hot weather. Now, I cannot help thinking that some explanations ought to have been given to us upon this point, before we are called upon to assent to a Vote of Thanks to the Government of India. As regards the military authorities and the troops, I can subscribe heartily to any Vote of Thanks which may be proposed; but I must express my regret that matter of so debatable a character as the conduct of Lord Lytton should have been mixed up with it. I must, therefore, record my protest that, in passing a Vote in this shape, it is merely as a matter of form, and that we are not to be precluded in the slightest degree from calling attention, if we should see fit, to the policy of the war itself, and to the manner in which it has been conducted. I trust, notwithstanding the unfortunate precedent, as I consider, that has been followed on the present occasion, this Vote may be carried unanimously. I am sure that, as far as the military authorities and the troops are concerned, it will be passed, not only unanimously, but very heartily, by every Member in this House.

MAJOR O'GORMAN: Sir, I feel quite convinced that this Vote of Thanks would have been carried unanimously in this House if the name of Lord Lytton had been omitted. I am of opinion that Lord Lytton's conduct has been far from praiseworthy. Like Sir Bartle Frere, he has entered upon a most unnecessary, most sanguinary, and most pitiless war. He has mismanaged the resources of

India, and plunged that country and this country also into debt. I beg, therefore, to move, as an Amendment, that the words conveying the Thanks of this House to Lord Lytton, Governor General of India, be omitted from the Resolution.

MR. O'DONNELL: Sir, I beg leave to second the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford. It is quite true that much of what was contained in the speech of the noble Lord was of a nature to inspire some doubts as to the propriety of dividing against a Vote of this kind, and if I did not see that some further steps must be taken in order to prevent bad precedents being made I should have taken the advice of the noble Lord, and not have proceeded further against the Vote before the House; but I find that repeated protests, which in former years have been raised in the House to Votes of Thanks of this indiscriminate description, have been of no avail, and I see on these occasions that the protest has not been followed by a Division. Therefore, I think it will be necessary to take steps to mark the opinion of at least a section of the House, and show that the introduction of such a very debatable matter as the conduct of Lord Lytton in a Resolution of Thanks to our Military Forces in India is not unanimously viewed with favour. I believe that Lord Lytton did not act with judgment, and not with much ability, in respect to the war in Afghanistan. I believe he hurried on the war unnecessarily, and I believe he has concluded that war without honour or credit to this country, and without additional security to India. I will not say more on the point with regard to Lord Lytton than to express my conviction that the war has alienated from us the Border population, which ordinary calmness and honesty would have conciliated. I believe the policy of Lord Lytton has immensely increased the danger of our Indian Empire. I believe Lord Lytton is not the originator—it may be doubted whether he originated anything of importance during his administration of India—but he supported a policy of directly provoking and challenging the Russian Empire. I am convinced at this moment that the war in Afghanistan has caused Russia to take steps in the neighbourhood of our Indian Frontier, for which the House

of Commons, at no distant day, will have to note a heavy increase in the taxation of the country. I am satisfied you have made no friends in Afghanistan by your movement, and I doubt very much whether the war has been conducted according to the strict usages of civilized warfare. I believe, for every clansman we have gained over by a miserable system of subsidy and bribe, we have alienated tens of thousands. There is a piece of good advice, "Don't prophesy unless you know;" but the manner in which the Vote has been brought on and hastened forward prevents us from voting upon facts, except such as we can gather from the reliable but still unofficial accounts of the newspapers. If Her Majesty's Government had chosen to have the conduct of the authorities and troops decided by this House in full possession of the facts, they would not have brought on their Vote just previous to another important discussion upon another department of Government blundering and maladministration—the war in South Africa. I cannot speak with certainty of the motives of Her Majesty's Government; but I think the position the Ministry have taken up is highly calculated to provoke the suspicion that the Government wish to have the public attention occupied with the thought of the glory of the Afghan campaign, and the Vote of Thanks to our heroic soldiers will serve as a foil to cover the undisguisable blunders of the Government in South Africa. In conclusion, I have great pleasure in seconding the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford, which, as far as I am concerned, I will press to a Division.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out the words "to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, and."—(*Major O'Gorman.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he was very much impressed with the speech of the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition. The noble Lord had made out a most convincing case against the desirability of passing this Resolution. He was still more impressed by the quotations the noble Lord had made, which were most apposite and

*Major O'Gorman*

telling, especially the one showing that the present Prime Minister, on a similar occasion, moved the Previous Question rather than allow a similar Vote to be passed. The noble Lord was perfectly right when he said that, without unanimity, such a Vote would lose all its charms. On one point they were unanimous—namely, in thankfulness that this war was over; but, to say the least of it, the present Vote of Thanks was, in his opinion, premature. It had been brought forward so hastily that the Government had omitted from the Resolution the name of one of the most important actors in this war; and it was only on second thoughts that the Chancellor of the Exchequer put in the name of Sir Frederick Haines, the Commander-in-Chief in India. Then, as the noble Lord said, we had not yet received the most important despatch about the close of the war, telling how the thing was wound up; therefore, these were sufficient reasons for postponing the Vote. But he went further. This war was not like other wars in which Votes of Thanks had been passed by Parliament to those who carried them out. In the case of great wars, the nation was virtually unanimous in favour of them. It was so in the Crimean War, although a very small minority in the country was opposed to it, who were right, as minorities generally were. Since then we had had the Abyssinian War and the War on the Gold Coast. Though the policy of those wars was objected to by some, there was no organized opposition, and the wars might be said to have been carried on by the will of the nation. But that was not the case with respect to the Afghan War. Some months ago a great Division in the House of Commons was taken on that question; and though the Government were supported by a majority of 328, there was a large and influential minority, numbering 227, opposed to the policy of the war. It was not, therefore, a national war. What were the causes of the war? None of the reasons assigned in justification of the war had been satisfactory to him. The Prime Minister said it was undertaken to get a scientific Frontier. That was robbery of our neighbour. The reason given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was because the Afghans refused to receive a Mission of friendship sent by England. That meant a war of revenge. A third

reason was given by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Sunderland (Sir Henry Havelock), who, in a speech at Leeds, said that the war would be very useful in promoting Baptist Missions. His (Sir Wilfrid Lawson's) version was that the Government wanted to fight the Russians, but were afraid, so they went to fight the Afghans. If the question of policy had been distinctly raised by the Motion, he should have voted against it; but this might be considered invidious to the soldiers engaged, whose only duty was to obey—

“Not theirs to reason why,  
Theirs but to do or die.”

They had done their duty gallantly, and were in no way responsible for the injustice of the war itself. If the war were a crime against morality and justice, as he believed it to be, it was the House of Commons and not the soldiers who were to blame for it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said they had all followed the Afghan campaign with the deepest interest. He was sure they did; and he himself had followed it with horror, week after week, reading of the burning of the villages of innocent people, and of the slaughter of men, who, as compared with English troops, were almost defenceless. He wanted to know why these special Votes of Thanks were given only to one class of the community—namely, the soldiers. He admitted that the soldiers did their duty; but did not other people do their duty who were not rewarded by the Thanks of Parliament? It was said that war, in which great armies were engaged, was intended to promote peace; but did not other people promote peace in a more humane and rational way? A year ago there was a Conference in Berlin which was attended by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. They exerted themselves greatly—it was said that they made superhuman efforts to bring about peace. Well, they came home to Charing Cross, which was well filled with people, as was also the square adjoining, and they brought home—“Peace with Honour.” They were much praised by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he was pleased that the country had not to fight. But why were not the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament proposed to Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury? Take another case. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took

one of the most honourable steps that he ever took during his laudable and distinguished career when he went to America to settle a quarrel, not by fighting, but by the Christian and rational method of arbitration. Had anyone moved a Vote of Thanks to the right hon. Gentleman? No one would have seconded it with greater pleasure than he would; but no such Vote was moved. For his part, he believed that no Vote of Thanks ought to be given except for distinguished services in the field; but he was informed by military men that no great skill had been displayed in these operations, and no great opportunity offered for the display of distinguished valour. That, he admitted, was not the fault of the soldiers, but rather of the circumstances; the soldiers would have shown their accustomed gallantry if the occasion offered. With regard to distinguished services in the field, he found that in what was described by an officer as "one of the most gallant episodes in cavalry warfare ever seen," in the fight at Mhoutan 20 bodies of the enemy were found dead, while our loss out of 2,000 men was two! When that was claimed as a glorious victory he could not help thinking that they were playing a little with the credulity of the public. The fights which took place were not great and glorious battles. They were nothing more nor less than massacres. Overwhelming numbers of trained soldiers were brought against Natives who might, in comparison with the equipment of our Forces, be said to be unarmed. That was not his idea of glory, if any fighting could be said to be glorious. It was, in fact, a second-class war, and it was not worthy of the House to pass a Vote of Thanks for such proceedings. He agreed with the noble Lord that it was a formal Vote; but it was dangerous to pass such formal Votes. If they passed Votes of Thanks in respect of those miserable wars, what were they to do in the case of really great wars? And if the present Government remained long enough in power they would, no doubt, fight Russia, and Prussia, and Austria, and all Europe, probably. Such Votes tended to lower the tone of public life, and he objected to them entirely. He would not, however, vote a negative, because that would seem to be invidious to the soldiers to whom he wished to do, and had done justice; but when the Amendment now before the House was disposed

of, he would, in order to show his opinion of these formal Votes for services too insignificant to justify the Thanks of Parliament, take the liberty of following the example of the Prime Minister on a former occasion by moving the Previous Question.

MR. ONSLOW was sure that every hon. Member who heard the speech of the hon. Baronet would agree with him that full justice ought to be done to the gallant soldiers who had fought the battles of their country. He could not but regret, however, that that speech had been made; because it would, he feared, create an impression in India which would not be conducive to the interests of that great Empire. He had hoped, notwithstanding the words which fell from the noble Lord opposite, that this Vote would not have been a merely formal Vote, but would have come from the bottom of their hearts to express their gratitude to the Viceroy, to the General Commanding-in-Chief, and to every officer and soldier who took part in the campaign. The noble Lord told the House that he did not wish to divide on the question, but that he would agree to the Vote as a matter of form. He thought that was a very poor reason indeed to give the House for such a step; and he believed that if the noble Lord had moved a direct negative to the question he would have met with a more crushing defeat than any he had yet sustained. That, he could not help thinking, was the reason the noble Lord had not moved a negative to the Motion. The conduct of Lord Lytton had been reviewed. Well, that was not the time to discuss the policy of the war, nor was that question involved in the Vote. They were only asked to thank Lord Lytton for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India had been applied for the military operations in Afghanistan. He regretted very much that the question of policy should have been introduced into the discussion. He held that the war was, in every respect, just and necessary; and, had it not been for that war, the belief that we were in fear of Russia would have grown to an enormous extent. The people of India now knew that, should the occasion arise, they need not fear Russia or any other country, and that we were determined to defend her against all comers. Allusion had been made to the conduct of

*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*

the men and officers of Her Majesty's Army, and he thought that they ought to congratulate the Native Army in India for the noble and admirable way in which they had acted with the English troops. He could not help admiring the noble way in which the Guide Corps had behaved, and the manner in which the Goorkhas and the Rifle Brigade had acted in concert. He believed that enormous good had been done for India, by showing that when once the strength of this country came forward they had nothing to fear. He trusted that no Division would be taken upon the question before the House, as it would be a bad thing if it were to go forth to the people of India that any doubt was entertained of the use of a campaign which had been such a great and glorious success.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN, in supporting the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman), said, he had, on former occasions, supported the Government, because he believed they were determined to oppose Russian aggression in Europe. The Government, however, instead of doing that, had created this Afghan cloud, under which they might retreat from the tall language used to Russia in reference to the action of Russia in Europe. He was quite ready to acknowledge that the troops sent to Afghanistan had done their duty, and had behaved as every British soldier would have behaved under similar circumstances. The soldier had done his duty; but it was quite another thing to know how the Vote of Thanks would be received by the people of Afghanistan. No doubt, General Roberts had acted gallantly; but was there really anything for which a Vote of Thanks should be passed? If they gave thanks to those to whom thanks were due, they ought to have given them to Major Cavagnari for buying the Afridis in the Khyber Pass. Looking to our achievements in the past, he did not, while admiring the gallantry of our troops, think this war was of such a nature as to justify a step which ought only to be taken in great emergencies. However, as he did not desire for a moment to cast a reflection upon the British soldier, he would not oppose the Vote of Thanks if the Government thought it right. At the same time, he thought it would be a sorry compliment to pass such a Vote under

circumstances which did not indisputably warrant it.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT pointed out that, altogether independent of the question of policy, the soldier must be regarded as a man who was not absolutely a free man. He was obliged to obey orders, and it might occur that those orders were of a character which compelled him to go to war in a cause which he could not conscientiously support. But when they came to the Governor General of India (Lord Lytton), a totally different condition of affairs was presented. The Viceroy was a voluntary agent, and he was not obliged to enter into this Afghan War. He could have taken any course he pleased to prevent it, and, believing that the war was indefensible, he could not join in a Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton. He failed utterly to see why the campaign was started, and on what ground it could be supported. It was begun in the dark, and he did not think that any act of any Governor General in his recollection was ever more criminal than the act which commenced this war without the knowledge of Parliament and the country. They had no Papers; they were kept for months without information, and yet information was constantly demanded, and he suspected that Lord Lytton was in the conspiracy which led to the war. That had always been his feeling. Lord Lytton was a party to these dark transactions, and it was, therefore, impossible for him to join in this Vote. He should certainly vote for the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman); and after that, if the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) moved the Previous Question, he should go into the Lobby with him.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he did not see that any question of policy was involved in the Resolution, which was simply a Vote of Thanks for military services performed. When hon. Members spoke so lightly of a campaign in Afghanistan he must remind them that on one occasion, within the memory of many living men, a British Force was totally annihilated in the fields of these recent operations, and that this had been, in a great measure, the result of the Governor General, and his Council in India, of that day having undervalued the enmity and power of the Afghans. Their expeditionary Force was, in conse-

quence, utterly annihilated. He had no wish, however, to exaggerate the importance of the recent war, or enter upon a discussion of its policy; but this he would say—that if the House was to notice these minor wars in the manner now proposed, it was well to acknowledge the good service done and the success achieved in a field which had once witnessed the destruction of a British Army. With regard to Lord Lytton, the Resolution praised him for the preparations he had made, and for the arrangements he had carried out to support the Military Force which was to give effect to the verdict of this House. Although many hon. Members might have differed with regard to the policy of this war, they should bear in mind that it had been sanctioned by the House. Knowing, then, that our troops had done all that was required of them, that they had been adequately supported by the Civil Government, and that there had been no repetition of a disaster, which filled one of the darkest pages in Anglo-Indian history, he, for one, was prepared to support a Vote of Thanks to those who had carried out the decision of that House.

MR. ANDERSON said, the Motion, as presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, fell flat upon the House. It had received but meagre signs of support from the Conservative side, and these were indications quite as much as the speech of the noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington) that the Motion was most inappropriate. He quite agreed with the noble Lord, and he only regretted that the noble Lord, after such a speech, did not follow it up by the conclusion to which it naturally led. He ought to have followed the example of the Prime Minister on a previous occasion, and to have moved the Previous Question, and in that case the House would have had a decision upon what was the best line to take on the Motion. Now, what were the facts? The House were asked to vote the Thanks of Parliament for the wretched, miserable raid that was called a great war. If they did so, they would simply degrade the Thanks of Parliament, and take away the good of it for future great events. If they gave the Thanks of Parliament formally for every twopenny-halfpenny engagement, they would not only do a thing which was wrong in itself, but also which would

entail evil consequences hereafter. Our Armies would not care a farthing for the Thanks of Parliament if they were given under such circumstances as these. We gathered an enormous Force on the Frontier of Afghanistan with which we were at peace. We marched into that country, and we engaged in a greedy and aggressive war for no earthly reason except that we wanted to get a scientific Frontier by robbing that State. We found the Ruler of Afghanistan unprepared. He had no Armies and armaments to meet us. The consequence was that he fled and died in exile. Then his son became Ameer, and as he had no Army he was obliged to give in. There was the whole affair. We marched through the Khyber Pass; but how did we do it? We sent Major Cavagnari on beforehand to subsidize the Natives in order to prevent their fighting us; and so we got through the wretched business. Because we were angry with Russia and did not dare to fight her, we made a scapegoat of poor Afghanistan and demolished the wretched Ameer. He was told the war was not particularly well carried on either, and there were many mistakes made. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had given the House a sketch of what he called the leading features; but the right hon. Gentleman took care not to tell them of some other deeds of Major General Roberts. The right hon. Gentleman was most cautiously silent on that subject; and yet the House had in a Paper before them Major General Robert's admissions of having done actions which were altogether unworthy of a British soldier. He carried on his operations in the Khost Valley with the barbarism of an uncivilized people, and not according to the usages of modern warfare at all. He (Mr. Anderson) would pay General Roberts one compliment. He had been straightforward and truthful in acknowledging all his misdeeds. He was charged by the correspondent of *The Standard* with having carried fire and sword into peaceful villages, and he admitted the truthfulness of the statement, and then attempted to justify his proceedings. He (Mr. Anderson) had read both the charge and the justification, and he must say that it did not impress him as being a justification at all. General Roberts said the charge against him was the giving up of unarmed villages to be looted and burnt, and that

*Mr. Newdegate*

was correct. He said the exact number of villages was 11, and that severe punishment was both deserved and necessary. His reason was as follows:—There were a large number of Mangals assembled. They did not belong to the Khost Valley at all, and they were harbouring in these villages. The fact was that the Mangals were armed, and the villagers could not help harbouring them; and yet General Roberts sent word that if his camp were attacked summary and severe retribution would be exacted from all who had given admittance to the Mangals or other persons. Then he received information that a considerable number of Mangals had gone into these villages, and then he considered it necessary to put into execution "my threat of summary and severe retribution." To use his own words—

"The warning given on the previous evening had been completely disregarded. Camp followers had been murdered and camels carried off, and I therefore gave orders that certain villages, which had harboured Mangals, and from which hostile shots had been fired, should be plundered and burnt."

He (Mr. Anderson) would not ask the House to go through the Papers, but just to consider those simple admissions. Suppose the German Army, when it was marching through France, had sent round to all the peaceable villages to say that any one of them where a French soldier was seen would be given up to fire and sword, what would have been said about it in this country? It would have aroused the execrations of all England, and Members of this House would not have been able to find words strong enough to denounce such conduct; and yet that was precisely the conduct of Major General Roberts towards the peaceful villages of Afghanistan, and which he adopted, too, after the Proclamation in which the Governor General announced to the people of Afghanistan that he had no quarrel whatever with them, and that his quarrel was solely with the Ruler of the country. The Ruler having been driven into exile, General Roberts set out to murder and slaughter the innocent people. Looking at these and other circumstances he could not even agree that the war had been carried on in a mode which deserved the Thanks of the country. Nor did he think the war was in itself of a character sufficiently great or important to warrant these Thanks; and if

the Thanks went in a divided way they lost all their grace, and the blame of that rested upon those who had introduced this Vote in so inappropriate a manner.

GENERAL SHUTE denied the statement of the hon. Member for Glasgow that there was no enthusiasm on that side of the House in reference to this Motion, and added that he was surprised to hear the bloodthirsty speeches which had been made by hon. Members opposite, many of whom were generally credited with a desire to promote peace at any price. Those hon. Members seemed to think the Army ought not to be thanked because there had not been a tremendous scene of butchery. He, on the other hand, thought they were pre-eminently worthy of praise, because, by their well-conceived strategy and brilliant tactics, they had brought about splendid military results with comparatively little loss of life on our side. His own opinion was that they would have been even more deserving of a Vote of Thanks if they had not lost a single man. The campaign had been carried on and completed without one misfortune, though war was a game that could rarely be played by even the best of players without occasional errors; and although no great action had been fought they had achieved great results with very little sacrifice of life, which well deserved the thanks of every Member of the House.

MR. E. JENKINS observed, that the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton (General Shute) had represented the complaint of the Opposition to be that there was no butcher's bill. What they complained of was that there was no butcher's bill on our side, whilst the butcher's bill on the other side was very considerable. He believed that whenever Englishmen found foemen worthy of their steel there was a butcher's bill on both sides. But our troops had swept through the Passes of Afghanistan without any considerable loss, except in fording rivers and from other avoidable causes which were owing to the incapacity of the Military Staff, and the whole of the proceedings were not worth the Thanks proposed to be given. Hon. Members were placed in a difficult position on the Vote, which had been proposed with no enthusiasm by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was greeted with very few cheers by the House, whilst the speech of the noble Lord was

a most extraordinary mode of seconding a proposition of the Government. [An hon. MEMBER: He did not second it.] He was told the noble Lord did not second the Motion. Then, he would say that the noble Lord would have acted a more candid and more manly part, if he had proposed a direct Vote against it. What was the position in which the House was placed? What was the object of the Government? He ventured to say the object of the Government would not be attained by these proceedings. They were trying their old advertising dodge. Ever since an opportunity offered for histrionic purposes in Europe and Asia the Government had carefully gone in for an advertising business. It was a Governmental "Willing & Co." In every part of the world England was advertised as willing to fight anyone who liked to come on. But when it came to the push it was found that we dared to fight only the little ones. The hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was perfectly right, and there was not a shadow of doubt that the war was originated in India by Lord Lytton, who was the representative of a small Imperial clique, and who was sent there for the purpose of ending the mistake they had made in Europe, and the defeat they had suffered at the hands of Russian diplomacy; and now, after the war had been carried on, the House of Commons was asked to vote Thanks to those who had been the tools of the policy of the Government in this matter. He wanted to know what capacity had Lord Lytton shown? His Lordship had a brilliant imagination, and was ready to be the tool of this Imperial clique; but, even as far as the conduct of this war was concerned, he deserved no Thanks. At any rate, he did not deserve them from those who felt that the war was an infamous thing, and was simply undertaken by the Government for the purpose of hiding the confusion into which they were thrown by their European policy. He could not support the Government in proposing a Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton, and he should certainly follow both hon. Members (Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Major O'Gorman) into the Lobby in support of their Amendments.

MR. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN supported the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He should not have done so if his taking that course could be regarded as implying approval on his

part of the policy of the war; but he did not see how it could be viewed in that light. And when hon. Gentlemen said they were going to vote against that Motion on account of the policy of the war, the effect could only be to give rise to a belief that the immense majority by which the Motion would be carried expressed approval of the policy against which they protested. For his own part, he separated entirely the policy of the war from the Vote of Thanks proposed by Her Majesty's Government. The House had not before it sufficient information, or Papers enough, to enable it to form a judgment on the conduct of Lord Lytton with respect to the Afghan War; but they must take it upon the authority of the Government that a certain policy having been determined upon, with regard to which they were not now called upon to pronounce an opinion, he had employed the resources of India vigorously to carry out that policy, and for this he was to be included in the Vote of Thanks. If, on the other hand, they refused so to include him, the position in which the House would be placed by a Division on that point would be that it would send out a qualified Vote of Thanks to those who had been engaged in the war. The hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins) had said that it would have been more candid and manly for the noble Lord to have opposed the Motion. He (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) was not there to defend his noble Friend; but it appeared to him that anyone who could accuse his noble Friend of acting otherwise than in a candid and manly way damaged his own reputation more than that of his noble Friend. His noble Friend had spoken as an English statesman and an English gentleman. His noble Friend made it plain, as he should have thought, even to the most limited capacity, that, as far as he and his Friends were concerned, the Vote to Lord Lytton must be regarded as a matter of form. But as to the soldier, he was a creature who had to obey; he was no judge of the policy of the war—he was not in arms for any particular policy—and the House was about to thank the soldiers, because they had done what British soldiers always had done and always would do—namely, gone straight forward and done their duty. It was easy for them to sit there and talk about butcher's bills; but he, for one, should blush to charge our soldiers with inhu-

*Mr. E. Jenkins*



manity. Wherever the British soldier went he acted with courage, and did not disgrace himself with acts of wanton and unnecessary cruelty. It did not follow, because there was no great bloodshed in this war, that the honour of British gallantry had not been maintained. He thought the great merit of this campaign was that it had been a comparatively bloodless campaign. He entirely disapproved of the policy of the Government by which this war was commenced. He had grave doubts as to whether the objects they believed to have been attained would really be found to have been so; but he hoped he was patriot enough to desire that this might be the case, and that those objects might be fully realized in the acquisition of a safer Frontier and a permanent peace. He most cordially supported the Vote of Thanks to the Army.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition had expressed so completely the views he himself entertained that, after the speech, he had not intended to address the House; but since then some expressions had been made use of, in consequence of which he was obliged to add testimony and belief to this extent—that he believed the campaign was really a hard and arduous and a dangerous campaign, and that it had been gone through with great skill and with great merit. He should be very sorry if the House grudged Thanks simply because it had not been a very sanguinary campaign. With the reservations which had been expressed by his noble Friend the Member for the Radnor Boroughs he should support the Vote heartily.

MR. CALLAN said, he thought it was a mistake to place in the Vote for the officers and soldiers engaged in the Afghan War the name of Lord Lytton, and he was afraid that that course had been purposely pursued by Her Majesty's Government. At the outset, he did not intend to take part in the Division; and if he had done so, he should have recorded his vote in favour of the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford. He should not have then voted in favour of the Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton, because the Government had not given them sufficient information as to the war. Now, however, he should not refrain from voting in favour of the Government, because of the language used with regard to Irish, as well

as with regard to Scotch and English, soldiers by the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins), who had been very impartial in the distribution of his censure. He had spoken of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in terms which were barely Parliamentary, and he had spoken of the conduct of the noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs, his Leader—["No, no!"]—in language no less strong. Perhaps, the hon. Member was only acting within his duty in talking of "the butcher's bill of that infamous war." But he was not aware that the hon. Member for Dundee had ever placed any Notice upon the Paper which justified his condemnation of the war in the terms he had used. He found, in the list of persons named in the Vote of Thanks, that of Major General Roberts, who was a Waterford man. ["No."] Well, then, he was sorry he was not an Irishman. ["He is."] Well, he was glad that he was an Irishman. He should vote, as he had stated, as a protest against the reflection which had been cast on our soldiers.

MR. SULLIVAN said, that he believed that the real question before the House was the omission of Lord Lytton's name. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sandwich (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) appeared to consider his position, as he put it before the House, one of a somewhat painful and embarrassing character, and had stated that he read all the papers, facts, and information necessary to enable him to pass judgment on Lord Lytton; but that, nevertheless, he intended to thank him first, and judge him afterwards. There could not be a question that that was a position which demanded their sympathy. There was no doubt that the spectacle which the House of Commons presented that evening was one that would hardly command the admiration of posterity. The British Parliament presented its Thanks to Lord Wellington when he defeated the Armies of France; the Thanks of Parliament were also presented to Nelson. He had no doubt that Bismarck would laugh to-morrow morning, and so would Moltke and Todleben. These eminent critics would laugh when they found this country engaged in thanking its officers for what had been described as a petty war in Afghanistan. The American Senate thanked General Grant after the suppression of the great Secessional Rebellion; but he had never heard

that a Vote of Thanks was proposed to the General who defeated Sitting Bull. It was not clear to him that the American General who defeated those Indians would not henceforth complain grievously if the American Senate did not follow the example set that evening. Hitherto, it had been thought that the Thanks of Parliament were something unusual—something that ought not to be passed, as a matter of course, upon the conclusion of every petty war. If they took from the rarity of the occurrence, they would cheapen it until it would lose all its historical importance and effect. If they were to thank every General and every Corps which did its duty, it would only be the Corps which turned its back upon the enemy—which he hoped no British Army would ever do—which would be deemed unworthy of thanks. They were, then, adopting the principle of thanking the leaders of every petty expedition, instead of reserving so grave a proceeding as the proposal of the Thanks of Parliament for the man who approached something nearer to the achievements of Wellington and Nelson. The men who served in the Army ought to be taught to do their duty without coming to Parliament for thanks for their actions. The reason they were asked to pass the Vote that night was to gratify the military element, and to offer some incense to Lord Lytton. Instead of thanking Lord Lytton, he should be glad to join in a Vote of Censure upon him. There was not a man in the country who did not feel that the country had got, happily, out of the miserable position into which Lord Lytton had led it. He did not desire to criticize the military proceedings, or whether there had been a large or small "butcher's bill;" but it could not be said that the troops over which our soldiers had been victorious were on equal footing with them. Could it be said that an Afghan Chief was worthy to stand against the Imperial power of this country? By giving a Vote of Thanks for such affairs as these, they would cheapen it until it became the laughing stock of Europe. The truth was, this was a mere proceeding at the dictation of the Jingo element out-of-doors. He should vote heartily against the proposal to thank Lord Lytton, who, he thought, if they had an opportunity of gauging, would be found more entitled to their censure of his administration.

*Mr. Sullivan*

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the words of the Resolution put before the House by the Government implied the approval of the House to the support given by Lord Lytton to the military operations in Afghanistan; but it was not intended by that to give any approval to his civil policy and administration. The terms of the Resolution followed very much the precedent of 1858. His noble Friend the present Prime Minister made a speech upon that occasion, and, in answer to it, after he had moved the Previous Question, various explanations were given. A very excellent speech was made by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Walpole). He pointed out grave reasons for objecting to a Vote of Thanks to Lord Canning, although, in that case, there was a Memorial from a number of inhabitants of India against Lord Canning with respect to specific points, and as it was distinctly understood that the Vote of Thanks was to be given to those who had been engaged in the war, and was not to be taken as implying any approval of Lord Canning's policy, he urged upon the present Prime Minister to withdraw his Amendment. Mr. Disraeli—as he then was—did so, on the understanding that it did not imply such approval. Therefore, it was clear that, according to that precedent, the civil policy of Lord Lytton was not now in question. If it were, he need scarcely say that he was then prepared and ready to defend it—and in no less degree with regard to the policy of the Afghan War than on other occasions—and if occasion arose they would not shrink from the encounter; but that question was not now raised. He regretted very much the language used in some of the speeches which had been made on the Resolution now before the House, as tending to detract from the character of the operations in Afghanistan—operations which, as had been already said, were to be measured not by the amount of slaughter that had taken place, but by the great difficulties that had to be encountered and hardships that had to be endured. We were told very often in the course of the debates in both Houses in December last, as well as in speeches made out-of-doors, that the difficulties which lay in the way of our troops in entering upon this war were very great, and that the task was very onerous. We were told

that when our troops entered Afghanistan most dreadful things would happen—that if our posts were too weak they would be overpowered, whilst if they were too strong they would be a menace to the country; that if we put them on the hills they would be without water, and that if we put them in the valleys they would be commanded from the hills. What really did happen? Crossing the Frontier, the troops advanced almost without a hitch; so that, within three months from the time they entered Afghanistan, they had achieved the objects of the war. Could it be said, therefore, that Lord Lytton ought not to be thanked “for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India had been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan?” In these circumstances, he hoped the House would not hesitate to adopt the Resolution, thanking Lord Lytton, as well as the officers and men, who had brought the campaign to so speedy and successful a conclusion.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he concurred in everything that the Under Secretary of State for India had said with regard to the Army in India, and cordially gave his voice for the Vote to the Army for the manner in which they had conducted operations; but he did not think the Under Secretary had removed the difficulty in regard to the Thanks to the civil officers. There was no distinction between the Vote of 1858 and the Vote in this case, and no mere declaration or suggestion by anybody could alter the real character of the Vote. The House was asked to thank Lord Lytton for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India had been applied to the support of the military operations in Afghanistan. The Under Secretary had said that was not the passing of any opinion on his civil policy of course; but then it never was a civil policy at all. It never was intended to be a civil policy; it was never supposed to be anything but a military policy from the first. But the question he had to ask was, what was the meaning of a Vote of Parliament which thanked Lord Lytton for having applied the resources of India to military operations in Afghanistan? He had had an opportunity, when that policy was discussed previously, of saying what

he thought on the subject; and he could not, without stultifying himself, vote on that Resolution, because he had expressed the opinion that Lord Lytton ought not to have applied the resources of India to the military operations in Afghanistan. He held that opinion still, and thought it was an entire mistake to have applied the resources of India to military operations in Afghanistan; and the greater the ability and judgment which were shown in taking a wrong course the worse it became, in his opinion. For these reasons, while he should concur in thanking all concerned in the military operations, he should abstain from anything which had the appearance of endorsing the policy that had made them necessary.

MR. PLUNKET said, that the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) knew that the grammatical construction of the proposed Vote, as well as every circumstance connected with it, had nothing whatever to do with the policy of Lord Lytton. It was not a Vote of Thanks to Lord Lytton for the manner in which he had applied the resources of India in the sense of his having commenced the war; but that war having been commenced, and, as everybody knew, sanctioned by Parliament, and he believed by the vast majority of the people of this country, he skilfully applied the resources at his command. That was the true meaning. If it was not an un-Parliamentary expression, he should say that it was mere quibbling to attempt to put Lord Lytton out of the Vote in the way indicated by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford. Nobody could believe that it was a Vote on foreign policy. It was a Vote simply on the manner in which the policy of Parliament had been carried out, and on the way in which Lord Lytton had applied the great resources of India to this purpose. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford had reduced himself to this absurd position—that Parliament having decided to carry on the war, Lord Lytton ought not to have applied the resources of India to the prosecution of it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA remarked that, although he had steadily voted against the policy of the Government in the Afghan War, he did not think he should run counter to the votes which he

had given on previous occasions if he now voted for the Resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But he admitted that Lord Lytton's policy was a perfectly open question. He would say, however, that the course of the war had tended, to a certain extent, to modify the judgment which he formed against it in its earlier stages. He thought, however, now that the war was over, that they would do very wrong if they were to look at the terms of the Resolution with too microscopic an eye. He looked upon the Vote, and coupling Lord Lytton's name with it, as a Parliamentary amenity. They could not pass a Vote in regard to the Army and, at the same time, pass over the Viceroy. Although he could not vote with his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman), yet he thought he had fairly stated the exception which he took, and that he had given grounds sufficiently strong for the distinction which he had drawn, yet not sufficient to warrant the rejection of this Resolution.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK would have been glad to see the Vote divisible into two parts, so that he might have voted in support of the Thanks to the Army without upholding the policy of Lord Lytton. He thought the course of that noble Lord in relation to the war, both as regarded the civil and military policy, was a mistaken one; and, therefore, while he admitted his intention of voting with the Government, he did so wholly and solely on the supposition that in doing so he was according that due and proper and just meed of praise to the troops to which he thought they were entitled. This campaign had been neither small or insignificant; no less than 25,000 men had been engaged in it, very few lives had been lost, and the whole conduct of the operations had been managed in such a manner as to induce him to support the Motion for a Vote of Thanks to the troops.

MR. RAMSAY would be glad to vote for the Amendment and yet thank the officers and soldiers for their conduct in the war. He contended that the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) was putting a false issue before the House when he said that Parliament had been consulted on the Afghan War, because no consultation of Parliament ever took

place, and that was specially what they complained of.

Question put.

The House divided: — Ayes 148; Noes 33: Majority 115.—(Div. List, No. 205.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON thought he was now justified in moving the Previous Question. He did not want to make a speech; but all he had heard that night had confirmed him as to the wisdom of the course he proposed, but especially the speech of the right hon. Member for Sandwich (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen). The right hon. Gentleman said he made it as a patriot. As a patriot, he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) made this Motion.

MR. O'DONNELL, in seconding the Amendment, said, he was compelled to support the principle that Votes of this kind ought not to be brought on until the House had a full opportunity of learning how the War, for which the Thanks were to be given, had been conducted. At this moment they had read the most fearful news of the manner in which the wounded Zulus had been treated at the battle of Ulundi. ["Question!"] It was strictly the question. For all they knew it was hypothetically possible that some of our more irregular troops in Afghanistan had committed fearful atrocities. They had no time to look into the question, and there were no facts before the House. They might yet be asked to give a Vote of Thanks to the Native Contingent in Zululand. The news from Ulundi was that after that battle the Zulus were refused permission to take their wounded from the field, and every wounded Zulu was murdered by our Native Contingent. That might, or might not, be true. But they knew that the murder of women and children had been admitted and proved in recent Blue Books. The story might, therefore, be true; and it was sent by Dr. Russell, of *The Daily Telegraph*, of high authority, and one not likely to lead this country willingly wrong. He wished to ask the Government when they intended to publish the Report which they promised three months ago, in reply to a Question by himself, respecting the reported execution of seven Afghan priests, on the charge of having instigated the resistance of the Afghans? There were

*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*

other questions requiring to be answered. It was evident that this Vote of Thanks was not so much for the Army as for the public out-of-doors; and, as had been wittily observed, it was not so much a Vote for General Roberts or General Haines as for General Election. It was an evil precedent, fraught with the greatest danger. It was a mere formal Vote; and it could not have real weight and force unless it were postponed, in order that fuller information might be placed before the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That that Question be now put."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

Mr. KNIGHT inquired whether it was regular to move the Previous Question, except as an initial Amendment?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Baronet was entitled to move the Previous Question.

Mr. PARNELL said, he objected to thanking Lord Lytton, because he objected to the policy he had had to carry out. He looked upon that policy as a murderous policy, undertaken on account of the necessities, or supposed necessities, of this country. He could not but look on the act of the Government of this country in going to war against a friendly people in Afghanistan as an act of assassination against the people. He considered that every human being who had been killed in Afghanistan, whether on the side of the British, or on the side of Afghanistan, had been murdered. There was no other way of putting it. It was all very well to call it war; but he called it murder. They feared to go to war with Russia, and they were obliged to enter upon this diversion in Afghanistan in order to satisfy the instincts of a section of the people of this country, whom Lord Beaconsfield looked on as his chief supporters. He knew the power of the Government in bringing up a majority to vote Thanks to Lord Lytton; but he did not intend to be silent, or acquiesce in any of these Resolutions; and he intended, by way of protest, to divide against every one of them.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 140; Noes 28: Majority 112.—(Div. List, No. 206.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

1. *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan.
2. *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House be given to,—  
Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.;  
Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C.;  
Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.;  
Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.;  
and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign:
3. *Resolved*, That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour:
4. *Ordered*, That the said Resolutions be transmitted by Mr. Speaker to the Viceroy and Governor General of India; and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein.

#### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

#### SOUTH AFRICA (MILITARY EXPENDITURE).—RESOLUTION.

Mr. RYLANDS, in moving—

"That, in view of the large and increasing expenditure for military purposes in South Africa, this House is of opinion that the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal ought to be required to contribute a due proportion of the military expenditure incurred in the interests of those Colonies, and which cannot, in justice, be made a Charge upon the British Exchequer,"

said: If hon. Gentlemen were to take the trouble to refer to the proceedings in Parliament 28 years ago, they will find that the House of Commons were engaged in very much the same sort of discussions as those which are occupying

our attention at the present moment. In 1851, the country was engaged in a protracted war at the Cape of Good Hope. It was the last of several wars in which we had been engaged, and in consequence of the great amount of expenditure, and also in consequence of the great uneasiness produced in the country by the succession of wars, the House of Commons seriously considered a Motion brought before it having reference to the circumstances which then existed. I think I may truly say that at that time the opinion of the highest authorities in this House was entirely to the effect that the wars in South Africa had been, for the most part, of a very unjust character; that they had been fomented by the Colonists, and had arisen, to a very great extent, from aggressions made by the Colonists upon the adjoining Tribes; and, at the same time, there was a feeling very strongly expressed in this House that the expenditure which was incurred in the interests of the South African Colony ought not to be borne by the taxpayers of this country, but that the South African Colonists themselves should provide the means for the protection of their own Frontier and for the support of their own interests. That which happened 28 years ago has again happened within our own recent experience. We have again wars in South Africa, wars which I hope, for the time, may be considered as happily concluded; but there is a very strong opinion on the part of many Members of this House, and I think it is an opinion which is also entertained in the country, that the origin of these wars—I am speaking not merely of the Zulu War, but of the Transkei War as well—can hardly be justified, but that the wars might have been avoided, and that all the expenditure and all the anxiety which had arisen in consequence of these wars might have been saved to the country. I observe from the Report of the debates in the House of Commons in 1851 that Sir William Molesworth, in a speech which he made on the subject, stated the opinion, which our subsequent experience has proved to be correct, that so long as this country continued to pay for the maintenance of British Forces in the Colonies at the Cape of Good Hope, and so long as we led the Colonists to look to this country to furnish the military Forces to carry out the objects which the

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Colonists had in view, we should continue to have wars, and each war would prove greater than its predecessor. That has been so, for every Kaffir war has been more formidable than its predecessor, requiring more troops and costing more money. That we found in the experience which we have gained in the war we have just had in South Africa. The Transkei War, according to the Estimate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has cost the country near £1,000,000—I think the exact figure is between £800,000 and £900,000—and we are now about to consider an additional Vote of Credit for the Zulu War amounting to £3,000,000. In the last year we passed a Vote of Credit for £1,500,000 on account of the same campaign. From the Statements, in fact, which have been laid on the Table of the House of Commons, we find that, in respect of the Zulu and Transkei Wars, we had already voted for extraordinary expenditure nearly £5,500,000. But I wish to point out that this sum by no means represents the whole expenditure which has been incurred for military purposes in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech he made a short time ago, in laying on the Table an Estimate for the Vote of Credit, spoke of the entire expenditure, which he estimated as the net cost of the war, beyond the sums already provided in the Army Estimates as being the amount which he proposed to raise by the Vote of Credit. Now, that sum already provided in the Army Estimates is a very large sum indeed. The amount which we pay under the ordinary Votes of this House on account of the Force which is now in South Africa is very large indeed, and the ordinary Estimates must be added to the total amount of extraordinary expenditure which we are incurring in South Africa. I am not quite sure whether I notice some dissent on the part of the Secretary of State for War; but I should be very glad to be corrected. I am quite satisfied, however, that at the present moment the amount of the Estimate which we have on the Table of the House for the Vote of Credit is simply a further expenditure which does not include the ordinary charges of the troops which are placed in the ordinary Estimates of the year. [Colonel STANLEY assented.] Now, the

right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War agrees with me. If I am right, it means that, in addition to this large sum of £5,500,000, which is the amount of the extraordinary expenditure which has had to be met by this country during the last three or four years, for the purposes of the Transkei and Zulu Wars, we must place at least £1,000,000 more on account of the expenditure which appears in the Army Estimates. Well, if that be so, it comes to this—that on account of the Transkei and Zulu Wars we have up to the present time expended the sum of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 for our Military and Naval Forces. That is the amount, if I take the Estimate as it has been laid on the Table by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But I am bound to say that I believe that the Government themselves are in some doubt as to whether these Estimates may not be exceeded, judging from previous experience, and from the experience of the Abyssinian War, where Estimates were laid on the Table of the House, carefully prepared by the Government, something like, in the first instance, the amount which the Government are asking on account of the South African War. They asked, first of all, £3,000,000, and then £4,500,000, and gradually it amounted to £9,000,000. But if we take the experience of former African Wars, I think we shall have very good reason to believe that the expenditure will mount up to very much more than the Government are at the present moment expecting. I know that the Government intend to check this expenditure as far as they can; but in the former wars, which were under discussion 28 years ago, I find that the War of 1846-7 cost £685,000 extraordinary expenditure, and that of 1853 cost £2,000,000 in extraordinary expenditure; and it was stated in the House by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies of that day that no one in this country had a definite idea how the money was spent; and it was also stated, in one of the speeches which was made in the debate, that Sir Henry Pottinger told Lord Grey—

“That it was impossible to convey an adequate idea of the confusion in consequence of the unauthorized expenditure and the attendant speculations which prevailed during the war. Commissions of Audit were utterly incapable of auditing or checking the accounts.”

He further stated that—

“Though he had offered the burghers liberal terms for serving in a force to protect their own property, they had deserted their duty and returned home within a month. . . . Rations were served out to them after their desertion; and at one time it appeared that the whole population was receiving rations, and that, by some mistake, women received four ounces more meat than men.”—[3 *Hansard*, cxvi. 250.]

I dare say the Chancellor of the Exchequer hopes that no abuses to that extent will prove to have existed in the Commissariat Department in the present war; but we must bear in mind that in South Africa we are placed in the midst of a population, every one of whom must have a direct interest in getting as much money out of us as he possibly can. There are the merchants at the Cape, who are importing—the merchants who are dealing in various commodities, a demand for which arises in connection with the war. There are traders in every district, and burghers, who have something to sell; and these tradesmen all derive such a great advantage from the war, and have such an opportunity to charge an enormous sum, that I must say I am not very sanguine in supposing that the Government will find that their labours are very successful efficiently to check these accounts. We heard, the other day, from my hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), a quotation from *The Times* newspaper, where it was said that some Colonists in Natal said that war paid better than sugar. And that is only repeating what occurred 28 years ago; for I find that in the debate on Sir Charles Adderley's Motion for a Committee of Inquiry into South African affairs Mr. Vernon Smith said—

“It was a notorious saying in the Colony that the war would last as long as the expenditure went on, and would begin to end when the expenditure declined, or, as the phrase was, ‘when the price for the hire of waggons fell.’” [*Ibid*, 250.]

Well, Sir, we have that repeated in reference to the late war. I observe, in *The Daily News* correspondent's letter of 18th May, that the Transport and Commissariat difficulties—

“At that time were causing increased anxiety, and the movement of the troops was delayed in consequence. It is said that many are holding back waggons and oxen, with the view of forcing the Government to give them higher prices. The Committee are considering what

would be fair to both parties; this is at present unknown. Two to three pounds a-day is being given for the hire of a waggon and a span of oxen. When it is known that 1,600 waggons are employed, and that this is quite inadequate, the cost and the difficulties will be realized."

Well, Sir, the fact is that during the continuance of the war there was plundering in every direction. Those burghers, those traders, whose battle we were fighting, so far from showing any great disposition to aid us, determined to take every advantage to obtain out of the British Exchequer as much money as they possibly could; and the consequence has been that the war has been extremely popular at the Cape of Good Hope and throughout South Africa. I hold in my hand several extracts from the Cape newspapers, which will show how this spending of money actually made the war popular at the Cape. I observe in *The Cape Argus*, regarding the remarks at the meetings at the Cape expressing confidence in Sir Bartle Frere, and endorsing his policy, the writer says—

"None of the enthusiasts thought it expedient to inquire into the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, probably because the cost of the Zulu War will be paid for in English blood, and out of the taxes raised in the United Kingdom."

Then, another paper, *The Standard and Mail*, said—

"We are glad that England has resolved on putting things right, whatever it may cost her in men and money."

The London *Daily News* made some very pertinent remarks. It published several special articles on the injustice that would arise if the English were called upon to pay for the cost of this war, which was being carried on for the benefit of the Colonies. Upon which, the Cape *Times* replied to the London *Daily News* in these words—

"The London *Daily News* says in truth that we are waging a war of policy, but that the policy is that of Sir Bartle Frere and the Cape Colonists; and it not unreasonably complains at our having all the advantages and they all the cost. John Bull has to pay for the mistakes of the past; and though he will growl at having to pay he has never yet shirked his duty. If everything were admitted that *The Daily News* asserts, then all the more grateful should we be to that statesman who, being sent here in England's name to govern this land, has come forward nobly in defence of the Colony."

Then there was an account in the same paper, as follows:—

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"From the Boers' camp his Excellency's progress has been marked by the warmest outpourings of a people's gratitude, and Capetown, as it is her privilege and her place, will put the final seal on all that has been done; and at the meeting in the Commercial Exchange to-day it was decided that the demonstration should be worthy of the metropolis of this country."

Now, I wish to point out to the House that all this rejoicing at the Cape took place at the time when the war itself was languishing, and when we in this country were in a state of anxiety and alarm. At that period it seemed as though the whole military operations were paralyzed, mainly because of this want of Commissariat arrangements, and, to some extent, on account of the greed of the Colonists. At the very period when we were in this country feeling great interest and some despondency in relation to this war; at that time, when we were suffering from commercial depression, when the demand for our industries was declining, and when the revenue returns were also declining, and we had expectations of Budget deficits—at that very time, everything at the Cape was flourishing. We find that the Colonists were absolutely bathing in the stream of gold that was sent from this country. They were all in a state of the greatest satisfaction and perfect enjoyment. Now, the people of this country, when they saw this contrast of opinion between the Colonies and the Mother Country, were, no doubt, very much dissatisfied. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies must have seen in the papers recently abundant evidence to assure him that the people of this country were thus dissatisfied; and I can only say that I think it would be the greatest injustice if, in the face of what I have just referred to, their labour were to be taxed in order to gratify what I would call Colonial rapacity. The Government, I know, have already taken steps with a view to obtain from the Cape Governments repayment of what they have to determine as a fair proportion of this expenditure. I quite recognize the course which the Government have taken in this matter. I am glad to bear testimony that for the last two or three years the Secretary of State for the Colonies has not lost sight of this; and in one despatch, dated June last, the right hon. Gentleman has brought under the notice



of Sir Bartle Frere, in very strong terms, what he believes to be the only just arrangement for the people of this country. But I am bound to say that while I acknowledge the course the Government has taken, we ought, as a House of Commons, to strengthen the hands of the Government by expressing very strongly, as it is our duty to our constituents to do, our opinion that we have a claim upon the Colonists in this connection. And we have great reason for our doing so, because of the difficulty in which the Government will be placed by the supineness of former Governments. The Cape Colonists have been told again and again that they would be required to pay for the outlay on their account. I have referred to several Blue Books in the Library on that subject, and I find that so early as 1848, in the despatches of the 21st of March and 21st of June, Lord Grey declared to the Colonists that it was not to be expected that this country should in future bear the expenses incurred by maintaining a Force to defend the Colony, and that it was incumbent on the Colonists to make a suitable provision for that purpose; and, subsequently, Lord John Russell, relying upon these despatches, said that the Colony was mainly responsible for meeting that expenditure. That was in 1848. In 1867, Lord Carnarvon sent a despatch to Sir Philip Wodehouse, giving notice—

"That payment must be made for British troops at the same rate as paid by the Australian Colonies—namely, £40 a-head for every Infantry soldier, and £70 for every Artilleryman. In default of these payments, Her Majesty's Government will be at liberty to withdraw the troops from the Colony either wholly or to such extent as they may deem expedient."

That, of course, was only part of the expense which would, no doubt, have amounted to £80 a-head for every Infantry soldier. I think I am within the mark in saying that. In replying to that despatch of Lord Carnarvon, the House of Assembly passed Resolutions which were communicated to the Home Government, and those Resolutions set forth a number of reasons—not of any strength, but still they were reasons—which the Colonial Government thought fit to put forward. The Duke of Buckingham, who had succeeded Lord Carnarvon in 1867, wrote to Sir Philip Wodehouse—

"You request me to observe that in the Resolution of the House of Assembly no attempt is made to dispute the right of the Mother Country to make the stipulations insisted on; that the House simply pleads its regret that such a demand should be put forward, its sense that the peculiar position of the country gives it some claim to consideration, and its conclusion that the Colony is unable to pay the sum demanded for its military defence. I have to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government adhere to the general principles indicated in Lord Carnarvon's despatch, and to the propriety of requiring from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope a substantial contribution towards the expenses of Her Majesty's troops."

On December 9, 1869, there had been a change of the Home Government. Lord Granville was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Granville wrote a despatch to Sir Philip Wodehouse, in which he said—

"Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that British troops cannot be retained in the Colony for Colonial purposes, and should be gradually withdrawn."

Upon that, there was a Memorial from the Cape Colonists, numerous signed, addressed to the noble Lord, praying Her Majesty that military protection might be continued to the Cape Colonists at the expense of Great Britain. Lord Granville, in replying in acknowledgment of that Memorial, said—

"I do not doubt that the effectual protection of life and property is essential to the protection of the Colony. I observe, however, that the memorialists estimate the White population at 200,000, and the cost of defence at £100,000, which, if the whole were paid by persons of European origin, would only amount to 10s. per head, and declares this sum to be a strain on the finances of the Colony greater than it can bear. But this is scarcely a good reason for the shifting all further expense upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, who already pay 15s. per head for their own defence independently of police."

I think that was a very sound position for Lord Granville to take up, and upon that despatch there was another Address to the Queen from the House of Assembly, praying that the withdrawal of troops might be postponed. Then Lord Granville, on May 23, 1870, wrote—

"It is impossible to hold out any hopes that Her Majesty's Government will sanction any further delay in the removal of the troops beyond that which has been already determined upon, and I, therefore, earnestly hope that the Cape Parliament will address themselves seriously to the task of placing the finances on a proper footing, and making further provision for the defence of the Colony."

Now, Sir, I think it is a matter of grave regret that, notwithstanding the position which Her Majesty's Government took on that occasion, there should not have been steps taken in accordance with these despatches. There was a diminution of troops; but there was no such step taken as was contemplated in the despatches, and we still retained something like 3,000 men in the Colony—3,000 men costing us at the rate of £100 per man, per year, all the charges taken into account, and we were paying all that large expenditure for the protection of the Colonies, while the Colonial Government were satisfied to pay to us the magnificent sum of £10,000 a-year. That, no doubt, is a difficulty which the Government will meet with arising from what I must call the *laches* of former Governments. I think it is most unfortunate that former Governments did not follow up the decisions which were communicated to the Cape Colony, and I believe that if they had been determined to carry out the policy which they had announced, and if they had insisted upon payment by the Colonists of the sum which they intimated that they should require them to pay; or if they had acted upon the alternative of withdrawing the troops, I have a very firm opinion indeed that the Colonists would have made ample arrangements for their own protection; and I have a very strong impression that the war which we are now unfortunately experiencing would never have happened. Well, I want to ask the Government what they intend to do in order to compel the Colonists to pay what is due from them? Of course, they will be met as former Governments have been met—by all sorts of flimsy excuses. I am perfectly aware that they will be met by the statement of the Colonists that they cannot pay. They will appeal to the Colonial Secretary that they cannot afford to pay. But I say they can afford a great deal better than we can afford it. It so happens that the very last mail, or one of the last, brought us a Budget speech which was made by the Finance Minister in the Cape of Good Hope Assembly. Now, that is a very important speech, and I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies has noticed it in connection with this question. I quote the speech from *The Times* of one day last week—

*Mr Rylands*

"The Budget speech which was delivered yesterday by the Treasurer General (Mr. Miller) was a very satisfactory one. It shows an increasing revenue and a prosperous condition of the country. For the financial year 1878-79, just expired, the Estimate, including the addition of amounts expected from the taxing measures passed last year, was £1,838,000, while the actual income will probably be about £2,067,888, giving an excess of £229,889. Duty from customs alone realized £909,387, being an excess of £152,387. The excise on brandy returned £50,000, and the house duty £80,000. The Government, after defraying all the ordinary expenditure, will, with their surplus, be able to meet all the war expenses without any increase of taxation, or of the public debt."

If our Chancellor of the Exchequer could produce such a Budget, he would be a very fortunate man—a much more fortunate man than he is at the present moment. I believe, however, there is an omission here, because the Cape Colony had borrowed £750,000 in the course of the year 1878-9. The authorised Debt now stands at £10,500,000, including an annual charge of £472,491 for interest, and £88,884 for Sinking Fund towards its gradual extinction, making, together, £561,375—an amount exceeding what was the total public income of the Colony 10 years ago. Well, if this Debt was a debt which had been incurred in some most wasteful way, if it had been thrown away by some extravagant body, it would, no doubt, be a very serious charge upon them; but, in point of fact, this Debt is all for works of a character which are returning very good interest indeed. They are public works which produce a very large income. The Treasurer General further stated that—

"Of the whole amount charged as public Debt, £9,846,858 has been raised for reproductive works, chiefly extended and nearly completed lines of railways. Although only portions of these lines have yet been opened up for traffic, the estimates of railway receipts for next year is about £600,000, and there is no doubt of its being realized. The telegraph system of the Colony was also extended last year by the erection of 263 miles of new lines bearing 421 miles of new wire. The war expenditure borne by the Colony has been about £1,250,000, including cost of the disturbances on the Northern Border of Basutoland. Up to the 30th of April, 1879, the actual payments reached a total of £1,087,361, and for May and June about £134,843, making a total on the 30th of June last of £1,222,704; including all advances and expenditure on account of these services, and, deducting the amount of the war loan, £750,000, leaves a balance of £472,704, which has been met from general revenue."

So that, in point of fact, they assume

that their war expenditure for the 12 months of 1878-9, amounted to £1,200,000, which, I believe, is a very excessive Estimate; and yet they say that the balance of expenditure over the loan—the balance amounting to £472,704—has been met out of the general Revenue without increased taxation. Then he goes to the Budget for the coming year; and this Budget, with regard to taxation, is altogether most satisfactory. The Finance Minister says he believes the income for 1879-80 will be £2,309,000, while the expenditure he estimates at £2,226,164; and this, he goes on to say, includes what he calls the large sum of £217,151 for military expenses. This is the total sum the Cape Government has put down in its Budget for purposes of defence. That does not look as if the Colony contemplated meeting the demands of the British Government to any large extent; but I wish to point out to the Government that, in this statement, which shows how flourishing is the Revenue of the Colony—which shows no Debt as a burden, because it has been incurred for productive works which produce a large income—which shows a light taxation, an increasing trade, and extension of resources at the Cape—with all this before us, any pretence that the Colony is not in a position to meet the just demands of our Government ought to be put aside as unworthy of consideration. No such excuse ought to be entertained for a moment; because, knowing what we do of the Cape of Good Hope, knowing how its Revenues have been increased by the extension of territory, as shown by the extent of good land advertised for sale after annexation of the Transkei—with all these resources, which have been so much increased by the expenditure we have incurred, they should be required to pay their due proportion of that expenditure. I have no doubt there will be an attempt made in another way to evade the demands of Her Majesty's Government. It will be said by the Colony—"The responsibility of these operations are not ours, they were forced upon us by the action of the High Commissioner, and the expenditure was incurred in carrying out the policy of Her Majesty's Government. It was the view which the High Commissioner came to carry out that landed us in the expenditure and this war, and,

therefore, we are not responsible." Now, I am bound to say, in the first instance, they have grounds in Cape Colony to make the assertion that Her Majesty's Government did send a Chief Commissioner to carry out a policy which, directly and indirectly, tended to foment these disturbances, which extended the area of the war and of the expenditure; but my position is this—whatever was the original responsibility of the Government, warned by the policy of their High Commissioner, the Colonists have since, by their own policy, by every Constitutional method, supported the Commissioner. Now, when the High Commissioner arrived at the Cape there was a Government in power, presided over by Mr. Molteno, a man of great Cape experience, and who, for years, had taken a leading part in Cape politics. Mr. Molteno did not like the policy of the Government. I will not occupy the attention of the House on the point; but I will rather content myself with indicating what, if it were necessary and time allowed, I could show, by abundant reference to the Blue Book, that there was a decided divergence of opinion between the Chief Commissioner and Mr. Molteno. Mr. Molteno believed that he and his Government knew best how to manage Cape affairs, and that the trouble on their Frontier could be better managed than by the measures which the High Commissioner proposed. I am justified in maintaining that Mr. Molteno, who was Prime Minister, wished to carry out the policy supported by the leading statesmen of this country, of the Colonists managing their affairs upon their own responsibility, for, towards the end of the difference between the High Commissioner and Mr. Molteno, we come to the main points upon which Sir Bartle Frere disagreed with the Ministers. Sir Bartle Frere, when he found that he could not induce Mr. Molteno to yield to his strong will—because it is quite evident that Sir Bartle Frere went to the Cape and was influenced throughout by a strong will, to which he was determined to make everybody yield in one way or another—when he found there was the difference of opinion between himself and Mr. Molteno—and they had had a conversation on the grounds of this difference—Sir Bartle Frere wrote a Memorandum, in which he jotted down the conversation which had just oc-

curred, and he left it with Mr. Molteno to say if it was correct. Mr. Molteno disliked this. It was an unusual proceeding, and he refused to accept the exact accuracy of the Memorandum in which Sir Bartle Frere stated Mr. Molteno's views; but, no doubt, they were his views, for Mr. Molteno stated them afterwards. The Memorandum gives the substance of Mr. Molteno's statement as follows:—

"There is a strong impression in the Colony that the conduct of military operations has been entrusted too exclusively to military men, and that the management of affairs has passed too much from the hands of the Colonial Ministry into those of officers of Her Majesty's Service, in whose ability to manage them economically and efficiently the Colony has far less confidence than it has in its Ministers."

Mr. Molteno further said—

"That Ministers are quite competent themselves to do, with Colonial Forces, all that is now required to restore peace and order to the Colony," and that "the reinforcements of Her Majesty's troops, asked for by the Government, are not needed for any Colonial purpose in this Colony."

This was a very strong statement for Mr. Molteno to make in the conversation with the Commissioner; and he repeats it, I find, in a Memorandum of January 31st, 1878, in which he says the Government are prepared to undertake the responsibility of putting down the rebellion speedily and in the most effectual manner by Colonial Forces led by Colonists, and not encumbered by military impediments; and he urged that these measures ought to be under the control of the Colonial Government, who were prepared to accept the responsibility of preserving peace and maintaining the defence of the Colony. Now, what happened? I declare, when I read what occurred, it makes me indignant, when I read of the dictatorial manner in which Sir Bartle Frere dismissed the Prime Minister from Office simply because he would maintain what we believe is the right principle of Colonial government—that they should have the management who were asked to pay for it, and take the responsibility of defending their Frontier and maintaining peace within their own borders. But, no. Sir Bartle Frere, in that dictatorial spirit which he has assumed, so much to the disadvantage of the country, called into power a Government presided over by Mr. Sprigg; and here we come to the responsibility of the Colonial Govern-

ment. If the Colonists had supported the Molteno Government, they might have said this is an Imperial policy forced upon us and for which we should not pay; but when Mr. Sprigg came into power, anyone who reads his manifesto will see that he came into power with the determination of taking advantage of the British policy to get a large amount of plundering for South Africa. I have not formed a high opinion of Mr. Sprigg's capacity as a Prime Minister; but he knows what he is about. In Mr. Trollope's work on South Africa, written at the time of the Transkei War, he mentions having gone into the House of Assembly, and describes Mr. Molteno as Prime Minister, and Mr. Sprigg as leading the Opposition. He says of Mr. Molteno, he—

"Has been in Parliamentary life for many years, having held a seat since the creation of the first House of Assembly in 1854—has been a very useful public servant, and thoroughly understands the nature of the work required of him."

Mr. Trollope continues—

"I attended one hot debate, and heard the Leaders of the Opposition attack the Prime Minister and his Colleagues in the proper Parliamentary manner. The question was one of defence against the Kaffirs, and it was made by the Opposition to appear that the object of the Premier was to rob the Colony of its money."

It is a curious thing that a year before he came into Office Mr. Sprigg was opposing Mr. Molteno, because the latter wished to have the defence conducted out of Colonial funds. Well, this policy of Sir Bartle Frere was adopted by Mr. Sprigg's Government, and Mr. Sprigg's Government received the support of the Parliament then in existence. That Parliament was dissolved, and, so far as I have heard, the return to the new Parliament proved that Mr. Sprigg's Government was extremely popular. In Cape Town there were six candidates for four seats. Five of these candidates approved of the policy of the High Commissioner in the Zulu War, one attacked that policy and opposed Confederation. The one who opposed the policy of the Commissioner was a remarkable man—a gentleman of the name of Saul Solomon—a man who for some years occupied an independent but leading position in the Cape Legislature—a man on whose opinion all parties placed great reliance. Well, he opposed the policy, and he who had been a Member for a number of years was turned out.

*Mr. Rylands*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No; he came in on the Minority Vote.

MR. RYLANDS: At all events, he lost a large amount of support. What I wish to urge on the Government is this—that inasmuch as the Cape Legislature has adopted the policy of the Commissioner, and which has become immensely popular in the Cape, simply because a large expenditure upon the war arises out of it, I think that if Sir Bartle Frere is unable to obtain a satisfactory pecuniary arrangement with the Colony they ought to withdraw Sir Bartle Frere and send some Representative who would be determined to put more pressure on the Sprigg Government. It may possibly arise that when we know more about the secret transactions going on we shall find that some encouragement was given by Sir Bartle Frere to Mr. Sprigg to believe there would be large pecuniary assistance in carrying out their plans which induced Mr. Sprigg's Government to entirely endorse the policy which had been recommended to them. But it is quite clear that, so far as the Home Government is concerned, those on the Front Bench have never gone from their position of requiring the Colonies to pay their proper share; therefore, if there have been any transactions at the Cape which may have led to the supposition that Great Britain would not insist upon a share of the expenditure being borne by the Colony Her Majesty's Government are not at all compromised by that. The other day we were talking about the policy of the future, and, perhaps, I may say a few words upon that. It is clear that in the future, when all this war is over, we must decide on a policy with regard to the government of the Cape. We are quite aware that Lord Grey is a distinguished advocate of paternal government. He would withdraw responsible government from the Cape, and treat it like a Crown Colony, dealing with all Cape matters from Downing Street. He argues that it would be much better that all proposals in reference to national troubles, commercial interests, &c., should be decided by ourselves. But no one can seriously imagine that any such system would work; we should soon find that we could not control the Cape, or, from this country, manage Cape affairs with anything like efficiency. But there is another plan which, apparently, is almost as bad; that is a plan which

does not assume to be paternal government, but would continue a responsible government at the Cape, and still insist upon an interference to a certain extent, claiming for this country a controlling voice in the management of Cape affairs. A most absurd, untenable policy. We have followed it to some extent for 30 years; and I observe it is a policy which has high support in the person of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). He referred to the idea, when he said on Friday—

“They had now a responsible self-governing community to deal with at the Cape. Whether it was a mistake to give self-government to the Cape was a grave question. For his own part, he did not think it was a mistake; at all events, they could not now take that self-government away. The problem of the Government was a fresh departure. They must ask themselves—‘What terms shall we make with the Governments of the South African communities generally for the future?’ That was to say—on what terms should they consent, in any case in the future, to assist the South African Colonists with our own troops? He thought the time had come when the Government ought to say, with the greatest possible determination, that the terms must be different from what they had been. They must say—‘They shall be definite terms. You shall not find the policy, and we find the money and men to carry it out.’”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlviii. 1891.]

Well, it seems to me, this is a kind of bargain you cannot make with the Cape. How can you say to them—“You shall not dictate the policy, and we find the men.” Of course, if they have a House of Assembly, they naturally will dictate a policy; we cannot stop them. The right hon. Gentleman continues—

“However, he believed there was really one feeling in the House of Commons and the country on the question, which was, that our relations with the Cape Colony must be put on a different footing—that we would not join in unjust wars.”—[*Ibid.* 1893.]

But we know well enough that, where you have a responsible Government, a Colonial Power, it is not possible to say—I am assuming that you have a mutual agreement—“This is an unjust war you are engaging in, and we will have nothing to do with it.” Why, if we could take that course, we should not have been drawn into the Zulu War, which we believed unjust; and the Transkei War, I believe, ought to have been avoided. Why, nearly every war we have had in the Colony has been an unjust war. It is quite clear, supposing we enter into such a bargain as that suggested by the

right hon. Member for Bradford, the only effect would be, we should still hold ourselves in readiness with our resources, and we should find it utterly impossible to raise the question whether a war was just or unjust; we should be entrapped into the unfortunate position in which we now find ourselves. It is no use trying to adopt this middle course; you have but a choice of two courses, unless you choose to go on as before; one, to go back upon what I look upon as impossible—of governing the Colony from Downing Street—and the other a policy of non-intervention. I believe the only safe plan is absolutely to withdraw from any part or parcel in their military arrangements. This is a policy for which I have high authority. Distinguished statesmen, Colonial Secretaries, have recognized the doctrine—Lord Cardwell, Lord Carnarvon, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Granville—that it is the interest and duty of the Imperial Government to withdraw as much as possible from interference in the internal affairs of the Colonies, for their sakes as well as for our own; that the Colonies should support their own charges, both civil and military, for government and defence. That was an opinion expressed by high authorities in the debate of 1851, when, on April 10th, Sir William Molesworth moved his first Resolution—

“That it is the opinion of this House, that steps should be taken to relieve the country as speedily as possible from its present civil and military expenditure on account of the Colonies, with the exception of its expenditure on account of military stations or convict establishments.”

I will not trouble the House with quotations from the speeches; but from several Members, distinguished on both sides of the House, who spoke in that debate of 1851, all declared that the only safe course was to withdraw from intermeddling with the Colonial Forces, trusting the control and their own defence to themselves. I will only give a short extract from the speech of a right hon. Gentleman—who will command respect at least on this side—the right hon. Member for Greenwich. On April 15th, 1851, he spoke of the

“Most mischievous and unsound system of managing the local affairs of the Colonies from home. He contended that these wars on the Cape Frontier were altogether local affairs.”—[3 *Hansard*, cxvi. 264.]

Then we have the Report of the Select

*Mr. Rylands*

Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure, presided over by the hon. Member for Exeter, in 1861. That Committee reported—

“That with respect to the South African Colonies, and all those similarly circumstanced Dependencies which contain large European populations, their security against warlike tribes or domestic disturbances should be provided for, as far as possible, by means of local efforts and local organization; and that the main object of any system adopted by this country should be to encourage such efforts, not merely with a view to diminish Imperial expenditure, but for the still more important purpose of stimulating the spirit of self-reliance in Colonial communities.”

I think I am justified, on these authorities, in asking the House to pass my Resolution; and I hope the expression of opinion may lead to a determination, on the part of the Government, to take steps to secure what I think would be a fair measure of justice to the taxpayers of this country.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE seconded the Motion.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “in view of the large and increasing expenditure for military purposes in South Africa, this House is of opinion that the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal ought to be required to contribute a due proportion of the military expenditure incurred in the interests of those Colonies, and which cannot with justice be made a charge upon the British Exchequer,”—(*Mr. Rylands*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was not about to enter into the topics which formed the latter part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman. Those questions were of very great importance, and were discussed at considerable length last week. He would not renew the discussion of last Friday; but there was one essential preliminary to throwing the Colonies on their own resources, and that was, that we should both induce and enable them to take such measures as would provide for their own defence when the occasion arose. As for what had been done by the Cape Colony in the emergency just passing away, he considered that the present Ministry, headed by Mr. Sprigg, had done far

more than its predecessors to effect the object the hon. Member for Burnley had in view, and the result of its action promised well for the future. During the last Session measures had been passed for the raising of mounted police, militia, and other local forces; and these measures had been carried out to a large extent. There were two criticisms he might make on the speech of the hon. Member for Burnley. The one was, that in reference to the Zulu War he had rather mixed up the position of the Cape Colony and Natal. He did not think it was fair to charge the Cape Colony with having profited by the Transkei War; for, as the Papers showed, the Cape Colony incurred very heavy expenses in that war. The Forces engaged were to a great extent Volunteers and Colonial troops, and the hardships and the loss fell more largely upon them than upon Her Majesty's Forces. The Zulu War was, of course, a different affair. The cost in men and money had mainly fallen upon us, and the money expended by us had been laid out in the districts adjoining Zululand rather than in the Cape Colony. As to the remarks made by the hon. Gentleman on the course pursued by Sir Bartle Frere, he did not believe that if Mr. Molteno had remained in Office the Transkei War would have been brought to as satisfactory a termination as the hon. Member thought. When Mr. Molteno left Office the Transkei War seemed likely to spread, not only over a large part of the Cape Colony, but to Her Majesty's Dominions in other parts of South Africa. That was the reason which induced Sir Bartle Frere to take the Constitutional course of dismissing Ministers, and calling to the service of the Colony those who would carry on the war with vigour and bring it to a satisfactory end. With the exceptions he had taken, he did not wish to criticize the hon. Gentleman's remarks, for he could re-echo every word of the hon. Gentleman's Motion, and he begged to tender the hon. Gentleman his thanks and those of the Government for the manner in which he had brought the question before the House. In that way, the hon. Member had done not a little to strengthen the hands of the Government in the course they had adopted. He did not gather that the hon. Member had the least fault to find with any expres-

sions in his despatches. The course which the Government had pursued hitherto they would continue to pursue to the utmost of their power, and that not with regard to the Cape Colony alone. He had not been able to lay on the Table the despatches with respect to Natal, because the Correspondence was not in a state to be produced at present. But the same principles had guided the Government as they had followed in the case of the Cape Colony. They had done their best to insist that some of the expenditure should be fairly charged on the Colonial Treasury, and that there should be a clear understanding on all sides that a division of expenditure, when the amount of the expenditure was ascertained, should be made between the Mother Country and the Colony interested—of course, claiming from the Colony the utmost that it could reasonably be expected to bear, looking to the condition of its finances and population. He would only say, in conclusion, that what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman with regard to the ability of the Cape Colony to bear the charges he wished to see imposed on it was no slight testimony, so far as the ability of that Colony was concerned, to the justice of the expectations held out the other night by his right hon. Friend—that a considerable portion of the expenditure should be borne by that Colony.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

#### SUPPLY—WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (VOTE OF CREDIT).

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.  
(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenditure which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa."

Mr. DODSON would not question the calculations of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the estimated surplus revenue of £1,500,000 above the ordinary expenditure, and as to the estimated cost of the

Zulu War; but, at the same time, he could not but remember that in March last in his Budget speech the right hon. Gentleman was confident that the Zulu War would be wound up, and that Bonds to the amount of £600,000 for the same Zulu War incurred last year would be defrayed out of the so-called estimated surplus of £1,900,000. The right hon. Gentleman was then doubly confident that in any case the Zulu War would be wound up, even if the Bonds were not paid off out of that surplus. He observed that the right hon. Gentleman to-night spoke of winding up the Zulu War for £3,000,000 with less confidence than in March last for £1,900,000. He also observed that the Vote of Credit itself was a net estimate, after taking credit for the amount to be realized from the sale of horses and waggons and surplus stores, so that if by any accident that sum should be delayed, or fall short of the amount reckoned upon, his expectations would be frustrated. But he would now assume that the expectations of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to revenue would be realized; he would assume that the cost of the Zulu War in the present year would be met by the sum of £3,000,000 now asked for by a Vote of Credit, and he would also assume that he would not have in the present year any Supplementary Estimates beyond those upon the Table of the House, or, at all events, that if he had any Supplementary Estimates, they would not be greater than could be met out of the savings on the other Votes of the year. Now, at the end of the present financial year, if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer realized his expectations, there would be a surplus on the year of £36,000; but there would be outstanding Exchequer Bonds amounting to £4,750,000 for the expenditure incurred in connection with the Russo-Turkish War; there would be Bonds outstanding to the amount of £600,000 for part cost of the Zulu War in the last financial year; there would be Bonds to the amount of £1,200,000 for the cost of the Zulu War within the present year, and there would be the Loan to India, without interest, of £2,000,000. On the whole, there would be outstanding charges to the amount of £8,550,000, and it would be remembered that already in connection with these matters we had in the last

two financial years paid out of the Revenue of the country £2,900,000, and that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to pay £1,800,000 more towards these same objects out of the Revenue of the present year. All this expenditure for military purposes came on the top of a normal increase of the Army expenditure under the present Government of £1,000,000 a-year, and of a normal increase of £1,500,000 for the Navy, which had been referred to by the Home Secretary in a speech at Liverpool in October last, and justified on the ground that it was to make our Army and Navy ready for any cloud that might arise. He wished to examine a little more closely the position in which we should be at the end of the financial year, assuming that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's expectations were realized. We had, within the space of about two years, incurred an expenditure, on the part of this country and its Dependencies, for three wars, and a scare of war, which amounted to £16,000,000. Deducting from that amount £1,500,000, which he understood was expected to be paid by India in respect of the Afghan War, and £1,250,000, which it appeared by the last South African Blue Book was paid by the Cape towards the cost of the Transkei War and the Gaika rebellion, there remained £13,250,000 to be provided by the country. The right hon. Gentleman hoped to recover for this country from our Dependencies a considerable portion of that sum. He hoped to receive from India the return of the Loan of £2,000,000 without interest; the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies hoped to recover from the Cape, according to the last Blue Book, a sum of about £350,000 for further incurred cost of the Transkei War, the Gaika rebellion, and the South African imbroglios generally; lastly, the right hon. Gentleman hoped to get back from the Colonies interested £1,200,000, the amount of the Bonds about to be issued. These sums, altogether, made £3,500,000, which he hoped to recover from our Dependencies in aid of the £13,250,000 provided or to be provided towards these wars and this alarm of a war. He did not know whether, in his heart of hearts, the Chancellor of the Exchequer felt very sanguine about the recovery of all that money; but the

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finances of India were not now in a very flourishing condition, and we had been told that the Afghan War was caused, entered into, and carried out, for Imperial purposes. It was, therefore, not very unreasonable to suppose that a considerable portion of the £2,000,000 might ultimately remain as a gift from this country to India. But, at all events, whatever amount were repaid, no part of it would be got into the present financial year; even if the right hon. Gentleman did receive anything, it would be only one half-year's instalment of the whole amount, which had been spread over seven years. Again, it was admitted by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies that against any claim which he might be able to make upon the Colonies would have to be set a claim on the part of the Colonies for conveyance of Imperial troops by railway. Looking at the state of finances at the Cape, and the expenditure already incurred by the Colony, he asked whether the right hon. Gentleman felt very sanguine as to the recovery of any money from the Cape? He was only speaking of the difficulty of obtaining it within any period that would make it of material assistance to the finances in the present year. Then there remained the £1,200,000, the amount of the Bonds about to be raised this year for the Zulu War, and he could not think that the prospects of recovering that amount at an early date could be looked upon as particularly brilliant. He did not know what was the Revenue and Expenditure of Natal for the last year, or for the present year. The last year for which he had any account was 1877, and he observed that in that year, and in the three or four preceding years, the Revenue of Natal varied from £250,000 to a little over £270,000. It might have increased in 1878, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman had said that it had done so; but, at all events, it was not likely greatly to exceed £300,000. Then he observed, with regard to the expenditure of those four years, that in three of them it had been in excess of the Revenue, and that the Expenditure had exceeded the Revenue on the whole, taking the four years, 1874-5-6-7, together. In addition to that, he saw that Natal, which had a population of only about 25,000 White persons, had a Debt, in round numbers,

of £1,250,000. Again, if he looked to the Transvaal, he found by the accounts that the estimated Revenue in 1878 was £89,000, and that the estimated ordinary expenditure—a very ominous expression—was very nearly equal to the Revenue, and amounted to £87,000. At the same time, the Transvaal had an external Debt of £150,000, besides a local debt to bankers within its own boundaries. Looking, therefore, to the Revenue, Expenditure, Debt, and population of the two Colonies, the prospect of recovering from them the sum of £1,200,000 within a very short time was not promising. He endorsed the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman and others that, in view of the almost exclusive share which those Colonies had in bringing about the present war, it was perfectly fair that they should be called upon to share its cost; but he was afraid that, after all, the main burden would fall upon this country. There was another matter to which he desired to call attention, and that related to the Vote of Credit for £3,000,000. Up to about three weeks ago, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had constantly spoken of presenting a Supplementary Estimate of the cost of the Zulu War; but, about a fortnight since, he had altered his expression, and began to speak of a Vote of Credit. That was the Vote which he had now presented to the House. He (Mr. Dodson) did not want to exaggerate matters, but, at the same time, there was a significant difference between an Estimate and a Vote of Credit. When a Minister, a contractor, or whoever it might be, gave an estimate for expenditure, he gave what was understood to be something in the nature of an undertaking that the expenditure would be defrayed out of the amount set down; at all events, there was reason to expect that it would be. But when a person asked for a credit it rather implied that he had before him an indefinite amount of expenditure, which he could not measure, and, therefore, asked for a round sum to be placed at his disposal, on which he might draw for the purpose of carrying on the business. That was always understood to be the difference between an Estimate and a Vote of Credit. Now, there was one thing which he desired to urge, and he felt sure that the right hon. Gentleman would not complain of his doing

so, with respect to this Vote of Credit, and that was that the Treasury would be strictly vigilant in seeing that it was only applied to the Service for which it was granted. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman had had time to examine the second Report of the Committee of Public Accounts, which had been presented to the House; but, of course, he well knew the value of the labours of that Committee, and the great weight which attached to their Report. That Committee called attention to the statement of the Comptroller and Auditor General, that the Vote of Credit for the Russo-Turkish War had been applied to some rather doubtful estimates and expenses. For instance, the sum of £4,555 was applied out of it to the payment of part cost of a railway in Woolwich Dockyard. And, again, £47,386 was supplied out of the Vote of Credit for shields for the inner line of sea defence for fortifications. He did not know whether these shields were actually within the sanction of the Acts for the erection of fortifications by the Defence Loan Fund; but, at all events, Parliament had not been consulted about the matter, and, so far as he remembered, it had been given to understand that the idea of putting up these shields, if not abandoned, had been indefinitely postponed. It also appeared, from the Report of the Committee of Public Accounts, that of the Vote of Credit taken in 1878, the Government employed the sum of £228,600 to make good deficiencies on ordinary Votes, whereby they converted what would have been a deficit on the Army Accounts into a surplus, in round numbers, of £135,000. He would trouble the Committee by reading three or four lines from the Report of the Committee of Public Accounts, in which they point out the mischief which might arise from this lax proceeding. The Report said—

“If a Vote of Credit is considered applicable to meet deficiencies in the ordinary Votes, the due control of Parliament over expenditure would be at an end as soon as a Vote of Credit is granted.”

He trusted, therefore, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would keep a tight hand over the spending Departments, and take care that no part of the Vote of Credit of £3,000,000 should be applied to any purpose other than that

for which it was asked by the Government and granted by Parliament.

MR. COURTNEY said, the observations which he proposed to address to the Committee would be confined almost entirely to the policy which had resulted in this Vote of Credit being asked for. Her Majesty's Government had asked for a Credit for £3,000,000 for certain distinct purposes and to be used for certain definite ends; but, before the Committee gave this Vote of Credit, they ought to be assured whether those purposes were likely to be secured by the policy now being pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and whether those ends could be attained. It appeared to be thought that the war with respect to which these £3,000,000 was asked for was, practically, at an end. He did not wish to suggest any uneasy doubts as to that; but, he must confess, it did not appear to him to be so near an end as many hon. Members and the outside public seemed to think. But, putting that entirely aside, the next question raised by the demand for these £3,000,000 and referred to both by the right hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was this—“What chance is there of getting back these £3,000,000 from the Dependencies for whose account the expenditure has been incurred?” The Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to indulge in the hope that a certain portion would be recovered. He (Mr. Courtney) was not prepared to deny that a certain sum ought to be recovered, but he had a very clear opinion that no substantial amount would be; and he thought that there were very good reasons for believing that no part of the cost of the war would be recovered. In the first place, with regard to the Cape Colony, if any hon. Member would put himself in the position of a Cape Colonist, he thought he would repudiate the obligation of making any contribution towards this sum. This expenditure had been mainly, if not entirely, incurred in the Zulu War, and the interest of the Cape Colony in the Zulu War was, at least, distant. People, in speaking of Zululand and Cape Colony, did so from an English point of view, and supposed them to be in close contiguity; but, in fact, they were about 1,200 miles apart from the other, and there was no appreciable danger, even supposing the Natal

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anxiety to have been well-founded, of the Zulu War reaching Cape Colony. Therefore, if he were a Cape Colonist, he should repudiate any contribution to this sum, because it was incurred in a war in Zululand in which he had but a feeble interest. No doubt, the flames of war might gradually have spread down to Cape Colony; and, no doubt, some anxiety might be expressed on that account. But the anxiety lest the flames of war in Zululand should spread to Cape Colony was no more real than the anxiety of the people in this country lest the plague in Southern Russia should spread to England. Again, this expenditure had been incurred by a policy in which the Cape Colonists had no share. It was brought upon them in pursuance of directions which came from the Mother Country. It was Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Froude, and subsequently Sir Bartle Frere, who had brought that war upon South Africa, and if the Colonists had been left alone they would not have brought it about. It was perfectly true that certain of the Cape Ministers had supported Sir Bartle Frere in his policy, and, probably, they might be trusted to support him to the end with a comparatively small majority. But when the question came of contributing to the cost of the war; he thought there were many who would refuse altogether to acknowledge any obligation in that respect. For these reasons, he thought that the Cape Colonists would repudiate altogether any liability in the war. There was another reason which would have great weight with them, and serve as an excellent excuse for getting rid of their moral obligation. They would say—"Whatever we may have to do with this war in Zululand, it was finished in a way which we entirely disapproved; we were advocates of Sir Bartle Frere's thorough-going policy; but if you choose to send out another High Commissioner charged with the duty of bringing this war to an end, while we are left in an unsettled position, you will have to bear the expense of the war;" and that was the final reason why he thought the majority of the Cape Colonists would refuse altogether to contribute to the expenses of the war. As to Natal and the Transvaal, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester had, he thought, sufficiently shown, from an examination of their finances, that nothing was to be expected from them.

The financial position in the Transvaal was the most hopeless possible. No taxes were collected there except certain duties, and the ordinary Expenditure was not made up by the ordinary Revenue; and, in addition to that, there was a large debt remaining unpaid. Therefore, if one looked at the political situation of the Transvaal, it would be seen that it was hopeless to expect from it any useful contribution to the expenses of the war. It was possible that deficiencies might not continue for ever, and that there would be some recovery of trade and prosperity, and there might be a change in the financial situation, resulting in a surplus, where, for some years past, there has been a deficiency. But the real and important question was—"Are you, in relation to the South African Colonies, about to continue this policy, or do you intend to abandon it?" If the Government did not intend to abandon the course in which they had lately indulged, if they insisted upon a policy of supremacy, they would never get back any part of the £3,000,000, but would, on the contrary, year by year, add more millions to them. The Zulu War might be at an end; but, as he had before pointed out, that war was merely an episode in the affairs of the Cape. It was only a part of a series of events which must be gone on with one after another if the present policy was to be continued, of which the Zulu War was the expression. It was simply the result of the application of one particular principle of policy which, if it was continued to be applied, would raise other enemies not more easily subdued than Cetywayo. The Government had been asked what was to be their policy in the future; and they had laid upon the Table certain Papers which, however, did not contain a most important despatch that should have been given to the House as explaining what were their views with respect to South Africa. This despatch, which related to Confederation, had been sent by the Colonial Secretary to the Cape Government, and had been referred to as having been received by Sir Bartle Frere, and it had also been published in South Africa. The House, however, knew nothing of this despatch, and were, therefore, altogether in the dark as to what was the policy of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the funda-

mental question in South Africa. They knew that Her Majesty's Government were in some way or other committed to the policy of Confederation; but the Cape Colony did not think the time was ripe for promoting that principle. It was known that Her Majesty's Government favoured the idea from the express statement of the Colonial Minister, who said last Friday that they had not abandoned the idea of Confederation. This was a policy of active extension, because Confederation meant self-assertion and extension. We had inherited the fatal legacy which Lord Carnarvon left to the Government, and which he thought they might, without any dishonour, have repudiated on the first opportunity. They had, in spite of precedent and argument, retained that policy; they had not taken their stand upon the solid ground of throwing upon the Colonies the responsibility of behaving in a decent and just manner with its neighbours; they would not leave the Transvaal in the position of freedom which it once occupied; they insisted on maintaining the policy of extension. When the Cape Colonies were told that if they ran into war they must bear the consequences there were 25 years of peace, which had only been disturbed when this policy of vain ambition and folly was entered upon. It was true that the case of New Zealand had been referred to, where, by withdrawing the Imperial troops, and by throwing upon them the responsibility of conducting their own affairs, a certain period of peace had been secured. But he was told by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that the cases of the Cape and New Zealand were not parallel; and it would, he thought, be instructive to inquire why they were not so. They were not parallel, because in New Zealand the proportion of Englishmen to Natives was such that they could hold their own and assert their superiority. What did that mean but that in New Zealand Englishmen were big enough to domineer? In South Africa they were not numerous enough to do this. The right hon. Member said you could not leave Englishmen alone in South Africa altogether as you could in New Zealand; in other words, you must let Englishmen domineer there, and you must assist them. But if that was the policy of morality, he would like to hear the right hon. Member for Bradford

defend it upon that ground. If Englishmen dealt justly with their neighbours in South Africa, instead of making them slaves, then he held that there was no excuse whatever for not adopting the policy there which had been adopted in New Zealand. This was one of those subjects on which hon. Members went wrong, because they would not think out the question. If it was felt that Englishmen must be "cocks of the walk," and that they must be defended in assuming a position of superiority, whatever might be their position with regard to the neighbouring Tribes, then he repeated that that policy was absolutely immoral and productive of a continuous flow of money treasure and blood in any country where it was adopted. What he was saying had been said in so many words, without any circumlocution, by Sir Bartle Frere. Sir Bartle Frere was a man whose character had been very much elucidated by his position in South Africa. But they were bound to credit him with insisting that in South Africa there could be no settlement whatever unless the first principle was established of the unquestioned supremacy of Englishmen. In other words, this was Sir Bartle Frere's principle—and the principle which he (Mr. Courtney) believed was unconsciously entertained by many hon. Members—that we could have no neighbours. The people who were near us must be in a subordinate position to ourselves; neighbours and equals they could not be. Now, if you took that as your first principle of action in South Africa, was it not clear that you must go on and on in pursuit of that dream of abolishing neighbours until you lost yourselves in the middle of South Africa? You might get rid of the Zulus, and you then had the Swazies. You might get rid of them, and then there would be some other race to deal with, until at last you would be landed at the Zambesi, where there would be no necessity of persecuting neighbours any further. As long as we countenanced the Colonies in their notion that they must be supreme in their conduct with their neighbours, and as long as they felt that in all their difficulties we should come to their assistance, so long would they go on calling upon us to do so. He wished to point out, with reference to the state of affairs in South Africa, what was the position in which we were

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now, and how impossible it was that we should go on with this policy. They had listened that evening to a very able speech from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) on the necessity of requiring a contribution to the expenditure incurred in their behalf. And the other evening they had had a speech from the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) in favour of sending out a Royal Commission to South Africa, in order to investigate the relations between our Colonies and the Native Tribes. But it would appear that both those hon. Members had failed adequately to grasp the meaning of the fact that we had given self-government to the Cape Colony. We had given the Colony self-government, and, in doing so, we had given them practical independence, which altogether forbade our intruding upon them if we went there with a Royal Commission, for example, to inquire into the relations between the Colony and the Native Tribes. We had given them self-government because we could not help it; for, as Lord Blachford had shown, the Cape Colony had resisted us to such a degree that self-government could no longer be withheld, and it was accordingly granted. But the gift entailed important consequences and placed the Colonial policy of the Cape beyond our control. Canada had acquired self-government, and she had taken advantage of the power thus obtained to adopt a tariff hostile to British trade, and to dismiss the local Governor of Quebec whom the Colonial Secretary would desire to keep in his position. But, having given self-control to Canada, you could not control the action of Canada with respect to the Tariff, nor in respect of the local Governor. In the same way, having given self-government to the Cape Colony, you could no longer control its action with respect to the Tribes annexed to it. You might affect to do so; but you had not the power. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had argued that, as we must aid the Colonies in their need and contribute to the cost of their policy, we must have a share in controlling that policy. But he (Mr. Courtney) ventured to say that, as we could have no share in controlling their policy, we should refuse to contribute to the cost. The author of an able paper in *The Quarterly Review* had suggested that we might withdraw self-government from the

Colony; but everybody acquainted practically with politics would know that this was absolutely impossible. You could not retract what had been given in this way, and if you could not retract the power of disposition and control of Native policy, then it was in vain to say because we pay we must have a share in that policy. The alternative was, because we could have no share in that policy we would have no share in the payment. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had laid before the House facts which appeared to be conclusive; he had given an illustration of the conduct of the Cape Colonists towards the Natives, and he had given an illustration of the way in which the Judges treated cases in which the rights of the Natives as against Englishmen were concerned. It was enough for him to say that it had been shown in that House that, in the Cape Colony, society was permeated with a different feeling and with a different morality to that which prevailed here. You could not, in a society with a different morality from your own, introduce your morality to make that society act contrary to its own morality. That appeared to him to be a self-evident proposition. There existed in the Cape Colony a different morality to ours with regard to the treatment of Natives; and it was idle to shut our eyes to this fact and its consequences. Besides this, there was another element in the question which could not be controlled and which was independent of our action—namely, the contest for land. The Colonial Secretary, he believed, denied the existence of this greed for land as an explanation of the difficulty in South Africa. He said that the whole thing was explained by the fact that Englishmen had a tendency to move towards the North and the Natives towards the South. But these two facts, which he would term the “Compass theory” of the right hon. Gentleman, were insufficient to explain the whole difficulty. Why was it that Englishmen moved towards the North, and that the Natives moved towards the South at the Cape? The answer was that the English were too numerous for comfortable living in the sea-side settlements, and were moving towards where they could get more space, and, in the same way, the Natives, who were getting more crowded in the North, were moving towards the South. It

was a question of the means of existence in both cases. We, in England, could not control the action of this struggle for existence in South Africa, and the only way to restrain it within decent limits was to throw on English Colonists the complete responsibility of their acts. In Natal and in the Transvaal the situation was even more serious than at Cape Colony. If we looked at the Transvaal, we should find a morality still more diverse than ours than that which prevailed in Cape Colony. There was, in the Cape Colony, a respectable minority whose views were analogous to those of Englishmen in this country, and had some influence on the conduct of affairs in the Cape. But in the Transvaal this was not so; and we could not, except by exercising force, make the policy of the Transvaal agree with our own. Again, we could not make the policy of the Transvaal agree with the policy of Cape Colony with respect to this question. The difference in the ideas and morality between these different States and Territories was such as, in the judgment of men who had given most attention to the subject, would render Confederation impossible. He had referred to an article in *The Quarterly Review* known to be written by a most distinguished historian, who went out to the Cape expressly for the purpose of promoting the scheme of Confederation. That writer said that Confederation was impossible, at least, during the life-time of the present generation. Lord Blachford had approached the question from a totally different point of view, but had agreed absolutely and entirely with the historian to whom he had referred that it was impossible to make these States confederate together, since their views, their ideas, and the policies which they pursued were different. With respect to the Transvaal, he would ask the Committee to allow him to go into a few details, in order to show that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of the policy of Confederation to which the Government were pledged, and with respect to which they must add expense to expense. He trusted hon. Members would pardon the length to which his observations were extending; but it was of importance that with respect to the Transvaal the House should understand what was the attitude of the people in

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the Transvaal towards ourselves; and in this matter he was sorry to say that we had not had that assistance from the public Press which was desirable. Last year he had expressed his regret that the Correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Delegates of the Transvaal had not been accurately reproduced in the newspapers, which resulted in the public getting one side of the story and not the other with reference to what had happened in the Transvaal. He had again to complain of the action of some of the newspapers. Sir Bartle Frere had sent home in the spring an important despatch, describing interviews which he had had with some of the Transvaal Boers at Bloemfontein. That despatch was telegraphed by the correspondent of *The Standard* at the Cape; but, as it was not known to be authenticated, it was not sufficiently published. Later it was known that the despatch was authentic, and still later it was laid upon the Table in a Blue Book; and in the analysis of those Papers which appeared in the most widely diffused newspapers of the day this despatch was entirely overlooked. He would very briefly show how impossible it was for this country to maintain in the Transvaal the first condition of Confederation. The Transvaal ought to be a member of any Confederation that might be formed in South Africa; but no sooner was the annexation of the Transvaal made than the Boers began to protest against it, and sent over a deputation to Lord Carnarvon. They were told that they did not represent the people; thereupon, a Memorial was drawn up, protesting against the annexation, and the Memorial was signed by about 6,000 adult males out of a population estimated at 8,000 adult males. That Memorial was brought before the Colonial Secretary, who said that the thing was done, and that it could not be looked to; he also refused to investigate the matter, or to take any notice of the remonstrances. What happened then? The Delegates went back, and told their story to the Boers; a meeting was held, and the result was such a demonstration of anger against the English Government as to produce a very considerable anxiety in Natal. The Boers met together, and Sir Bartle Frere met them. The whole Transvaal was then in a most anxious and critical

condition, and the English immigrants who were in the country were in a tolerable state of funk. They got into the town of Pretoria, and took precautions against surprise, and patrolled the streets in their anxiety lest the Boers should come from their camp and make themselves masters of the city. The Transvaal Boers were not likely to do that, because it would have embarrassed the English Government in the prosecution of the war in Zululand. They waited until Sir Bartle Frere came to them, and then they laid their remonstrances before him. What was their attitude, and what were their views on that occasion? He would read a few extracts from the Blue Books to show what were the characters and habits of the Transvaal people, whom they so perfectly ignored in their policy of Confederation. A document sent by a number of farmers at Wonderfontein began in words which were seldom heard in that Assembly, and, perhaps, it would be rash to repeat it there. It commenced—

"In the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, and prayerfully waiting on His gracious help and pity, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, as we do hereby agree, to make a holy covenant for us and for our children, which we confirm with a solemn oath. Fully 40 years ago our fathers fled from the Cape Colony in order to become a free and independent people. Those 40 years were 40 years of pain and suffering. We established Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times the English Government has trampled our liberty and dragged to the ground our flag, which our fathers had baptised with their blood and tears. As by a thief in the night has our Republic been stolen from us. We may not endure this. It is God's will, and it is required of us by the unity of our fathers and by love to our children that we should hand over intact to our children the legacy of the fathers. For that purpose it is that we here come together and give each other the right hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to remain faithful to our country and our people, and with our eye fixed on God, to co-operate until death for the restoration of the freedom of our Republic. So help us Almighty God!"

That was a message which the Boers of the Transvaal sent to this country, and it indicated the temper of the mind in which they assembled together. Sir Bartle Frere went to see these men. Before he got to them he thought that their importance was overrated, and that they were, in fact, only a small number of discontented, ignorant people to whom little attention ought to be paid. But when he got closer to them he found it

necessary to alter his opinion; and, before he came back, he admitted frankly that the gravity of the situation was unquestionable. The Boers had assembled in their camps to the number of 4,000, and, he believed, in a perfectly sober, orderly way, waiting for Sir Bartle Frere. They waited patiently, in their modest way, until Sir Bartle Frere came to them in order that they might put their views before him. What happened then was best seen by the despatch of Sir Bartle Frere of the 17th of April, one or two pages from which he would ask permission to read. He said—

"They maintain that their independence was unjustly taken from them by the act of annexation, an act which they allege was grounded on incorrect representations of the state of the Transvaal and the feebleness of its Government. They desire that their independence may be freely and unreservedly restored to them. They desire nothing more in the shape of concession and they cannot be content with anything less. By 'independence' they understand the same entire freedom from all control in choosing their own form of government and their own administrative machinery as was guaranteed to them by the Sand River Convention of 1852. In making this demand, they claim to represent the wishes of the very great majority of the Boer population of the Transvaal. They consider that the Boers now assembled represent the very great majority of that population. How far this is the case I have, of course, had no opportunity of judging personally; but there can be no doubt that I may say, as the result of my own observations in the camp and elsewhere, that it certainly is a very strong party that has kept up this movement to the present time; and, as a proof of their earnestness, I can confirm the fact that they have been in an open camp for four weeks waiting my arrival. And looking to the bearing and the temper of the members of the committee whom I met, who are men of position in the country and respected, and leaders who have since the earliest establishment of the Republic taken a prominent part in the government of the country, I think I may say that their representations are worthy of your earnest consideration."

That was a letter which Sir Bartle Frere drew up and engaged to them to send home, and, later on, he sent another despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies couched in even stronger language. He said he felt assured that the majority of them considered themselves deeply wronged, and that only the highest motives restrained them from asserting their claims. Meanwhile, the taxes that ought to have been paid three months before remained uncollected, and the government of the country was virtually in abeyance outside the capital. He would ask hon. Members whether they sincerely thought that it was possible for this

country to maintain its rule over a population of that kind, where three-fourths of the people indignantly repudiated interference, and, in their solemn way, had expressed their determination to be free as their fathers had been? If this country were not going to thrust upon this people an unwilling dominion, what did it mean by promoting the Confederation which, for no other reason, would be impossible, by the absolute impossibility of maintaining any authority over those people? To the expense of the matter he would not refer; but would only say that, at the present time, the Transvaal did not pay its way. Was this country going to the expense of keeping an English soldier for every Boer in the Transvaal? Attacked, as they were, in purse, if not in conscience, it was plain they would have to abandon their policy. The principle of the Confederation, understood in the Cape Colony, meant—first of all, the inclusion of Natal and the Transvaal, and the subjugation of Zululand. Assuming the war to be finished, the £3,000,000 which they were then voting was only a very small part of the expense which would have to be incurred. Whatever might be said, he could not help thinking that the victory of which they had heard so much was one of the most moderate military transactions ever achieved. Certainly, that was the general opinion, and they would have expended £3,000,000 in securing that. But how far would that money go in accomplishing the policy which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies said was that of Her Majesty's Government, and which the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) approved of? What would he do if there were to be Residents placed here and there in Zululand? It was found difficult enough at present to govern Natal; but to govern Zululand would be still harder. Then they would have the Transvaal, with its invincible repugnance to their Sovereignty. They would have to retain a permanent military Force, and would find that £3,000,000 was a very small portion of the expense which would be incurred. If hon. Members did not approve of the policy which had been pursued in South Africa, then the Vote ought to be rejected altogether. In accepting that alternative, they would leave the Cape Colony to maintain itself as a self-governing community. They

would leave Natal to be, as hitherto, a settlement rather than a Colony—a settlement of Englishmen living peaceably and dealing honestly with the Natives among whom they lived. The doctrine that unless English Colonists were strong enough to domineer over their neighbours this country ought to assist them was opposed to the most elementary principles of morality. If the Government would not reject it as immoral, they would have to abandon it as too costly, for the £3,000,000 now asked for would be but a small instalment of the expenditure such a policy would involve.

Mr. DALRYMPLE said, that in the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) a great point was made by him as to their desire to be "cocks of the walk." He would venture to say that there was no man in that House who, in reference to the war in South Africa, had any desire to be a "cock of the walk." It was impossible to feel any very great enthusiasm with reference to that war, and he thought that nothing was further from their minds than the policy which had been indicated. He could not but think that the pages of *The Nineteenth Century*, in which certain hon. Members—even eminent Members of Parliament—were in the habit of finding relief for their feelings, from time to time, in language stronger than they were in the habit of using in that House, would have been a more appropriate arena than the House for the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard. He said that in no flippant spirit, for he was sure that it would be worth perusing. But the time and the occasion did not seem to him to be the most appropriate that could have been chosen for discussing lines of Colonial policy. The hon. Gentleman had referred to the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford; but, for his part, he preferred the views of the right hon. Member to those of the hon. Member for Liskeard, for the right hon. Gentleman seemed desirous of maintaining their Colonial Empire, and all matters connected with Colonial populations excited his sympathy. As to the speech of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), he would only remark that the hon. Member was somewhat unfortunate in choosing the occasion he had for suggesting reasons why the Colonists should not contribute towards defraying the cost of the war. He thought that very

*Mr. Courtney*



few hon. Members were not of opinion that the Colonists should bear their share of the expenditure, and he hoped that they would be made to contribute their proportion. He, therefore, thought that the time was scarcely well chosen for suggesting reasons why they should not contribute. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson) had an awkward habit of placing his finger upon weak points in an adversary's case, and when a speech from him was well over the Government might fairly be considered to have got out of a good deal of their difficulty. So far as he could make out, his speech was directed to the discussion of the mis-spent part of the £6,000,000 voted last year, and he considered that it was the duty of the Government to look very sharply after a certain £93,000 that had been referred to. He gathered from the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman, and also from those of the hon. Member for Liskeard, that they had not much to say against the present Vote. He had no doubt but that the Committee were of opinion that the Vote was not an unreasonable one, and he was quite sure there must be a general feeling in the Committee that if that Vote represented the expenditure that had been necessary for the war they would have got out of it very cheaply. He had no reason to doubt that the calculations upon which the Vote had been based had been carefully framed; and, looking to the character of the war, and the circumstance that it was not a war provoked by Her Majesty's Government, and for which they were not responsible, he did not doubt that the Committee would agree to the Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL had considerable misgivings as to whether the sum now asked for would suffice to meet all the expenses of the war, more especially when he found that the transport of troops to and from the seat of war was only put down at the sum of £450,000. He feared that during the Recess considerable expense might be incurred without the House having had any opportunity of expressing any opinion upon it. For the last four months the war had been carried on without the money being voted by Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained the way in which that had been done. He wished to call the attention of the

House to the matter, for they had strong misgivings that they should find that very great expenditure had been incurred without the House having had the least opportunity of expressing any opinion one way or the other. They knew that for the last four months the money which had been spent had been taken from a mysterious source of supply which had been described as the Military Chest. Very few hon. Members understood what the Military Chest was, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been good enough to explain its nature. The explanation was that the Colonial authorities had *carte blanche* to spend what they liked by drawing long bills on this country. The right hon. Gentleman, however, told them that the bills drawn were long dated. The result, practically, was that the Colonial authorities had been allowed to borrow from the Colonial banks without any sanction from Parliament, and, so far as he knew, without the sanction of the Home Government. The long-dated bills were only one form of borrowing. What he very much wished to know was whether the system of long-dated bills was to be carried on while Parliament was not sitting, as, if so, the credit of the country might be pledged to the payment of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 sterling, in addition to the Vote of Credit now sought for. He hoped that they would be clearly informed how that matter stood. As the matter stood at present, he thought it would be better for the Colonial authorities to borrow money upon their own credit rather than to have *carte blanche* to draw long-dated bills upon this country. With regard to the Transkei War, he had put several Questions during the Session. He had asked whether it was intended that Imperial funds should not only be devoted to the expenses of the Imperial troops, but that advances should be made from the Imperial Exchequer for the Colonial troops and for the forage and transport of the Colonial Force? Advances had been made from the Military Chest in respect of these matters. It was said that those advances had been made on the responsibility of the Government of the Cape; but he should like to know how that responsibility had been fixed and ascertained? They had heard nothing in the late Correspondence about the responsibility of the Cape Government for advances made for purely

Colonial purposes, and on purely Colonial accounts. A Blue Book had recently been presented to Parliament, and he had looked carefully through it to find any acknowledgment by the Cape authorities of their responsibility. He willingly admitted that the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies had written a number of very admirable despatches setting forth what the responsibilities of the Cape Government were. But he had looked in vain in their replies for any recognition on the part of the Colonial authorities of those responsibilities—there had been hundreds of addresses sent home expressing confidence in the Government, but not a single despatch acknowledging the liability. It seemed to him that the system of allowing the Cape authorities *carte blanche* to draw long bills upon that country for expenditure, acknowledged to be Colonial expenditure, was a very dangerous and discouraging practice. He hoped that the Government would give an assurance that in future such a practice should not be carried on, and that they would not be drawn into another expenditure of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 by the Colonial authorities spending that money without the consent or control of Parliament. Having said so much with regard to the responsibility of the Cape authorities for the money advanced for purely Colonial purposes, he must, on the other hand, say that it seemed to him that in that debate to-night, speaking generally, considerable injustice had been done to the Government of the Cape Colony. In justice to the Cape Colony, it should be remembered that a little while ago the minority in the Cape was a majority. They had some insufficient information concerning the Colonial administration; but he believed that the Cape Government, in its treatment of the Native Coloured population, had set an example which might be with great advantage followed in other countries. This example stood out in very favourable contrast to other Colonies, which had passed laws, which he was sorry to say had been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, of a very unfair character to the Chinese immigrants. In the Cape, on the other hand, the franchise had been extended to the Coloured population, and the Natives were treated by their White fellow-citizens as being on an entire equality with them. He thought, there-

fore, that the language used by the hon. Member for Liskeard upon this subject was not justified by the facts. The Cape Colony had been the first of all British Colonies which had granted the franchise to the Natives, and in that respect it deserved commendation. The hon. Gentleman had been very hard on the Dutch element in the Colony. He thought that it should be borne in mind that the Ministry now in power did not represent the Dutch element in the Colony, but the English. But they had been told of objectionable measures for which the present Ministers of Cape Colony were responsible. It was, however, but just to remember that the present Ministry, who were immediately responsible, had been imposed upon the Colony by a British Governor, and maintained in power by the support of British troops and money. With regard to the future, he was strongly of opinion that they might now reasonably call upon the Cape Colony to pay for such wars as should be carried on within the Colony itself. Now that the Transkei war was finished he agreed with the hon. Member for Liskeard that the Cape Colony ought to be self-supporting and to bear its own expenses absolutely and entirely. It should not be allowed to draw upon the Military Chest; but if it wished to raise money in the future it ought to do so upon its own credit and not upon that of this country. The Colony should be self-governing and self-supporting. Whatever, therefore, might be the case with regard to wars, he trusted that they might not again be called upon to pay for any war in the Cape Colony itself. His observations did not apply to any possible complications in Natal, but were limited to the Cape Colony. With regard to the subject of Confederation, he wished to express the opinion that it could not be brought about in a practical manner by means of the present Confederation Act. They had been told that it would be necessary for them to give military assistance to the Colonists and to control the Native policy. The means by which that could be effected had not, however, been yet discovered, and they had not yet solved the problem of combining military assistance from the Mother Country with a proper control over the Native policy. He did not think that there was any one instance in which they had succeeded in solving the problem. He sincerely hoped Her Majesty's

*Sir George Campbell*

Government would succeed in doing so. Meanwhile, they ought to make the Cape Colonists feel that if they should again draw this country into war it would not be a conflict in which all the loss would be on the side of Great Britain and all the profit on theirs.

MR. W. E. FORSTER did not wish to detain the Committee at any length, but only to reply to some remarks that had fallen from the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). The hon. Member seemed to think that he was of opinion that in New Zealand, where the Whites were strong, they should be left alone to commit any injustice they pleased; but at the Cape, where the contrary was the case, this country should interfere. Nothing could by any possibility be more contrary to his convictions than that idea. If the Natal Government were then stronger than the Natives, and were to commit any injustice upon them, and he was convinced that an act of injustice had been done, he could not say exactly what he would do; but he certainly would not be responsible for their acts. The hon. Member could not have any stronger feeling upon that point than he had; but the contrast between New Zealand and South Africa was very great. If they were to let New Zealand alone she would be well able to take care of herself; he believed they would be doing wrong to disavow the responsibility that belonged to them, but no harm would happen to the people of New Zealand, for they would be able to contend with the Natives. On the other hand, if they withdrew from their South African Colonies and all their possessions in South Africa the Natives were so numerous and so well armed that he thought they would be able to contend with the Whites. If the Blacks in South Africa got the upper hand atrocities would be committed upon the Whites which would be retaliated, and a general feud might take place. The Blacks in South Africa were very courageous, whatever else might be said concerning them, and from their contact with European nations they obtained such instruction in military matters that they would put the Whites in all parts of South Africa in very great danger, including Cape Colony and Natal. And if either the Zulus or some other Tribe were to put English Colonists in danger, was it likely that the English people

would not go to their rescue? This country could never stand by and see them murdered. That being the case, what were they to do? He regretted the wars that had hitherto been undertaken, and he believed that the last war was not only an unjust and unnecessary, but a wicked war. He hoped that they would have no such wars in future. Why were they going on with the war? It seemed to him they were bound to do so for two reasons. First, because there was always a feeling in South Africa, which they must expect to have to contend with, that wherever Whites were brought into contact with Blacks—the men of high civilization with the men of low civilization—the former would wish to domineer over the latter. That tendency ought to be checked by the Home Government, and he believed that the Government wished to contend against it; but he wished that they had done so with more vigour. A Governor and High Commissioner was sent out to contend against that feeling; but he had allowed himself to be led away by the War Party and to commit the country to what he (Mr. W. E. Forster) considered to be an unjust and unnecessary war. That war had cost them a large sum of money, and had only brought discredit on their arms. By the most recent appointment to the position of High Commissioner, the Government had placed over them a gentleman altogether opposed to the Native policy. They would see what would be done for the future. The hon. Member for Liskeard proposed to sever the connection between the Mother Country and the Cape. He did not believe that the English people would assent to any such proposition. He would go further, and say that he did not think they ought to do so. They were, in his opinion, responsible for what happened at the Cape, and were bound to look to the safety of the Colonists. His hon. Friend had two lines of argument. In one part of his remarks he said that what was being done at the Cape was immoral and ought to be condemned. The answer to that was that this country was doing its best to put things in a proper state. Then the hon. Gentleman contended that the Colonists were free people, and ought to be left to themselves. With respect to the Transvaal, for every Boer there were 10 or 20 Blacks, and such a matter as

that should be taken into consideration. What was to be done under the circumstances? He entertained the strongest conviction that they ought not to break off their connection with the Cape. On the other hand, they were determined to do everything in their power to prevent the recurrence of another unnecessary, useless, and unjust war. They were necessary to the Colonists, who would be left in great difficulties without them. Whatever was said, yet the fact remained that if left to themselves the Colonists would be in very great difficulty, and would have no power to contend with the Natives of South Africa. But he thought they should take advantage of their position to make terms with the Colony. First, they should insist that they should do something for their own defence. A day or two ago the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that one thing which seemed to him to suggest that for the future the Government would insist upon the Colonies in South Africa organizing some defensive Forces. He thought that was the proper course to take, and that this country should say to the Colonists, that "if you accept our assistance we must have some voice in your policy; we must have some voice over your coast within your own Borders." On that point he fully agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy. They ought so to govern their Black subjects at the Cape, and the enormous multitude in Natal and the Transvaal, that at least there should be no wars or disturbances amongst them. He believed that was exceedingly difficult, and that it was one of the most difficult problems that ever came before any country to settle. He did not know, however, that there was any other policy they could take. They could not leave the Colony to shift for itself, and take the consequences of its own action. On the other hand, England was determined that it would not pay the expenses of such wars as this in the future. One thing we might do precisely opposite to what we had done, which was, that instead of sending out a Governor who made arrangements immediately after the annexation of the Transvaal, and who at once set to work with greater forces and power to carry out the policy which had brought the Transvaal Boers into misfortune, and so leading them into dis-

aster, they should send a man who, instead of getting up a war which was not wanted, and which was not necessary, and which was unjust, would use his very strong influence in preventing any such things. That was what the Government might very fairly do, and he had no doubt it was what the Government wished they had done. He hoped that this discussion would not cease without Government saying a little more of their intention with regard to their policy in the future than they had yet done. So far as he could tell, and he had watched these matters with some care and attention, the one practical measure suggested by the Government was that requiring the Colony to establish some defensive organization, and that he regarded as a very good measure. He thought a time had now come when, if the Government had a policy in regard to the Cape, and intended to meet this difficult problem, they ought to tell them what it was. He did not want to make an attack upon the Government, for he admitted their difficulties; but he must condemn, as he had always felt it his duty to condemn, the policy of Sir Bartle Frere. He felt also that Sir Bartle Frere had some right himself to complain. The Government ought to have known the very difficult problem they had to solve, and what sort of a man to solve it with. They ought to have known it—and if they did not know it before, it showed an amount of ignorance and want of foresight on their part that he could hardly suppose them guilty of—and if they did know it, they ought to have taken action with Sir Bartle Frere long before they did. They knew who he was, and what a remarkable combination he was of strength of will and of power of being misled by his own imagination—at the same time, of sincerity of purpose, and yet of a possibility of absolutely defying them in any instructions given to him. His letters and despatches, replying to the Colonial Secretary, showed pretty clearly what it was he meant to do. He could not but believe that the Government were in the same position as this. They thought—"Well, he may succeed in what he is going to do; we will leave him, and see what happens." Of course, it was very easy to judge after the event. That might be an easy thing to say now. Therefore, he made allow-

*Mr. W. E. Forster*

ances for the Government in that respect. Still, he thought they would themselves now regret very heartily that they did not act with more vigour and determination, and did not recall him or put him under instructions and restrictions from which he could not possibly have departed. Now, however, they had come to this point. They asked the Government to tell them fairly what was their line of policy? As regarded Federation, he thought they were right in making a Federation, if they would only tell them how they hoped to do it. If the Government would tell them the terms on which they would assist them, it would be an enormous advantage to deal with one body at the Cape. What was done several years ago was merely to give power to bind together the different States in the Federation. He had seen it stated sometimes that if the Divisions in the House on certain memorable occasions had succeeded in their object this war might have been avoided. But the South African Bill had nothing whatever to do with the war. Its sole object was to give the Colonists the opportunity of federating, if they pleased, and had no more to do with the war than any other possible thing that could have happened. When the Government trusted men like Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Garnet Wolesley, hoping that in some way or another they would solve this problem, they ought to give the House also some information of what their policy was to be.

MR. ONSLOW observed, that he had never said a word against Sir Bartle Frere; but he thought Her Majesty's Government ought to be very careful. He had worked with him many years ago, and he knew his character. The despatches he had written home were exactly in the same line as those he sent, when he was Governor of Bombay, to Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy; and it was now incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to tell Sir Bartle Frere, considering all that had happened, that he was not to take the government of the Colonies under his control without the previous sanction of Her Majesty's Government. For every action of his out there the Government were responsible, and as they knew the kind of man they had to deal with, and could see the great mischief he had already worked, they ought to take warning. As a humble

but very strong supporter of the Government, he would tell them that his policy had not met with the approval of the House or the approval of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had talked about Federation; but it was a most difficult thing to settle, as might be seen from the important despatches written by Sir Henry Bulwer on this subject. For his part, he hoped nothing would be done so long as Sir Bartle Frere was at the head of affairs. He should be sorry to say that of any man who had served his country; but having studied his character, and knowing his previous history, he thought, seeing that Sir Bartle Frere had not the confidence of the House or the country, he should not, perhaps, be recalled, but, at any rate, he should tender his resignation.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON thought it a great pity that, entertaining the sentiments which he had just expressed, the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) did not vote with those who sat opposite to him on questions relating to our South African policy. But now that this question of Sir Bartle Frere had come up, and that they had had the pleasure of hearing the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. W. E. Forster's) views of his character, and had heard him say that the Government ought to have known what manner of man he was, and ought to have looked rather sharply after him, he really thought he must come to the defence of the Government. A Friend of his had brought him a copy of *Hansard*, and he read with great interest in that volume the remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman on the 26th July, 1878. The Committee had heard the opinion of that right hon. Gentleman as to what the Government ought to have thought about Sir Bartle Frere. But what was his own opinion of him? He said—

"We have certainly in the Governor of the principal Colony a man whom we can entirely trust for motive, for sense, and for ability in this most difficult matter. I entirely agree with what the right hon. Gentleman has said. I think we might search the whole of our Public Service and with difficulty find any man who has that combination of feelings of justice and firmness of character which fits him to deal with this most difficult question. I do not know that the Government can do more than strengthen his hand as much as possible."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlii. 474.]

Sir Bartle Frere seemed to him a representative of the result of this policy

which they were called upon to discuss that night. There had been some question earlier in the evening of the discussion of the policy of the Afghan War on the Vote of Thanks; but there was no doubt that when they came to vote money they were entitled to discuss the policy which rendered the money necessary. As the Prime Minister had said quite truly, "expenditure depends upon policy." Then it seemed to him a grievous thing, in the present state of the country—a state of dissatisfaction and suffering—that they should be called upon to vote this extra £3,000,000 for this war. He thought that night they had supped full of horrors. They had passed a Vote of Thanks to the Army for carrying on a war in Asia which half the House thought to be unjust. ["No, no!"] Well, then, he would say nearly one-half of the House, or, at any rate, one-third of the House. ["No, no!"] Well, hon. Gentlemen seemed very strictly accurate. He maintained that more than one-third of the House did not approve this war. ["Oh, oh!"] It was no use crying "Oh, oh!" because it did not alter the fact. Early in the evening they had passed a Vote of Thanks to the Army for successfully prosecuting a war which more than one-third of the House considered to be unjust, and now they were called upon to vote £3,000,000 for a war which the whole House believed to be unjust. ["No, no!"] In his opinion, this was a war which everybody thought to be unjust except the hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir William Edmonstone). They had the despatches of Her Majesty's Government, in which Sir Bartle Frere was condemned for beginning this war; and, therefore, he supposed he was justified in saying that the Government would not have said, if they had not thought it, that Sir Bartle Frere had acted wrongly and unjustly in this matter. In fact, Sir Bartle Frere seemed to him to have thought, not that he was the Governor, but that he was the Government, and could carry out any policy that he liked. And then an hon. Member went so far as to say that the Home Government was not responsible for the war. If a public servant begun war and was then condemned, that was, practically, condemning the policy he adopted. If they read English history, they would never find that we had

carried on before a war which was avowedly admitted to be unjust. He did not believe there was anything like it in our previous history. In every other war the people had been told it was for some noble purpose, or was to defend this or that interest; but here they were told by the Government themselves that it was unjust, and yet they were called upon to vote £3,000,000 for carrying it on. They had not gone much into the policy of the war that night, although his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had taken a wide sweep, and had discussed our whole Colonial policy. But what could be more wretched than the excuses put forward for this war; and could anything be more miserable? They were told that we made war with Cetywayo because he kept a large standing Army. Why, we in England worshipped a standing Army, and spent night after night in discussing it in all its details, and in providing for its perfection. They had 200 Members in that House more or less connected with the Army, who proved by their conduct that they believed that the country was made for the Army, and not the Army for the country. Then Sir Bartle Frere said war was made because Cetewayo did not allow his soldiers to marry till they were 40. Was there ever such a pretext as that? Why, we did exactly the same with our own Guardsmen. They had had a debate on this subject, and the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) took them through the whole matter, and explained all the proceedings. Then they heard another reason. It was charged that two or three men had come over the Border and stolen a pipe and handkerchief. These were all mere pretexts, and nothing else. Then, another reason given to catch the superficial was that we wanted to put down the great cruelties which Cetywayo practised on his people. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Elotho) made a speech, in which he used very hard language about Cetywayo, and told some most extraordinary stories which horrified that House, although there was no evidence to show that they had any warrant, and no evidence had been brought forward since to prove them true. For his part, he believed these stories were merely the exaggerations of some disordered brain. They talked

*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*

about going to war to stop cruelties, as if Cetewayo was the only man who committed cruelties. He had heard of a man called Cheffket Pasha, or some such name. Did England go to war to stop his cruelties? On the contrary, we raised £6,000,000 to keep him going on in the same practices. Then, after all these pretexts for war, we went to war. England might talk about Poles and Hungarians, and sympathize with them in their struggles for freedom and liberty; but he believed there never was a nobler struggle than that which these savages had made against us who had gone wickedly to war with them. They talked about the prestige of the country being restored. Future generations would say that we, with our perfect means of scientific slaughter, had found ourselves outwitted and defeated by these poor, half-naked savages. Now the end, he supposed, was come. About a fortnight ago news arrived that we had gained a great and glorious victory. We had shot down some 1,000 or 1,500 of these poor savages, losing 10 men ourselves. That we called a glorious victory. He maintained it was a crowning disgrace, and as unjust and wicked a war as ever this country entered into; and he believed that at some future day that night would be looked back on, not with pride, but with regret, by all those who had supported the policy which called upon the House to vote this large sum.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I do not know that it is possible for me to enter as fully as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. E. Forster) seems to desire into the discussion of the prospective Colonial policy of the Government. We have a question before us which is of importance, though it is a comparatively narrow question—the question of the Vote which we now ask the Committee to agree to, the sum which appears to be necessary for the expenses of the war in which we are engaged. It is perfectly natural that the House of Commons, on being asked to make that Vote, should take an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the war itself, and upon the general question of our policy in South Africa. I would remind the Committee, however, that the House has already, upon more than one occasion, discussed a good many parts of this

question. They have discussed, in former years, the general policy of the relations of the Colonies one to another in South Africa. They have discussed the question of Confederation; they have discussed the conduct and policy of Sir Bartle Frere, and the conduct which has led to the war now going on, and which, I trust, is now coming to a conclusion. Within a very few days we have also discussed some of the general questions which arise with regard to our future policy. The Government have not endeavoured to evade a discussion of this question. They have laid before the House, as candidly and fully as they were able, the views which they entertain with regard to the relations of the South African Colonies one to another; and the House is perfectly well aware what the general ground was upon which this was recommended some time ago, and to how great an extent the difference in the relations between European Settlements and the Native Forces was the cause of our desire to establish some system of relations between these different European races which might bring about a better state of relation with the great Native communities. It was not absolutely necessary that that arrangement should take the form of a Federation. That was the form suggested, and we agreed to recommend it to Parliament as the best thing which we could ask the States to entertain and agree to. Although that was one of the methods suggested, it was not the primary and cardinal object to arrive at a settlement in that particular way. What was really necessary for these varying communities of European descent and habits, living in immediate contiguity to a large and powerful class of barbaric nations, was that there should be that amount of understanding between them as might regulate their relations with these savage nations, and as might prevent or obviate causes of quarrel, and, in the case of quarrels unfortunately arising, might enable the whole of the Powers which existed to be concentrated in order to prevent the series of difficulties which might happen from contention among them. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) has, on more than one occasion, pointed out how very delicate is the question of the relations between the

this period of the Session that the right hon. Gentleman should feel himself pledged to a particular course. I very much agree with what fell from him to the effect that the most urgent duty before us was to finish the Business in hand, and to put an end, as soon as possible, and upon the most satisfactory terms we can to the unnecessary war in which we are engaged. But what the right hon. Gentleman entirely omitted to notice was the terms on which this war can be put an end to, and this is what we are entitled to ask. The Committee, I think, has been placed by Her Majesty's Government in, perhaps, the most remarkable position that it was ever placed in, being left in total ignorance both as to the objects with which the war was commenced, and as to the terms upon which it is to be concluded. We are in this position—that we all unanimously in this House are agreed as to the inadequacy of the object for which this war was commenced by Sir Bartle Frere. But while the Government have repudiated all responsibility for bringing about the war, they have declined to recall Sir Bartle Frere, whose acts have led to it. To do Sir Bartle Frere justice, he has never, for a moment, wavered from the opinion that the war was a just one; and, probably, whatever may be said, he will not alter his view of the subject, while it is evident that, whatever may be the private opinion of Her Majesty's Government, they have determined to do their best to shield Sir Bartle Frere from blame. The result of this is that, although we have partially superseded him, this country has had to pay, altogether, £4,500,000 for a war as to which we are entirely agreed that the object for which it was entered into was insufficient. That is done and past recall. The war has been entered into, and must be paid for. But the terms upon which peace may be made are still, to a certain extent, within our control. We know very clearly what are the views of Sir Bartle Frere upon the subject of peace, for we have before us his Ultimatum in which they are contained; and those terms, I have no doubt, are the only terms on which Sir Bartle Frere would ever have consented to make peace. The Government laid before us a despatch containing a criticism upon the terms of that Ultimatum; but we do not know how far

Sir Bartle Frere was expected to think that he had their authority to proceed, or how far, in the opinion of the Government, the terms of the Ultimatum were to be departed from. When Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out to supersede Sir Bartle Frere, endeavours were made to get some information as to the terms upon which he was authorized to make peace; but we received one excuse after another, until, finally, the Blue Book has appeared, and we find that no instructions have been given to him. I understand from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Sir Garnet Wolseley had been made colloquially acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and that he was perfectly aware of the terms of peace which were to be required from Cetewayo. Why can we not now be placed in the same position as Sir Garnet Wolseley, even if the views of Her Majesty's Government are, as is very probable, incapable of being placed in an intelligible form upon paper? Why cannot we colloquially learn what are the terms of peace which Sir Garnet Wolseley is to demand? The Ultimatum has, very probably, disappeared; but that does not put an end to the difficulty. What security has been taken by the Government—even supposing that the power of Cetewayo, and the system established by him has disappeared—that another Cetewayo, with another military system, may not take his place? We have heard something about substituting a system of minor Chiefs, who are to divide amongst themselves the authority hitherto exercised by Cetewayo. But what position towards the British Government are these minor Chiefs to occupy? Are they to be independent, or under the control of this country? Does the Government accept the opinions put forward by Sir Bartle Frere in the latest despatch of his which we have before us, where he lays down the policy which, in his opinion, Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Government ought to follow. He says, in that despatch, that a Native policy uniform in its great principles is an essential preliminary to the establishment of a permanent peace in South Africa, and that such a policy must rest upon the fundamental principle that the supremacy of the British Government, as representing a civilized Power, should be

*The Marquess of Hartington*



unquestionable in any Native State surrounded, as the Zulus are, by British subjects and their allies. In other words, a Zulu State, bordering on the Dominions of the British Crown, must, according to the doctrine of Sir Bartle Frere, acknowledge the supremacy of the British Power. It is extremely easy to say if this policy be adopted where it will lead us. It will lead us to practical annexation. The British settlers will, of course, colonize the territory, which would then only become an extension of the British Colony, and then we shall have new neighbours, amongst whom, according to Sir Bartle Frere, it would be necessary to assert the supremacy of the British Government. Where, as the hon. Member for Liskeard has asked, is this policy to stop? Are the Government aware of any limit within which they can rest and be thankful? Where can they expect to find no Tribes that may not possibly become enemies of the British Colonies? The House of Commons has a right to ask these questions. I have no intention of enforcing these at length; but I did think that the Government would have taken the opportunity to make some statement as to their views with regard to the terms of peace. The statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to me to be so manifestly inadequate in this respect that I could not omit to ask for some more information as to the terms upon which peace will be made.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, the noble Lord has said that the House has unanimously pronounced its opinion as to the insufficiency of the reasons for the present war. It appears to me, however, that the only opinion pronounced by the House was the rejection, several months ago, of the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea; and that, if I may say so, we are wasting time in now discussing the causes of the war, and the policy which led up to it. I will venture to say that, whatever may be the views of the House as to the policy of the war, it has, at any rate, been unanimous in the opinion that it was necessary that the war, once begun, should be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that is the object of the Vote for which the Committee are asked this evening. The noble Lord has asked for information as to the terms on which Sir Garnet Wolseley has been instructed

to make peace, and with that question he has mixed up a reference to the despatches of Sir Bartle Frere, which I should have thought to be quite unnecessary. Her Majesty's Government have sent out Sir Garnet Wolseley to South Africa, placing in his hands authority over certain parts of the country for reasons stated in despatches which have been laid upon the Table, and I would ask that we may be judged by reasons given by ourselves rather than by those attributed to us by the noble Lord. We have sent out Sir Garnet Wolseley in order to bring this war shortly, as we hope, to a satisfactory conclusion. The noble Lord has said that there has been delay and hesitation in publishing the instructions issued to Sir Garnet Wolseley; but I should like to know whether any instance can be given in which the particular instructions given to a General have been made public before the conclusion of a war? It appears to me that any such course would be calculated to defeat its own object. There have been given to the House the general instructions of Sir Garnet Wolseley, indicating the line of policy to be pursued. He is told in those general instructions that it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the present war should be brought to an end as soon as it can be done consistently with the honour of our arms and safety of the British Colonies; and that, in considering the conditions of peace, he is to bear in mind that the object of the Government is not to add to the extent of the British Possessions, but to relieve them from the danger to which they have been hitherto exposed, and that the best means of obtaining that object is to establish friendly relations with the Zulu people on a basis that might secure permanent peace. Yet the noble Lord charges us with the desire of extending our Dominions, and asks when we are going to stop? That, I think, is scarcely a fair charge to make, after the direct and concise statement contained in the despatches before the House. I will remind the Committee of my despatch of the 28th March. That despatch pointed to the absolute necessity of breaking the military power of Cetewayo; it pointed to a system of British Resident Agents, fairly to represent British interests and protect British subjects in Zululand, and to that despatch Sir Garnet Wolseley

was referred. Finally, having had the advantage of constant communication with myself and other Members of the Government conversant with the details of this difficult question, Sir Garnet Wolseley was intrusted with complete power to carry out the general policy of the Government by such detailed arrangements as to him might appear advisable. Arrived on the spot, he found Cetywayo's Army dispersed, the King a fugitive, and the principal Chiefs submitting to us, and professing themselves tired of Cetywayo's rule. By the exercise of those diplomatic qualities with which Sir Garnet Wolseley is endowed, there appears to be an opportunity of bringing this matter to a satisfactory conclusion, which will secure permanent peace without the annexation of territory. I do not think it well to enter into the details of the plan by which this may be done. I can assure the noble Lord that Sir Garnet Wolseley's instructions are in accordance with the general principles contained in the despatches which I have laid before the House, and that we have full confidence that he will carry out those instructions in the manner and in the spirit in which they were given.

MR. PARNELL said, that before the Vote was taken he wished to ask the Government what they proposed to do with regard to the revolution in Basutoland. At present there was a Chief there defending his stronghold from the attacks of the Colonial and Government Forces who were endeavouring to subdue him. He wished to know whether any favourable terms would be granted to that Chieftain? What terms did the Government propose to give him, or did they simply intend to hang or shoot him if they laid hands upon him? They had heard a most heartrending account of the way in which the Colonial troops had been acting. The Colonial troops would not have had power to attack the Basutos in the way they had done unless they had received help in another direction from the Government Forces. Before the Vote was taken, he thought it was right that they should understand from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies his ideas of the way in which the rebellion in Basutoland was to be terminated; whether he thought that the Colonial troops were to be allowed to go

on burning and killing women and children, and blowing them up with dynamite, or whether favourable terms of peace were to be given to those who surrendered? He did not call terms of peace favourable which treated them as guilty of treason and felony, and sent them to penal servitude for life or to perpetual imprisonment. He did think that they ought to have some more definite announcement of the intentions of the Government in this matter. Then, with regard to Cetywayo, an impression seemed to have got abroad that it was intended to deprive him of his Kingdom and of all power, and that his Kingdom was to be divided among other Chiefs. Did the Government intend to adopt that course, or would they make such terms of peace with Cetywayo as would give him power over the remainder of his people? If the Government had not decided what course they would take with regard to Cetywayo, he thought that the Vote ought to be postponed until the Government had made up its mind.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that with regard to Cetywayo there was one point which had to be kept in view. Whatever steps might be taken with regard to him, of course they would include such measures as would preclude him from again attaining a menacing position towards the White population. There was no desire, however, to deal harshly with him if he fell into our power. The hon. Member had also asked him how they proposed to terminate the rebellion in Basutoland. He was happy to inform the hon. Member that, according to the latest telegrams, there seemed good reason to hope that the war in Basutoland had terminated, and that the rebels had submitted. But any further measures which it might be necessary to take in reference to it concerned the Colonial rather than the Home Government, inasmuch as Basutoland was within the limits of Cape Colony, which possessed a responsible Government, and the operations had been conducted by Colonial troops at the expense of the Colony. If there were anything in the conduct of the operations which appeared to the Government to require it, they would remonstrate with the Colonial Government. He knew very little of the way in which those operations had been conducted; and he

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*

might add that he had asked Sir Bartle Frere to send him a Report thereon.

MR. WHITWELL said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary had not communicated to the House the instructions that had been given to Sir Garnet Wolseley. Those instructions, he had informed the House, were chiefly in despatches, and he thought that the House was entitled to know what they were. They had been told that many of those instructions were given in conversation only; but there must have been written instructions as well. As they had now heard, those instructions seemed to be of the most general and uncertain character, probably very much of the same character as those given to Sir Bartle Frere when he undertook the government of South Africa. What had been the result in that case? The result had been such as the Government had lamented as strongly as any of them. And they had now been told that Sir Garnet Wolseley had *carte blanche* to act as he chose. Sir Garnet Wolseley had been told to break the power of Cetywayo. That might mean that his Army was to be absolutely destroyed, for the military power of Cetywayo would not be broken while his Army could be got together again. So long as they left 20,000 men with arms in their hands they would not have broken the power of Cetywayo. There was another point. What was to be done with Cetywayo himself, and how was Sir Garnet Wolseley to act with regard to him? He objected to grant the Vote on an estimate of the expense that probably would not be anything like the sum that would be required. He would like to know a little more definitely and distinctly what instructions had been given, so that they might be enabled to judge whether the Vote was sufficient or not, or whether it was too much. Personally, he did not object to the Vote, because he felt perfectly sure that it would not be nearly enough for the war. He felt sure, by the despatches of the Government, and from the Correspondence that had been laid before the House, that the present Vote would not be one-third of the expense that would be incurred. But sufficient information had not been given to the House, and they would like more. He sincerely hoped that the sanguine expectations of the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary would be realized, and that

they had heard the last of the complications at the Cape.

MR. CHILDERS said, that at that time of the evening he would be altogether wrong unnecessarily to prolong the debate. He would not do so; but he would like to hear some explanation from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies with reference to the inquiries that had been put to him from various parts of the House. There were also two questions upon which he thought it would be well for them to have a clear answer. The first question was with respect to the terms of the settlement that Sir Garnet Wolseley was empowered to make. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies had stated that the terms of the settlement had been explained verbally to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and had reference to the communications addressed to Sir Bartle Frere so far back as March last. It was generally understood that information had come within the last day or two from the Cape that one of the probable arrangements for the settlement of Zululand was that Cetywayo being a fugitive, and his power broken, his country would be divided into a number of districts and each placed under a Chief, with a Resident, to be appointed by the Government, at the head-quarters of the district. He need not say that to support the Resident it would be necessary to have some kind of military force. That would virtually be annexation; and he wished to know, therefore, if such an arrangement was consistent with the instructions that had been given to Sir Garnet Wolseley? That was the first question he wished to ask. The other question was not one which he wished to ask by way of reflection upon the Government, but because he thought it would be well to obtain an answer before the present Vote finally closed. The right hon. Gentlemen the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and especially the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had spoken as to the prospective arrangements in South Africa which might be presumed to have a tendency to prevent a recurrence of the heavy charge on the English public which the last and the present war had entailed. Now, the whole question of the cost of wars at the Cape was care-

fully considered by the Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure of 1861, of which he was one of the very few remaining Members. That Committee reported, in reference to South Africa, that there security against military aggression should be provided for by local effort, and that the main object of any system adopted by this country should be to encourage local effort, not only as its first object to diminish expenditure, but to stimulate self-reliance in the Colonists themselves. Having regard to the fact that, two Sessions ago, they passed an Act to enable the South African Colonies to confederate, remembering that while that Act was passing through the House they had never dreamt of this country being drawn into a policy from which an expenditure of £5,000,000 had ensued, and bearing in mind that the Confederation was spoken of as the last step in a series of steps which would place South Africa in a similar position as the Dominion of Canada, he wished to ask the Government whether they would not now, once for all, insist upon those Colonies adopting for the future such internal arrangements between each other as would, in the spirit of the Report to which he had alluded, and in the spirit of the Confederation Act, absolutely secure the recurrence of the present state of things? He thought that the Government ought to give some explicit assurance that they would not only, in form, call on the Colonies to do more for military defence against internal enemies, but that they would absolutely insist, as a condition of local self-government, on specific securities from those Colonies against the British public being required to provide for such defence; and he (Mr. Childers) would gladly support some concession to the Colonies in respect of the cost of the present wars, if we were made secure in this respect for the future. He did not ask these questions in any spirit of hostility against the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH could not go into questions of detail at so late an hour. He might, however, say, generally, that it was no part of the instructions given to Sir Garnet Wolseley that an Imperial Military Force should be permanently stationed in Zululand. With regard to the second question of the right hon. Gentleman,

*Mr. Childers*

he understood that he desired that an Imperial Military Force should no longer stay in South Africa.

MR. CHILDERS said, that that was not his point. On the contrary, he left the question of the withdrawal of the Military Force now in South Africa entirely in the hands of the Government. What he said was, that after what had passed, and looking to the spirit of the Confederation Act, and on the lines of the Report of the Committee of 1861, he should like some assurance from the Government that the recurrence of exceptional charges similar to these would be obviated in the future by a binding agreement with the self-governing Colonies at the Cape.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, the Government had kept that object steadily in view in all the communications that had passed.

Question put, and agreed to.

#### ARMY ESTIMATES.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,007,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport and other Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

MAJOR O'BEIRNE moved that the Chairman do report Progress. He did not think that they should go into the Army Estimates at that late hour. Several hon. Members were absent who would have been in their places had they thought that the Army Estimates would have been taken that night. Knowing that the Votes were of the greatest interest to them, he thought it unfair that they should be taken at that hour.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Major O'Beirne.*)

COLONEL STANLEY hoped that the Committee would bear in mind the time of the year at which they had arrived. If they were in the month of March or April it might be said that it would be fair to postpone the Estimate for another day. But the House could not adjourn until the Estimates had been disposed of, and it would not be convenient for hon. Members to be kept in town to a much

later period than usual. Under these circumstances, he thought that the Committee might fairly go on. If they came to any subject which was clearly provocative of discussion, then a question would arise as to whether they should report Progress or not.

MR. DILLWYN did not think it right that they should go on at that time in the morning discussing the Estimates after the long debate that had taken place. Many hon. Members who wished to take part in the discussion of the Estimates were not present.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE said, that the Estimates could be taken perfectly well on Wednesday. They were of the greatest interest to several Irish Members who were not in their places and who had never expected that the Votes would be taken at that time. He should certainly persist in his Motion to report Progress.

MR. MONK inquired how many Votes it was proposed to take before they adjourned? There were 42 Orders upon the Paper, and if it were intended to go on with the other Government Business it was really no use proceeding with the Estimates.

MR. CHILDERS wished to make a suggestion to hon. Members on both sides of the House. If it were found that a serious difference of opinion arose on any Vote which it was proposed to take, then he did not think it should be taken, although they were in the month of August, after half-past 1 in the morning. If there was no great difference of opinion, then, considering that they were in the month of August, and that they wanted to get through the Business of Parliament, he would appeal to hon. Members not to move the adjournment.

COLONEL STANLEY was quite willing to adopt the course which had been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract.

MR. RYLANDS ventured also to appeal to the hon. and gallant Member for Leitrim to withdraw his Motion. It would be most inconvenient not to take the unopposed Votes then.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE said, that he would not object to Votes 5, 10, 11, and 12 being taken. He begged leave to withdraw his Motion.

MR. PARNELL thought that there were many points in the Votes which

required explanation from the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War; and there ought to be a limit to the time during which they were kept there. Would the right hon. and gallant Gentleman tell them how long they were to be kept there?

COLONEL STANLEY said, that he could not give any such assurance as that asked for.

MR. PARNELL asked how many Votes the right hon. and gallant Gentleman wished to take.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. PARNELL moved to report Progress, because he thought they ought to have some understanding on the point. So far as the Notice Paper went the Votes were absolutely unopposed; but it was quite impossible to get through them at that time in any reasonable manner. He thought that, at half-past 1 in the morning, they were entitled to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to set some limit to the number of Votes he proposed to take.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. Parnell.)*

COLONEL STANLEY said, that at Vote 13 there were two substantial Amendments on the Paper, and he would not propose to go beyond that.

Question put, and *negatived*.

MR. PARNELL said, there was an item of £20,000 in this Vote for forage, of which he wished to have some explanation. On the other side of the account the amount was £30,000, so that there was a discrepancy of £10,000.

COLONEL STANLEY replied, that the two items were the same, one being the gross amount and the other the net, some of the surplus stores having been sold.

MR. WHITWELL pointed out that the cost of transport abroad had largely increased.

COLONEL STANLEY admitted that that was so; but it arose from exceptional causes.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(3.) £801,600, Clothing Establishments, *agreed to*.

(4.) £34,400, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

MR. PARNELL said, this Vote included the cost of the medals for the Perak War, and they ought to have an opportunity of discussing that question. The Perak Expedition was not a war at all. Our Forces were only opposed to 200 Natives, and no European was killed. It was, in fact, nothing but a slight brush with a few robbers.

MR. MACDONALD hoped the Secretary of State for War would explain why these medals were given.

COLONEL STANLEY could not state the whole of the circumstances that led to this war, which took place in the year 1875. The facts were these. The Resident was attacked by the Natives and murdered, and the escort, which was proceeding up the river to support the Resident, was fired upon. It was clearly a very sharp action while it lasted, and there were a considerable number of men killed and wounded. The troops were exposed to very considerable hardships, and it was the opinion of the Government that some medal should be given. The matter was pressed upon the Government by several hon. Members; and although his right hon. Friend who preceded him did not think a special medal should be granted for it, at the same time was of opinion that the action was one of some severity, and it was thought that a medal should be given for the Burmese War, with a special clasp for this action.

*Vote agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £232,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Administration of the Army, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

MAJOR O'BEIRNE moved to report Progress, as this was a Vote that interested many hon. Members who were not present.

COLONEL STANLEY: I will postpone it then.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

*Vote postponed.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-

Pensions), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

MR. PARNELL thought this Vote ought to be postponed also, as it involved a very important question about which a Parliamentary Return had been moved for.

COLONEL STANLEY: If the hon. Member has any objection to the Vote he should say what the objection is.

MR. PARNELL said, that the Vote contained the salaries of certain chaplains, and there was a great disproportion between the salaries of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant chaplains. He really must move to report Progress. The Secretary of State for War had given no explanation as to the chaplains, and was not treating hon. Members properly.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. DILLWYN thought the Committee ought to have reported Progress long ago. The Business was being conducted in an irregular manner, and they were not doing justice to its importance. It was impossible to get through all the remaining Estimates at that Sitting, and the Votes ought not to be pushed on too fast.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE should certainly support the hon. Member for Meath, because the hon. and gallant Member for Cork was interested in this Vote, and did not wish it to be taken in his absence.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 11; Noes 88: Majority 77.—(*Div. List, No. 207.*)

MR. BIGGAR moved that the Chairman do leave the Chair. It was now nearly 2 o'clock, and it would take a considerable time to get through the Orders of the Day, as Report on Supply would have to be taken. The principle of giving Protestant chaplains more than the Roman Catholic chaplains was an injustice which must not be allowed to continue. No explanation had been given.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, this was not a question of obstruction; but it was time the Committee reported Progress. That day, at 2 o'clock, they were to have a most important discussion on the Irish University Bill, and he must ask the Government to allow them to adjourn the further discussion of Votes.

MR. PARNELL did not see why this Vote should not be postponed. It was one which he and other hon. Members distinctly objected to. The chaplain at Chelsea Hospital received £400 a-year, while the allowance to the Roman Catholic chaplain was only £25. It would, no doubt, be said that there were more Protestants than Roman Catholics at the Chelsea Hospital; but that was not so at the Kilmainham Hospital, where the Protestant chaplain received £250 a-year, and the Roman Catholic chaplain only £75.

COLONEL STANLEY was not aware that this Vote would be seriously opposed. This was a non-effective Vote, and he was willing to allow it to stand over and take those Votes which were not opposed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(5.) £1,186,000, Out-Pensions, *agreed to*.

(6.) £178,600, Superannuation Allowances, *agreed to*.

(7.) £37,800, Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that the retiring allowances to Volunteer officers had increased from £4,000 to £4,500. Was that on account of the increased number of old adjutants retiring?

COLONEL STANLEY replied, that the increase was principally one day's pay for the extra day in Leap Year. This amount would vary occasionally.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER supposed that the recommendations of the Volunteer Committee with regard to the adjutants was still under the consideration of the Government, and whether the recommendations would be carried out would depend upon the Government.

Vote *agreed to*.

(8.) £1,100,000, Indian Home Charges.

COLONEL STANLEY remarked that this Vote was the Indian Home Charges connected with the Army, and was an old matter of account.

Vote *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

# BANKING AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES (*re-committed*) BILL.

## QUESTION.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked if a day could be fixed for this Bill in Committee?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: We will take it to-morrow.

# SUMMARY JURISDICTION BILL.

[BILL 274.]

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Matthew Ridley.*)

## CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

MR. DILLWYN objected to the Bill being taken then, as the Amendments had only been delivered to Members the previous morning.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: These Amendments are purely draft Amendments.

MR. PARNELL said, it would be more satisfactory if they had a little longer time to consider these Amendments. There were a great many—in fact, six pages of Amendments—and supposing these were only verbal, still the House ought to have time to look at them.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS had gone carefully through them himself, and they were simply draft Amendments which were necessary.

Lords' Amendments *considered and agreed to*.

# GAME LAWS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 143.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross.*)

## COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses *agreed to*.

Preamble.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. WATSON) wished to insert words to extend the operation of the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that an Instruction ought to have been given to the Committee, giving the Committee power to extend the Bill to England. The Amendment could not be taken now; but the Bill would have to be re-committed.

Preamble agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Thursday.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [2nd August] reported.

First Eleven Resolutions agreed to.

Twelfth Resolution read a second time.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT said, that this was the only chance he should have this Session of raising a certain point, which was the inequality of pay to some classes of soldiers. He moved to reduce the Vote for the Army Service Corps by £500. Last year he called attention to this matter. The non-commissioned officers in the corps of artificers received 4s. 6d., while the same grade in the artillery service only received 1s. 9d. He would not press this matter, if it were not a real and a gross injustice. He would be satisfied if the Secretary of State for War would give him an assurance that this injustice would have his consideration, for it was not only unjust, but unwise, because such things increased the difficulty of getting good non-commissioned officers.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£392,400," in order to insert "£391,900."—(*Colonel Arbuthnot.*)

Question proposed, "That '£392,400' stand part of the said Resolution."

COLONEL STANLEY hoped the hon. and gallant Member would not press this matter to a Division, because it was impossible for him to enter into the reconsideration of the Vote on Report. The matter was undoubtedly of importance, and last year he had informed the hon. and gallant Member that the question of the re-adjustment of the pay of non-commissioned officers would receive the consideration of the War Office. A Committee was sitting on the subject, and it was impossible to take the matter up now.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT remarked, that he never had any intention of pressing his Amendment to a Division; but he would bring the matter again before the attention of his right hon. and gallant Friend in the shape of a Question. He begged to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Resolution agreed to.

#### METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL—[BILL 268.]

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

MR. MONK did not think that the second reading of this Bill should be taken without some remark. The Bill was one which imposed taxes on the ratepayers to the amount of £2,500,000. He did not wish to oppose the progress of the Bill; but he rose for the purpose of asking for some explanation with regard to it from the Government. In the first place, it was a matter of very doubtful policy whether the Government ought to have brought in this Bill at all. It seemed to him that the Bill ought not to have been brought in by the Government, but by the Metropolitan Board itself. As he had said before, the Bill asked for £2,500,000 to be raised upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis. He wished to draw the particular attention of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to Clause 10, by which it was provided that the powers of the Board should extend to a sum not exceeding £1,500,000, "or such other sum as the Treasury may approve." He did not know how those words had crept into the clause; but he should certainly oppose their introduction in Committee, unless some satisfactory explanation were given. The clause seemed to him rather loosely drawn, and he thought the whole of it should be left out after the words "one million five hundred thousand pounds," otherwise, the Metropolitan Board would have power to raise any further sum



without the sanction of Parliament, provided the Treasury should signify its approval. No doubt, there might be some difficulty in obtaining the sanction of the Treasury; but he did not think that those words should appear in a Bill of that nature. Clauses 26 and 28 also certainly required some explanation. He wished to know if the Metropolitan Board of Works had power to raise more than the £2,500,000 authorized by the Bill? These clauses seemed to him very objectionable; but, perhaps, some explanation could be given which would remove those obligations.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he did not introduce the Bill with any remark, because it was simply a repetition of a Bill which the Treasury had used several times lately. The Bill was a safeguard to the House, because it really represented powers scattered over a number of Private Acts—some Management and some Private Acts. It would have required very considerable time for the Treasury to have brought them into one Act and to have submitted them annually to the purview of Parliament. The powers which were given by the Bill were those contained in various Acts, and were now exercised by the Metropolitan Board without the knowledge of the House at all. The Treasury had insisted on all those powers being included in this Bill, and had thus brought the whole transactions of the Metropolitan Board under the eye of Parliament. With regard to the power given by Clause 10 to raise £1,500,000, to be increased if the Treasury should sanction it, that was really a similar power to that possessed by the Local Government Board in borrowing, sanctioned by that Office. He need hardly say that the Treasury would not exercise the power of permitting larger sums to be borrowed without very good cause, and he did not think there was any danger from its being placed in the Bill. It might be that a particular work might have required rather more than was contemplated and the Board had power to borrow; and then, perhaps, a case might be made out for the Treasury sanctioning their borrowing powers. He trusted to be able to make a more detailed explanation with regard to the Bill when they came to Committee and Report. He hoped that the House

would hesitate before it did away with what really brought under the knowledge of Parliament and under Parliamentary control, borrowing powers which had before been increased without the control or knowledge of Parliament.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

#### CHARTERED BANKS (COLONIAL) BILL.

(Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

[BILL 278.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was for the purpose of meeting the case of certain banks in the Colonies which had hitherto existed under charters granted by the Crown. It had been thought better, now that the system of issuing Charters had become quite obsolete, to put these banks under a general Act similar to that by which Companies were regulated in this country—namely, the Companies Act. Power was given to the banks to increase their capital, and other alterations, subject to the conditions which were provided in the Act. There was a provision that nothing authorized any of the banks to make any issue of notes other than they at present possessed, except by the sanction of the Governors of the Colonies in which they were situate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

MR. COURTNEY did not wish to object to the Bill; but he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would allow two or three days to elapse before they went into Committee upon it, for it seemed to him that it required a great deal of consideration.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

## MOTIONS.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Cross, Bill to reduce the minimum term of Penal Servitude in the case of a previous conviction; and to amend the Law with respect to the notifications and reports made under sections five and eight of "The Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Cross and Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 281.]

## NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1877-8.

Resolved, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon the Grants for Navy and Army Services in the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year.

Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 25th day of February last, and upon the 6th day of March last, be referred to the Committee.—(Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 5th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Mungret Agricultural School, &c. \* (174).

*Second Reading*—Knightsbridge and other Crown Lands \* (166).

*Committee*—Commissioners of Woods (Thames Piers) \* [168].

*Committee—Report*—East India Loan (Consolidated Fund) \* (172); Turnpike Acts Continuance \* (163).

*Third Reading*—Petroleum Act (1871) Amendment \* (161); East Indian Railway (Redemption of Annuities) \* (160); Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) \* (164); Border Summons \* (170), and passed.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter before Five o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 5th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Resolutions [July 28 and August 4] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Bills of Sale (Ireland) \* [273].

*Second Reading*—Referred to Select Committee—Lough Erne and River (Continuance) \* [267].

*Committee*—University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) [250]—R.P.

*Committee—Report*—Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) \* [212-282]; Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment (re-comm.) \* [135]; Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice) \* [259].

Considered as amended—Public Offices (Fees) \* [266].

*Third Reading*—Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance \* [270], and passed.

Withdrawn—School Boards (Duration of Loans) \* [219]; Lunacy Law Amendment [111]; Boundary Commission (England and Wales) [263]; Channel Islands (Applicability of Acts) \* [237].

The House met at Two of the clock.

## QUESTIONS.

## METROPOLIS—PARKS REGULATION ACT—KENSINGTON GARDENS.

## QUESTION.

MR. DILLWYN asked the Chief Commissioner of Works, What is the reason that the 36th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers have been forbidden to march across Kensington Gardens on their way to drill from their armoury, and which for the last few years they have been allowed to do, as the route saves them both time and distance?

MR. GERARD NOEL: On the 13th of June I saw the 36th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers enter Kensington Gardens by the Engine Gate from the Bayswater Road. They marched along the path for about 100 yards, were then halted, and ordered to climb over the rails. They were formed up in companies under the trees, and the band played. Five or six mounted officers rode on the paths and over the grass. The Rules under the Parks Regulation Act state—

"No. 1. No person may ride or drive in these Gardens except between the Queen's Gate and the Exhibition Gate. No. 6. No person shall ride any horse except upon the road. No. 9. No unauthorized person shall drive or practice military evolutions, or use arms, or play any game or music. No. 20. Climbing the trees, railings, or fences is forbidden."

It will be seen, therefore, that four distinct Rules were broken. In the circumstances, I had no alternative but to write to the proper authorities at the War Office, asking them to communicate with the commanding officer of the 36th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers requesting him for the future not to infringe the Rules of the Parks.

#### DISORDERLY EXCURSIONISTS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.—QUESTION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If it is true, as stated in the public papers, that on the 28th of June last, at Whiteabbey Station, an excursion party of boys and girls, organised and personally conducted by Mr. Jas. Thompson, J.P., conducted themselves in a very disorderly manner, without any remonstrance from Mr. Thompson; and, if the facts are as stated, he will point out to Mr. Thompson the impropriety of his conduct?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, my attention was called by the hon. Member's Question to an anonymous paragraph in a newspaper to the effect which is indicated; but, on inquiry, I can find no confirmation for the statement, and, on the other hand, I have received statements which are contrary to what has been alleged here. I am also informed that Mr. Thompson is not only a gentleman highly respected in the neighbourhood, but he has taken a very decided part in deprecating the processions and the display of banners which have caused such great annoyance in that part of the country.

#### CRIMINAL LAW—CASE OF PERRYMAN.—QUESTION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in the case of Perryman (as Mr. Elworthy has seen the scarf with which the deceased woman is alleged to have hanged herself), he may be at liberty to see the broken iron peg on which the scarf was alleged to have been placed by the deceased, and the tumbler in which brandy was obtained by the prisoner at the time he attempted to revive his mother, as the police at Scotland Yard decline to produce these articles without express orders?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, observed, that in these cases hon. Members should apply to the Home Office, and not bring them before the House. It was impossible for the police to show the broken peg, because it had been lost; but as to the remaining part of the peg there was no objection to the hon. Gentleman seeing it.

#### LOCAL TAXATION STATISTICS. QUESTION.

MR. DILLWYN (for General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If Government will provide the House with Statistics of Local Taxation to a later date than in the Table for 1873-4, entered at pages 6 and 7 of the recently published Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom; also cause Statistical Tables in detail to be drawn out to a later date than for 1876, as recently given to the Miscellaneous Statistics; and, further, arrange for connecting the figures in the General Table of the Statistical Abstract with the results in the more detailed Table in the Miscellaneous?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: A Committee, presided over by the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), is at this moment engaged in considering generally the form and matter of official statistics, with the object of introducing simplicity and harmony; and, pending the Report of this Committee, I am not disposed to make any changes in the Returns as now presented to the House. I understand that it is owing to the difficulty of obtaining information from Scotland that the statistics of local taxation are not brought down to a more recent date.

#### NAVAL DISCIPLINE — CASE OF M. J. REGAN.—QUESTION.

MR. MACDONALD asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will state the name of the seaman recently tried on board the admiral's ship at Sheerness, and who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, and seven days in each month of that period in solitary confinement; if he will state whether he was an ordinary seaman or an A.B.; what was his repute prior to the present conviction; and, whether ever a sentence of equal

severity has been passed on any one since he entered the present office?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The seaman's name is Michael John Regan; his rating, ordinary seaman, 2nd class. His character during his three years' service has been unsatisfactory; only four months of this time has it been above "fair." He deserted in 1878, and has been punished altogether 15 times for various offences; and at the time he committed the offence for which he is now under sentence he was in the second class for conduct. Similar sentences have been passed during my tenure of Office.

#### NAVY—FLOGGING IN TRAINING SHIPS.—QUESTION.

MR. BLAKE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it be true, as is reported, that boys on board training ships for the Navy are, for trifling offences, tied up and flogged so severely with a birch or cane that they not unfrequently faint away under the operation; and, if this be not so, if he will state the nature and extent of any corporal punishment inflicted upon such boys, and for what offences, and by whose authority corporal punishment is inflicted?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am not aware that there has been a single case of any boy having fainted or suffered severely during the caning or birching inflicted on him; no case has been reported to me, and I believe none has taken place. The maximum punishment which can be inflicted is 24 strokes with the birch and 12 with the cane, and this punishment is only inflicted for very serious offences, and then only with care that the result should not be too severe. The offences for which corporal punishment is inflicted are desertion, aggravated cases of theft, drunkenness, filthy language and gross insubordination, and then only on the authority of the commanding officer. The second officer, however, has the power to inflict punishment to the extent of six strokes with the cane, reporting his action to his superior officer. All punishments are reported to the Commander-in-Chief and the Admiralty, and all birchings are ordered by warrant. From my own observation, I can say that the boys on these training ships are exceedingly

happy, and any hon. Member who visited them would derive great satisfaction from his visit.

#### LANDED ESTATES COURT.

##### QUESTION.

MR. FAY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the newspaper reports of the proceedings in the Landed Estates Court on Friday 25th July last, from which it would appear that out of four estates put up for sale one was adjourned because there was no bidding, two were adjourned because the bidding was insufficient, and two lots out of four of the remaining estates were adjourned as the bidding was also insufficient; and, having regard to the remarks of Judge Flanagan on that occasion, to the effect that there is at present a panic about landed property in Ireland, and that persons were endeavouring to get the same under value, whether he would, in order to save landholders a repetition of the ruinous forced sale of the famine years, and tenants from having placed over them speculators as landlords, be prepared to give effect to the recommendations of the late Land Committee as to creating a peasant proprietary, and of the Resolution of the House thereon?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am afraid it would be impossible at this period of the Session to deal with so large a subject as that referred to in the Question of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

#### TRAMWAYS (IRELAND)—BALTINGLASS

##### STEAM TRAMWAY.—QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the proceedings before the Privy Council of Ireland, on Monday July the 21st, and the statements then made by the Lord Chief Baron with reference to the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland; whether the appeal of the Baltinglass Steam Tramway Scheme was dismissed, but without costs, on the ground that the proposed plan for laying rails was in contravention of the Act of Parliament with respect to the laying of tramways upon public roads; whether it is a fact that the same Privy Council last

*Mr. Macdonald*

year sanctioned and authorized the construction of the Portrush and Giant's Causeway Steam Tramway on lines precisely similar to those which, in the case of the Baltinglass Steam Tramway Scheme, the Lord Chief Baron declared the Privy Council could not sanction as the order on the face of it would be illegal? I beg to disassociate myself from the remaining part of the Question of which I have given Notice, because the Judges it refers to are so captious and irritable. It was—Whether on the occasion in question the Lord Chief Baron said he was very much surprised the Law Officers could have passed such an order which in his view was clearly illegal, and, according to the Vice Chancellor “altogether illegal;” and, whether he can inform the House who is the party responsible for the illegality, the Privy Council itself or the Law Officers of the Crown?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON):** Sir, my attention has been called to the matters referred to in the Question of the hon. Member. I believe that it is the fact that the appeal of the Baltinglass Steam Tramway Scheme was dismissed, as stated in the Question. It is also a fact that the Privy Council last year sanctioned the construction of a steam tramway between Portrush and the Giant's Causeway; but the manner in which it was intended to construct that line differed in some respects from the Baltinglass Scheme, which was recently before the Privy Council. With reference to the words attributed to the Chief Baron, I have to say that I have been apprised by that learned Judge that he was inaccurately reported in the newspapers, and that he neither said nor meant that the Tramway Orders, passed by the Law Officers, were clearly illegal; and that the idea of his saying that an Order was illegal which he had never seen was preposterous. With the legality of the proposed Order in the Baltinglass case the Law Officers had nothing to do, as it never came before them; but the Order which was made sanctioning the Portrush Tramway was unopposed, was supported by the Grand Jury of the county, the County Surveyor, and the Surveyor of the Board of Trade; was passed by the Privy Council; was approved and settled by the Law Officers; and did not sanction anything illegal.

#### LAND TITLES AND TRANSFER.

##### QUESTION.

**MR. OSBORNE MORGAN** asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the recent Report of the Select Committee on Land Titles and Transfer, and particularly to the urgent recommendation therein contained—

“That the important work of surveying and publishing the survey of England and Wales, both on the twenty-five inch to a mile and the six inch to a mile scale, should be proceeded with and completed with the least possible delay;”

and, whether he can hold out any hope that such recommendations will be acted upon and carried out?

**MR. GERARD NOEL**, in reply, thanked the hon. and learned Member for having sent him a copy of the Report alluded to. At that moment, however, he could not say whether the recommendations contained therein could be acted upon or carried out. He could only repeat what he had before stated, that the Survey would be carried out in strict accordance with the original instructions.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE VOTE FOR SINGING.—QUESTION.

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE** asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, looking to the fact that the sum of £119,129 a-year expended out of the Education Vote on singing is practically a capitation grant, as 9½ per cent of the scholars obtain a share of it, he will consider, during the recess, whether it can be so administered as to produce an adequate return in musical culture?

**LORD GEORGE HAMILTON**, in reply, said, that the Education Department had commissioned Dr. Hullah, as Inspector of Music, to consider the question of singing in elementary schools. He had made his visits, but had not yet reported. When his Report was before the Government they would consider the matter, with a view of getting a better result for the money paid in grants from the public funds.

#### NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET.

##### QUESTION.

**MR. E. JENKINS** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is

true that a fleet has been sent to Besika Bay; whether, if true, this action is taken in conjunction with the French Government; and, if it be true, with what object?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, he had been requested by his right hon. Friend to reply to the Question of the hon. Member. He was not aware that the Fleet was at Besika Bay. It was possible that it might be in that direction; but no orders had been given by the Admiralty on the subject. The Admiral was simply taking his usual cruise, and reporting from time to time, the places he visited. Under these circumstances, it was, of course, impossible that there could have been any communication with the French Government on the subject.

#### HIGHWAYS AND LOCOMOTIVES ACT, 1878.—QUESTION.

MR. CLARE READ asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he contemplates in the next Session of Parliament introducing a measure to amend "The Highways and Locomotives Act, 1878?"

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, that a similar Question had been put to him some months ago. As he had then stated, the matter was in progress, and he had given directions for the preparation of a measure to consolidate and amend the provisions of the old Highways Acts. As there were several important subjects in his Department requiring legislation, he could not state at what period the Bill in question could be introduced.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 260.]

(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

THE O'DONOGHUE: I have risen merely for the purpose of saying that, in

*Mr. E. Jenkins*

compliance with representations that have been made to me, expressing the opinions of many of those who are known to be sincere friends of Catholic education, I shall not at this stage trouble the House with the Amendment which stands on the Paper in my name—an Amendment to the effect that the House resolve itself into Committee on the Bill that day three months—but I reserve to myself the right to move the Amendment at a subsequent stage of the Bill.

MR. P. J. SMYTH said, he would ask the attention of the House but for a very few moments, as it was not necessary nor desirable that in submitting his Amendment he should enter on a discussion of the large question of University Education. Neither did he conceive that many words were required to explain and enforce the proposition that the period of the Session at which they had arrived, and the state of information as to the feelings of the Irish people with regard to the Bill, rendered it, to say the least, inexpedient that a measure of such high importance, and involving interests so momentous, should be pressed forward during the expiring hours of an overworked and exhausted Parliament. He submitted that a University Education Bill should possess, as far as possible, a character of finality, and that it should be accepted, and freely accepted, for the time being as a settlement. It was not pretended in any quarter that this Bill was so accepted, or that it could be so amended in Committee as to be a settlement. Why, then, proceed with it, with the certain knowledge that, if passed to-morrow, an Irish University Question would still exist, a source of agitation in Ireland and of embarrassment to the Government of this country? The Bill destroyed, but did not construct, a University; and when the House was asked to assist in a work so unusual as the demolition of a University it was bound to examine very closely, indeed, the plan of the edifice which it was proposed to erect upon the ruins. He had no desire to defend the Queen's University, as he thought it was not in harmony with the character of the country. At the same time, he was bound to admit that, with its three affiliated Colleges, it was, in form and substance, a real University. He did not think it was necessary, for

the purpose of satisfying the claims of the Catholics, that anything should be destroyed, or that any existing institution should be even materially weakened or impaired. Destruction, in fact, was not called for, and could only be justified, if at all, in the event of the edifice destroyed being replaced by something more largely beneficial, more justly proportionate, and more real. Seeing what he now saw, and all that had happened since the introduction of the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), he had to express his extreme regret at the part he took in opposition to that Bill; for the measure to which he referred was a reality. The proposal of the lamented Lord Mayo was a reality; so also was the Bill of the late distinguished Member for Limerick, and, in a lesser degree, that of his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don). But the one stupendous reality of the present Bill consisted in the almost unlimited powers conferred upon another Crown-appointed Board, of the composition of which the House was uninformed. There was at present, properly speaking, no University Education Bill at all before the House; nor would there be such a Bill before it until the unnamed three dozen gentlemen should have submitted their scheme for the better advancement of University Education in Ireland. All that this Bill of itself accomplished was the destruction of the Queen's University; but everything in the shape of University construction it committed unreservedly to the tender mercies of the three dozen gentlemen whose Report, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, would be laid on the Table of the House on or about that day 12 months. He had no desire to criticize minutely or in an acrimonious spirit a tentative measure like that before them, framed, as his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) had said, with the honest intention of settling a vexed question. He must, however, be allowed to enter his protest against that, or any measure by whomsoever devised, that would hand over to any three dozen Castle-appointed or Crown-appointed gentlemen the absolute control of Education in Ireland. The alternative proposal to which he should like to direct the attention of the House, and especially of the Government, was the ap-

pointment of a Royal Commission for the purpose, not of preparing a scheme of University Education, but of ascertaining, through full and impartial inquiry, the mode of settlement that would be most acceptable to the country. A similar proposal, he recollected, was made some years ago by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), and if it had been adopted the question of Irish University Education would have been settled before this. Its adoption now would expedite, not retard, the settlement. They had had Royal Commissions in Ireland on subjects of comparatively trivial importance; and it was a remarkable circumstance that no Commission should ever have been issued with respect to this, the highest, the most important, and the most difficult, perhaps, of all subjects. There had been *pourparlers* which one party understood to mean negotiations, while the other party took them to mean proposals, and hence a controversy, terminating almost in an action for breach of promise, arose in "another place." That little difficulty had been amicably arranged by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who placidly assured the House that the *pourparlers*, the negotiations, and proposals meant nothing more serious than a little angling excursion on the part of the Vice-Regal party. To share in such an excursion might be a facile way of obtaining information of a delicate nature; but it should be borne in mind that University Education was one of those subjects which, to be dealt with satisfactorily, must be dealt with in accordance with the interests and feelings of the country at large; and what those interests and feelings really were, and how they could best be satisfied, could only be authoritatively ascertained by the medium of a full, open, and impartial inquiry. The plan of settlement which he had always advocated was the establishment of a Catholic College, as a College of the University of Dublin; and it surely was a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain with certainty the terms and conditions on which the heads of the Catholic party, on the one hand, and the heads of Trinity College on the other, would agree together to give effect to such a plan. He believed that if these bodies were fairly consulted it would be found that such

an arrangement might be made as would astonish, by its simplicity and its moderation, and command the assent of all for its fairness and its justice. The plan itself was not a new one. It was, in fact, as old as the time of Charles II. In the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, it was provided that—

“The Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of the Kingdom, by and with the consent of the Privy Council, shall have full power to erect another College in connection with the University of Dublin, to be called a King’s College.”

It was evident, from the spirit of the Act of 1793 of the Irish Parliament, the 33 *Geo.* III. c. 21, and from the specific words of the Act, that—

“Papists might graduate and be Professors or Fellows of any College hereinafter founded in Dublin University;”

that it was even then in the contemplation of the Irish Parliament to found another College—necessarily a Catholic College—in Dublin University. He maintained that the Imperial Parliament, in the 79th year of the Union, need not blush to follow the example of the exclusively Protestant Irish Parliament of 1793; and he felt confident that, in giving effect to the intentions of the Parliament of Grattan, Curran, Plunket, and Flood, the House would respond most effectually to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish nation, without distinction of creed or party at the present day. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving, as an Amendment—

“That it is inexpedient, at this period of the Session, to proceed with a measure of such high importance; and that the appointment of a Royal Commission with instructions to confer with the heads of existing Universities and of collegiate institutions, affords the surest means of enabling Parliament to arrive next Session at a satisfactory solution of the problem of higher education in Ireland.”

Mr. COURTNEY seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “it is inexpedient, at this period of the Session, to proceed with a measure of such high importance; and that the appointment of a Royal Commission, with instructions to confer with the heads of existing Universities and of collegiate institutions, affords the surest means of enabling Parliament to arrive next Session at a

*Mr. P. J. Smyth*

satisfactory solution of the problem of higher education in Ireland,”—(*Mr. P. J. Smyth*);—instead thereof.

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE felt sure that nobody, whatever his opinion upon this much-vexed question, could fail to admire the eloquence of the speech just delivered; and, although it was not in his power to follow the hon. Gentleman in his plea for delay, nevertheless, there must be many in the House—including himself—who must sincerely thank the hon. Member for what he had said in regard to the impolicy of the destruction of the Queen’s University, and the connection between the Queen’s University and the Queen’s Colleges. The hon. Member maintained that it was in no way necessary, in order to satisfy the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to destroy the Queen’s Colleges or the Queen’s University. Such a statement as they had heard made by the hon. Member was one which, coming from him, was grave and weighty, and contained within it the seeds of much that would be useful in the discussion of the question. If it was not in his power to support the hon. Member in his plea for delay, it was partly because he felt that it would not be altogether impossible, if a fair and reasonable spirit were shown by the Government, to secure, to a certain extent, the objects which the hon. Member had at heart—he meant the retention in substance, if not actually in name, of the Queen’s University, and the conferring upon a Roman Catholic College of some advantages, greater or less, which would, to a certain extent, meet the views of the hon. Gentleman and those who agreed with him. Here he might be allowed to observe that they had some reason to complain of the attitude of the Government on the Bill. Only a few weeks ago an eminent Member of the Government, speaking at a rural gathering of the distinction between Conservative principles and the more Radical measures of their opponents, said the Government, when it saw what appeared to be a great and crying evil, always remembered that much evil often resulted from very slight causes, and that the first effort of the Conservative Go-



vernment was not to destroy the whole, but to search and find the small grain of evil. But hardly had the country ceased to rejoice at being under such a Government, that did not rashly destroy existing institutions, when, happening to cast their eyes on the Professoriate of the Queen's University, they proceeded to put an end to it. The hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) had asked why the Queen's University was to be destroyed, and why the connection between the University and the Colleges was to be severed? He had not been able to obtain any answer at all. In fact, Her Majesty's Government stood in the position of deliberately going out of its way to destroy a valuable existing institution. Then, it had given no good or sufficient reason for this extraordinary resolution, and they were naturally led to believe that there must be some other reason which had not been stated. He called on the Government to explain what it had not yet explained—how it was that justice could not be done to the Roman Catholics of Ireland without the destruction of the Queen's University? With reference to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth), that the best way out of the difficulty would be to found a distinctly Roman Catholic College, either in the University of Dublin, or in another University, he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had put on the Paper a Notice of Amendments which would meet the views of the hon. Member. It was true that if this Bill passed the Queen's University would perish; but, still, he supposed a new University to take its place would be instituted, and he would venture to ask whether the same name could not be perpetuated in the new University? The name of the Queen's University was honoured in Ireland, and its degrees were valued. ["No, no."] Hon. Members representing some Irish constituencies dissented from this statement; but the question was one upon which English Members held views, and he, for one, thought that an Irish Queen's University degree was a respectable, if not even a high one. He held that the main grievance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland could be settled by giving further privileges to one or more of the existing Institutions in that country. In the debate on the measure of the hon. Member for Ros-

common, he had urged upon the Government three things—first, in his opinion, they ought to throw open the degrees of the Queen's University, just as the London degrees were; secondly, to endow the Queen's University with a sum of money to be spent in Fellowships, Scholarships, and other rewards impartially competed for by students of any denomination; and, thirdly, to charter the College of St. Patrick as a College of the Queen's University—in fact, establish a fourth Queen's College. He had placed Amendments on the Paper having for their object the retention of the connection between the Queen's Colleges and the University, and another proposing a Charter for St. Patrick's College; but he had also gone further, and proposed to give certain pecuniary privileges to the College of St. Patrick. This last Amendment required some justification and vindication of his own consistency. The Amendment was to enable the Crown, in the event of St. Patrick's College being created a chartered College of the Queen's University, to pay certain Professors appointed by the Crown in the three faculties of Arts, Law, and Physic, in the same manner as Professors were paid in the existing Queen's Colleges. He would not deny that, in effect, the result of that would be that the Catholic College would have so much more money to pay the expenses of the College, among others the teachers of Divinity; but there was an old legal maxim that recommended regard being paid to the immediate consequences of an action, and that they should not follow it into its remote consequences. A discussion of the ulterior results of such a payment would be unwise, if not absurd. He might as well object to a Vote in the Navy Estimates, because a contract with a Catholic manufacturer of armour plates was an indirect endowment of that religion. But what he asked was payment to the Professors, not to the Governing Body of the Institution, solely on condition that they should teach in St. Patrick's College; that their lectures should be guarded by a Conscience Clause, and that the College and the University should each have the benefit of their lectures. What he had objected to was the proposition which had been made in 1873 by the Roman Catholic Bishops that there should be a direct endowment of a Roman Catholic University or Col-

lege; and, secondly, he also objected to the proposition which was contained in the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), that there should be a payment made to these Colleges. Why did he object? He objected because, although they might in the case of result fees delude themselves with the belief that they only paid for secular results, as a matter of fact, they were doing nothing of the kind. He wished to impress on his Nonconformist Friends this fact—that the objections against result fees did not apply to the plan he proposed. He had no desire in any way to obstruct this Bill. He knew there was in Ireland a wish that this Bill should be knocked into shape and passed, and he should do what he could towards that object. What he wished to urge was that, under his Amendments, Roman Catholics in Ireland would only be placed in the same position which Roman Catholics were placed in other countries where they were in a minority, and in the same position that Protestants were placed in in countries where they were in a minority by the Legislatures of those countries. As long as they kept up religious services and Divinity Professorships in Trinity College, Dublin, the Roman Catholics could not say that there was absolute religious equality. Was he to keep the Roman Catholics waiting 30 years for the equality they asked for? He cast about to see whether there was not some mode of conciliating the conscientious scruples of the Nonconformists of England, and, at the same time, of doing justice to the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and it was guided by that feeling, and by the fact that those things had been found possible in foreign countries, that he placed on the Paper his Amendments. He might, perhaps, say, that he had not introduced these Amendments in consequence of a letter which had appeared in the public prints from Mr. Matthew Arnold. As a matter of fact, they were on the Paper five days before that letter appeared, and they were arrived at simply upon a consideration of the merits of the question. He had been told the Professors whom he proposed would be persons agreeable to Roman Catholics. Of course, they would be agreeable to Roman Catholics. What a sensible Lord Lieutenant would do would

be to look out for as eminent men as could be found, and who would teach in a Roman Catholic College in a fair and liberal spirit, and, at the same time, without offence to Roman Catholics. If they attempted to settle the question and yet left much behind unsettled, they might depend upon it that the day would come when, under the pressure of public uproar, they might be called upon to grant something that was not reasonable. He trusted that the question would be approached in a spirit of compromise. Let them recollect the saying of the great Irishman Burke—that compromise was the foundation of government, and let them act accordingly. Then they would have the happy satisfaction, in this otherwise mis-spent Session, of settling a thorny question, and, at the same time, contributing to the peace and contentment of Ireland.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, that whatever were his own ideas, he certainly should not bestow them upon the House at that late day of the Session, and that very late day of the question. He rose to make an appeal, not in any Party spirit, but with a desire for peace and conciliation, that they might be allowed to go practically to work with as few words as possible, and with a belief in the good intention of all around. His noble Friend (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had talked about settling the question; but if there was one word which had crept into modern politics to unsettle everything, it was that word "settle." He was sure the Government had no intention to settle the Education Question for Ireland, in the sense of passing something or other which should serve for all time. If they had any such purpose, he certainly should not rise to support so absurd and illogical a proposal. The matter was simply this—there was a demand on the part of the youth of Ireland for the provision of a liberal education, with academical degrees. The present academical degrees, in consequence of their conscientious feeling, were really not accessible to a large portion of the educated youth of Ireland. It was believed that this Bill would remove the difficulty. As this Bill, therefore, would be a real boon to the cause of education in Ireland, he trusted that in the form it would assume in Committee it would be adopted, and would stand on the Statute

*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

Book. Really, it was confusing the discussion to enter into discussions on the merits of Universities with Colleges. They all of them had their opinions on this matter. Personally, he had a strong feeling in favour of that form of University education which was founded upon the Collegiate system; he should deem himself unworthy to represent the constituency he did (Cambridge University), if he had not that belief; and he rejoiced to find the same feeling among his Roman Catholic Friends in Ireland. He desired them to get as full a concession of the means of University education as they could, and, for that reason, he advised them strongly to accept the present Bill and be satisfied with it. Within its four corners there was everything they could hope to get from any present Parliament; for the rest they must trust to self-help to start these Colleges — that valuable quality which had operated so largely in the founding of all the great Universities of the Middle Ages — Paris, Oxford, or Cambridge. His attendance at the House that day had prevented him from being present at the laying of the first stone of the fifth or sixth of a magnificent series of denominational Colleges for the education of English boys, founded and endowed solely and exclusively by private gifts, under the inspiration of Canon Woodward. That which had been done in England was surely feasible for Ireland. The Roman Catholics might, it was true, have made better use of the opportunities afforded them by the provisions contained in the Act which governed the Queen's Colleges, permitting denominational halls, with their deans of residence. A trusting acceptance of that provision, and a real effort to give it life would have resulted in a very different condition of matters from that which we now found. But the fact was, that they had not taken advantage of that concession, and that was enough for Parliament. There was no use in lecturing a nation of several millions of people, and pointing out to them what they might have done had they been less wayward and wilful. The Queen's Colleges, it was clear, did not give the Roman Catholic people in Ireland what they personally wanted, and this Bill was intended to remedy the defect. It might not be so complete as they desired; but it afforded them splendid opportunities of

exercising that self-help of which he had spoken. To reject it, because it did not endow this or that College, was to throw those valuable opportunities away. He asked the Roman Catholics to show themselves the descendants of the great scholars of the Middle Ages, who founded those Universities and Colleges which kept burning the lamp of learning in the darkest ages. The Bill went as far as any Government Bill could be expected to do, and, recognizing in it a message of peace and goodwill to Ireland, he offered it his most cordial support.

MR. FINIGAN: Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in opposition to the principles of the Bill brought forward by the Government. I look upon this measure as one fraught with serious dangers, not only to the closing Session of this Parliament, but also to all future relations between Ireland and England. Upon this Bill we may see the issue which has long been working in Ireland, through the want of attention on the part of English statesmen to the wishes and sympathies of the Irish nation. This Bill may be described, not as an Irish measure, but as one introduced by Englishmen anxious to do a considerable conciliatory part towards Ireland, but thoroughly innocent of the aspirations and of the sympathies of the Irish people with regard to University Education. I have followed, with very great pleasure, the speech of the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope), and I find that he is frank enough to state that he does not look upon this Bill as what he is pleased to term a final settlement of this very large and vexed question. But he does hope that this Bill will be cast in Committee into such proportions as to render it, so cast, acceptable as a qualified settlement of the University Question. In that I quite agree with him; and, knowing the terrible majority that the Government can always carry with them upon this or upon any other question, I feel that all the Irish Members can do is to accept whatever concessions they can squeeze from Her Majesty's Government, and to bring up this Bill again in some amended form in the forthcoming Session, or, it may be, in the new Parliament. The hon. Member for Cambridge University has commended to us — the Irish Members — the consideration of that great virtue, self-help. Mr.

Speaker, I may remind the hon. Member that the University which he has the honour to represent, and the other University of England, owe their first endowment and their State support to times long gone by, when the principles which Catholic Ireland holds to-day were paramount throughout this country. And, Sir, as to self-help in Ireland, it is rather a difficult process for a man who has had his pocket robbed to aid himself in such a gigantic scheme as this of University education. The very Trinity College, which has been such a consideration to the Irish people, owes its origin and its first endowment to Roman Catholics; and, therefore, I think that if English Members of this House — if both Liberals and Tories — are anxious, as they say they are, to offer conciliation to Ireland, they ought to remember that it is only by considering the feelings of the Irish people, and looking upon this question, if it were possible for them, from an Irish platform, that they can really understand the aspirations of the Irish people. Sir, the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) has given us a long disquisition upon University education, and upon the Colleges attached to a University; but I will remind him, through you, that the appearances of truth are often more deceptive than error; and that in offering to us conciliatory measures, and in wishing to extend to us that sympathy for which we are thankful, we would remind him of his own words, when he said that the Queen's University degrees were of very considerable value; but, as it was a discussible question, he would leave that domestic matter to the Irish Members. Now, if the noble Lord carried his philosophical principles further, he would have said also that this Irish University Question ought also to be left solely to the Irish Members. Sir, a distinguished literateur, a writer, and one of an unbiassed temperament — Mr. Matthew Arnold — wrote in *The Times* of last Thursday a very remarkable letter upon this question of University education; and though the noble Lord repudiated any connection with the principles, or rather with having borrowed from the principles, of Matthew Arnold, I myself prefer to take the opinion of Matthew Arnold upon so important a question as University education, believing, as I

*Mr. Finigan*

do, that there is no higher authority upon this question than Matthew Arnold. Now, Mr. Matthew Arnold, in quoting the various systems upon the Continent of University education, has told us that the Theological Faculty of Montauban embraces eight professions. Now, we all know that the Protestant minority of France is comparatively insignificant; and yet the French people have Liberalism enough to recognise that the Protestant minority must have their religious and political convictions valued at their proper qualifications. Then, Sir, the University of Bonn is also quoted; and so are several other foreign Universities, showing that minorities are respected, religiously and intellectually, upon the Continent; but there, we do not ask that you should extend to a minority the same religious liberties which the Continent extends to Universities. We, in Ireland, are the majority, and we simply ask that the majority of Irish people should be respected in their wishes. Moreover, this is not a question of paying out of English funds for Irish education. The money for which we ask belongs to the Irish nation; and, Sir, never mind what express trusts or private endowments may have been given to the Queen's Colleges of Ireland, it is an axiom, I think, of equity, that whenever any private or express trusts interfere with the general good, or with the public welfare, they must stand aside in the interests of a nation. Therefore, these private trusts and endowments should be so arranged that, whilst doing violence to the conscience of no man, they shall be placed in accord with the wishes and sympathies of the great majority of the Irish people. Sir, this House is asked to remove the last vestige of the Penal Laws, to do away with that denominational gulf which divides the Irish and the English people on the question of education. This House is asked to do an act of justice towards Ireland, which both Conservative and Liberal Governments have professed themselves willing to do. The Government have taken the initiative in this matter; and it only remains for this House, when it goes into Committee, to so amend this Bill as to render it acceptable to Irish Representatives here, who have, at least, the greatest right to say what will be acceptable to Ireland, and what will not

If this Bill is not clothed with some rights on the part of the Catholics of Ireland, it will simply become a subject of future discussions in this House; because no Catholic can rest satisfied until this House has done an ample measure of justice to Catholic Ireland, and an act of reparation to the general principles of liberty, justice, and equality.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he understood the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Finigan) to say that he intended to support the Bill, and he supposed, therefore, that the hon. Member would not follow the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth) into the Lobby when he divided on the Amendment which he had moved. It appeared to him (Mr. Courtney), however, that the speech to which they had just listened led up to the conclusion that they ought to adopt the Amendment of the hon. Member for Westmeath. No Bill dealing with a question of this importance had ever been laid before the House which was of so sketchy a character as the present. It appeared to him that there was no section of that House that could feel that the situation in which they were placed in regard to the Bill was satisfactory. Those who represented the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland said they could not accept the measure as a settlement; while those who approached it from an educational point of view were equally dissatisfied with it. It was just as acceptable or unacceptable as was the proposal of Sir George Grey, in 1865, that the obtaining of degrees should be no longer restricted to students of University and Queen's Colleges. It was proposed to destroy a Collegiate system, which he (Mr. Courtney) had shown to be sufficient to meet the wants of the laity of Ireland, without satisfying either religious or educational claims; and as the position of the Bill could not be satisfactory either to the Government, who had exhibited so much squeezability, or to the Leaders of the Opposition, whose followers had not shown much obedience to them in the Division Lobby, it was hopeless to think of dealing with the question in the remainder of the Session; and it had better be referred to a Royal Commission, to consider how the existing Collegiate system could be extended so as to satisfy all, without doing violence to the principles on which Parliament had recently and for a long time previously acted. For

his part, he adhered to the objections that he stated upon the second reading of the Bill, against any alteration in the existing system of University Education in Ireland. He believed that if that system were properly understood, it should, and, as a matter of fact, it did, satisfy all the wants of the Catholic laity of Ireland. It was true that since the Bill had been read a second time they had had the benefit of an epistle-general from a very distinguished person, who had been referred to by more than one hon. Member in the course of the debate. Mr. Matthew Arnold was a gentleman given very much to instructing them in an elegant and languid way, and he was, of course, a great authority. He had invented, of late, a new religion. It was a religion which dispensed with all forms, all articles, and all doctrines; but, with a delightful suffusion of tender sentiment and generous feeling, they were able to go on professing and repeating all the existing formularies, although they had no kind of significance or meaning. That was Mr. Matthew Arnold. The only fault with his religion, apparently, was that nobody was disposed to accept it but himself. A religion of that kind failed in the necessary element of being popular. It did not appeal to the rich, still less did it appeal to the poor; and thus it was rejected altogether. Mr. Arnold said that there was a great want of Catholic University Education in Ireland, and he referred to the state of things existing in Germany and France. But, there, it happened there were payments of stipends to the priests; and it was in connection with the payment of stipends to Protestant pastors in France that there were payments for a Protestant School of Theology. Did Mr. Arnold propose to introduce anything of that kind in this country? Why, they were moving in a totally different direction. They had not yet disendowed the ministers in Scotland, or the clergy in England; but they had disendowed the Church in Ireland, and if the argument prevailed at all it should go to this extent—that because they had not disendowed the clergy in England, or the ministers in Scotland, they were bound in justice to set up and endow the Catholic priesthood there, and, with them, a Catholic University. For his part, he rejected altogether the lesson which was founded

on Mr. Matthew Arnold's Continental experiences. Mr. Matthew Arnold appeared to be very little acquainted with the facts of University organization in Ireland. In one part of his letter he said—

"The Irish Catholics may say, Give us an undenominational University just like yours; that is all we want—a University where the bulk of the students and the teachers are Catholic."

Well, the Queen's Colleges in Cork and Galway were undenominational in the sense which Mr. Matthew Arnold used. It was asserted that the people of Ireland rejected those Colleges. He denied that those whose means enabled them to avail themselves of those Colleges rejected them. It was a matter of figures; and the figures, as he had shown on a former occasion, proved what he stated. Then, with reference to the organization of the Colleges, he would refer to a speech delivered when the Colleges were proposed to be founded, and when it was objected that they did not afford religious education. Referring to the speech of the then Member for Kerry (Mr. Morgan John O'Connell), Mr. Shiel said—

"I coincide with the hon. Member in thinking that secular education in Ireland should be mixed."

And he pointed out that, in after life, the Catholic merchant associated with the Protestant, the Catholic advocate with the Protestant, and the Catholic soldier was the comrade of the Protestant soldier. He said—

"Mixed secular education ought to be combined with separate religious instruction, which ought to be provided by the State."

Well, the State did provide it. It was open to all; and he (Mr. Courtney) believed it to be the best system of education that could be devised, and adhered to the statement that it was, in fact, satisfactory to the people of Ireland. If it were not for political reasons, they would not, in his opinion, find any Government endeavouring to undo it; but now, from time to time, they saw Government after Government trying to go as far as they could—fearful of their own Followers behind them—in the effort to obtain the support of a particular body of Members. Even if they succeeded, did they for a moment think that that was the way to secure the support of the people of the United Kingdom? He supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth), for he thought

*Mr. Courtney*

that the question should not be hurriedly settled at the fag-end of the Session, in accordance with a scheme which, more than any other, was open to objection. With regard to the present Bill, he had not yet heard a single word from a single man in that House in favour of the plan which was recommended. They proposed to destroy the Queen's University; but why did they propose to do so? The Chief Secretary for Ireland had not told the House yet—and he was afraid he would not tell them—why it was proposed. If no argument was brought forward to show the advisability of it being destroyed, why should they consent to its destruction, and with it the destruction of a system which had done so much, and brought out and trained so many students? The facts showed that the Queen's Colleges had turned out a set of students who had proved themselves equal to those brought up at any other College in the country; and, that being the case, it was idle to tell him that they were not of great value. The Government proposed to destroy the Queen's University without assigning any adequate reason, and to make the University of the future dependent upon annual Votes in that House. Now, was there any Member who really thought that University education could be suitably maintained when in a state of dependence upon the fluctuating will of the House of Commons? What would be said if it was proposed to make the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge depend on Party Votes? He sincerely hoped that hon. Members would protest strongly against this scheme, and insist, at least, upon a definite settlement of the financial question. The organization of the future University was not in the Bill at all. It was intrusted to an unknown body of gentlemen, who were to say what it should be, what kind of prizes should be instituted and in what manner they were to be bestowed. That was like accepting a bill in blank, which they gave to an unknown person to fill up the amount and put it in circulation. They were going to permit the extraordinary trust to an unknown person of drawing upon them to an unknown amount. The Government were going to accept such a Bill, and the House was asked to consult its dignity and honour by giving a Royal Commission to those unknown persons, that they might draw 12 months

hence on an unknown Ministry of that day. Surely such considerations were sufficient to enforce the wisdom of the proposal of the hon. Member for Westmeath—to relegate the consideration of that question to a Royal Commission, who should fully deliberate upon it. He quite recognized the necessity of doing something, and doing that something as soon as possible; but he could not approve the suggestions of the Government, which, if carried out, would not be creditable to the House, and would be most injurious to the cause of higher education in Ireland.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, that as reference had frequently been made in the discussions on this Bill to the University of London, he should like, holding, as he did, the office of Vice Chancellor of that University, to say a few words on the subject. In the first place, he wished to remark that he was sure the University would feel no jealousy on account of the possible effect this Bill might have in diminishing the numbers of those who would hereafter go to it for degrees. In the matriculation examination which had just been held, nearly 1,000 students presented themselves, and as the number increased year by year, the House would see at once that the University was not likely to be influenced by any such feeling. It was, however, very undesirable to do anything which would tend to lower the standard of degrees. At present, the London degrees were known to be severe; but then it was sometimes said that the University of London was a mere Examining Body, and its degrees were contrasted with those of Oxford and Cambridge, as if Oxford and Cambridge implied Collegiate as against private instruction. So far was this from being the case, that nine-tenths of the London graduates had had a Collegiate training. To suppose that, because the University was, in one sense, an Examining Board, the students had had no Collegiate advantages, was entirely a misconception which it seemed desirable to remove. The next point on which he was anxious to say a word was the question of finance. It had been stated that the University of London had several thousands a-year to distribute in Fellowships and Exhibitions. Now, the fact was that the annual sum so applied was only about £1,500. Indeed, the whole Vote for the University of London

was under £11,000 a-year, while about £6,000 was received in fees and repaid to the Exchequer, so that the net expense was only about £5,000 a-year—a striking proof of how much might be accomplished at a comparatively small outlay. But of this £5,000 a-year only about £1,500 was devoted to Scholarships, &c., the rest being for salaries of Examiners, and similar charges. He thought it was clear, therefore, that a most important question was raised as to the relations which were to exist in future between the different Universities, if large sums were to be granted for Fellowships to this new University. If Parliament granted to the new University much more than £1,500 a-year—and he did not know whether this sum would satisfy the aspirations of hon. Members from Ireland—it was clear that Parliament was offering students a bribe to enter there. But, apart from the pecuniary consideration, he confessed that the relation which was to exist between the new anonymous University and other Universities did not seem clear. The new University was not to be exclusively Irish. Under the Bill an Englishman could enter for any of the examinations, and, as no residence was required, there would always be a tendency to go to whichever University granted its degrees on the easiest terms. On the other hand, with regard to prizes and Exhibitions, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent the best men from Oxford and Cambridge, or the Scotch Universities, from carrying them off. Perhaps there was no objection to their making the attempt; but the point seemed to him to be one worthy of careful consideration.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he desired to make a few remarks with reference to the course which he took on a former occasion in voting for the second reading of this Bill. It appeared to him a very unseemly spectacle that a portion of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland should for years have been induced by their ecclesiastical leaders to repudiate the Queen's University. He regretted, exceedingly, that the Roman Catholics of the sister country had not, more emphatically and generally than they had yet done, availed themselves of the opportunities for obtaining degrees which were afforded by the Queen's Colleges and University—that they had not repudiated the stigma,

which the ecclesiastical leaders to whom he had referred, had long laboured to fix upon those Institutions. As for pacifying the Ultramontanes, who had constituted themselves the ecclesiastical leaders of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, experience ought to have taught the House that this was simply impossible. He rejoiced, however, that one phrase of this contest was coming to an end. It had long been painful to him that Her Majesty's name and title, as connected with the Queen's University and Colleges in Ireland, should be exposed to slight and insult by so large a portion of her subjects. That, he was convinced, was not the result of failure in the munificent scheme which the late Sir Robert Peel devised and carried for higher education in Ireland; but was simply and solely the effect of the Ultramontane virus which poisoned the minds of the Irish people. It had become, in his opinion, neither decent nor safe that Her Majesty's name should be connected with any phase of higher education in Ireland. He thought it essential that Her Majesty's name should always be treated with reverence, and that, therefore, it ought in no manner to be connected with the University to be erected under this Bill. The House of Lords had been induced to send the general scheme of this Bill to that House, and the House was now about to try its hand upon it. What the result of that manipulation might be found to be remained to be proved; but, whatever the result, the scheme had become a Parliamentary scheme, and Parliament ought to be held solely responsible for it. If the Home Rulers proffered the control of the Parliament to that of Her Majesty, it was reasonable that this desire should be fully met. He did not entertain any sanguine anticipations with respect to the measure which was about to be considered in Committee. It would, however, to use a military phrase, develop the position. Her Majesty's Ministers had practically declared that, in their opinion, the Queen's University in Ireland, as it existed, was indefensible, and appeared to think that they could not reject the Bill proposed by the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) without substituting something for it. He (Mr. Newdegate) did not understand exactly the motives of their conduct; but these two facts were patent—

*Mr. Newdegate*

that it was late in the Session, and that Her Majesty's Ministers had an obsequious majority at their back. He had not any sanguine anticipations with regard to the measure now before the Committee. Why Her Majesty's Ministers had chosen to abandon a position which had been found tenable for 30 years he did not understand; they would find, that by shifting their ground, they would not escape the necessity for resisting somewhere the aggressive spirit which prevailed amongst the Ultramontane hierarchy in Ireland; that had been discovered both in Germany and in France. It was, however, his earnest wish to show the Irish people that it was not, what was foolishly thought a trifle, which would prevent the House of Commons from endeavouring to meet their desires. Many hoped that some final settlement would be arrived at; he was not at all sanguine that this would be attained by concession. The opinion, however, seemed to prevail that some settlement might be reached; that the Legislature might find some ground, some position more tenable than that which the Queen's University occupied. He (Mr. Newdegate) could not forget promises of peace and good-will on their part tendered, and even upon oath, by the Papal hierarchy, on the faith of which the Relief Act of 1829 had been obtained. The House had even up to the present hour, in the conduct of the Home Rule section, an ample illustration of the value of those promises. But the conduct of the Opposition, in supporting the University Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon, and the production of the present Bill by a quasi-Conservative Government, showed that there was a determination or, it might be, a helplessness in that House, which rendered the trial of some experiment inevitable. Without, therefore, any sanguine expectation that the present measure would prove a panacea for the troubles of Ireland, he should make no futile attempt to interrupt the experiment upon which the majority of the House seemed determined. As he had indicated, he could not indulge in any glowing hopes, such as the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) had expressed, with respect to the Bill. That hon. Gentleman said he wanted to give contentment to the Irish Roman Catholics. He (Mr. Newdegate) also wished, if possible, to



give satisfaction to the Irish nation; and, entertaining that desire, he was most decidedly opposed to any idea of any permanent endowment for higher education in Ireland. That would be granting a principle the consequences of which might be found irretrievable. Remembering the example of Ultramontane education in France, having read the evidence which had been produced by the Minister of Public Instruction, and the character of the teaching which was given to some of the Orders of the Church of Rome, he sincerely trusted that the Legislature would not sanction any permanent endowment for the object the House had now before them. He held that this should be treated as essentially a tentative measure; and, although he did not look for much in the way of results from it, he would acquiesce in the Bill going into Committee, in the hope that those who called themselves educationists would, with a view to the creation and maintenance of an adequate standard of education in Ireland, be found to possess and exhibit the courage and sincerity which, on this subject, had been evinced by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney).

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that the question immediately left to the House was the Amendment of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth), which asked them to drop the Bill, and to refer it to a Royal Commission. The hon. Member had correctly said that so long ago as 1873 he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had brought forward precisely the same proposal. The House did not entertain the proposition at that time. He thought then that there was need of such information as to the wishes and views of those interested in University Education in Ireland; but he was not able to support the Amendment now, because, to use an historical phrase, "many things had happened since then." They knew now perfectly well what were the views of the people of Ireland on the subject of University Education. Nevertheless, they were asked, especially by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), to accept the Amendment, drop the Bill, and review the whole subject. Before taking that advice, he thought that they were entitled to look a little into the motives of the hon. Member who tendered it. The hon. Member for Liskeard was not in the House in 1873, but representatives

of his opinions were. The hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) and his Friends did not support the proposal made in 1873 to refer the matter to a Royal Commission, because they believed that they themselves knew the proper way to settle the question of University education. The hon. Member for Hackney was just as clear in his statement to the House that he knew what was wanted in Ireland on the subject of University Education as the hon. Member for Liskeard had been that afternoon. The hon. Member for Liskeard had told them that the Catholics of Ireland were quite content with the Queen's Colleges, and became quite irritable if hon. Members who represented Irish constituencies ventured to differ from the opinion which he expressed. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) never ventured to address the House on Irish education without great reluctance, because he felt his opinions, as a Protestant, were different to those of many of his co-religionists. The first class was represented by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), who had just addressed the House, and the hon. Member for North-East Lancashire (Mr. Holt). They who represented that Party were mortally afraid of the Pope, of everything that the Pope could do, and believed the intentions of the Catholics were to undermine the Constitution of the country, to withdraw all their liberties, and to place them under ecclesiastical domination. That feeling predominated all through whatever those hon. Gentlemen said or did. He respected their opinions, as he respected the opinions of any other person. He considered that they were far-fetched and rather eccentric. They did not wish this question settled. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire did not wish it settled.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I did not say I did not wish it settled; I said I did not think this Bill would settle it.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY had understood the hon. Member to imply that he was opposed to any complete settlement by endowment, and wished to have an annual discussion in the House to enable him and his Friends to ventilate their fears of the Pope. Then there were other hon. Members who came forward ostensibly in the interests of education and in the guise of friends, but who were, in reality, the bitter enemies of Ireland. He referred to those who

were called—and rightly called—“Doctrinaires” on the subject of education. Those Gentlemen appeared to demand that the Catholic youth of Ireland should be educated upon the lines which they laid down, and upon no others; but hon. Gentlemen experienced the greatest difficulty in putting themselves in the position occupied by the Catholics of Ireland, so far as the question of University Education was concerned. He had often heard the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), who spoke very freely on the subject, say—“Why cannot you Catholics go to the University of Oxford or that of Cambridge? There is nothing to prevent you. If you will come to my College, you will find your religious convictions not only respected, but taken no account of. We have elected to our Scholarships three Nonconformists, and if you distinguish yourselves in your studies you will also be elected.” It was perfectly plain why the Catholics did not accept the invitation. The hon. Member for Hackney and others of this Doctrinaire school had not that positive belief as to religion which was entertained by Catholics in all parts of the world. Protestants differed amongst themselves. Some were Episcopalians, some were Dissenters of various kinds, some were Unitarians, as to whom some denied that they were Christians at all. Whatever they were, Protestants agreed that they could accept these different forms of faith without danger to their eternal happiness. That was not the way with Catholics. They believed that there was only one salvation under Heaven. That being so, did the House desire to deny the Catholic the right to educate his own children in that faith which, if violated, he believed would imperil eternal salvation? He (Mr. Mitchell Henry), himself, advocated the claims of the Irish Catholics for years before he became an Irish Member. When he was a candidate for an English constituency, no doubt the unpopularity of the opinions which he held was the cause of his defeat; but he had never asked anyone to advocate the claims of Ireland in this matter except on the grounds of justice. There was a population in Ireland of 5,500,000, four-fifths being Catholics; they paid their share of the taxes, and they had the same rights and no more than they would have if they were

Mahomedans, who constituted a portion of our country, and paid four-fifths of the taxes. They possessed, in his opinion, a right to have their own system of University Education. Of course, the Bill would not settle the question; it relegated it to a body of gentlemen that might, practically, be called a Royal Commission; it, in point of fact, carried out in a practical way the proposition of the hon. Member for Westmeath, which was also advocated by the hon. Member for Liskeard. The opinion of the Irish people upon the subject was now well known, and the Government would, of course, take care to nominate upon the Senate of the new University representatives of all classes and opinions. It would be the duty of the Senate to ascertain, if they did not know it before, what were the wishes and feelings of the different University Bodies. It would be their duty also to attend to the wishes of the Irish people. When that had been done it would be for them to lay before the Government a scheme of University Education which would satisfy the religious wants of the Irish people. The Government would lay the scheme upon the Table of the House; and if it did not meet with the satisfaction of the House, and the Catholics who sat in the House as Irish Representatives, it would be open for them to oppose it. The proposal of the Government was one for really and practically referring the whole question to a Royal Commission. He would much rather that the Government had come forward, as a bold and strong Government ought to have done, with a well-considered and liberal measure. But there had been influences at work that had prevented them from doing that which would have been a statesmanlike and honourable act. He, however, for one, would not take the responsibility of voting against the Government proposal. He would support the Government Bill, and such Amendments as commended themselves to him in the passage of the measure through the House. In concluding his observations he wished to say that he had had much intercourse with Roman Catholics in Ireland, and especially with the Roman Catholic hierarchy upon this subject, and what had struck him most was the moderation and reasonableness of their claims: and if the House would grant to the Roman Catholics of Ireland some

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of the facilities for University Education which existed in England, he felt certain that they would set at rest the question, without which settlement Parliament could never proceed smoothly, and without which there could be no lasting union between the two peoples.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN congratulated the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) upon his somewhat tardy conversion to the cause of justice to Ireland. What was the position in which the House was placed with regard to this Bill? They were within a week of that anniversary, after which it was said no Government could keep a House of Commons together. They had been sitting for six months—the dreariest he ever passed in his life. They were now, on the 5th of August, asked to grapple with what he would venture to call the most difficult Irish problem since the passing of the Irish Church Act. He held in his hand four innocent-looking pages of Amendments to the Bill. These Amendments raised every possible question—financial, educational, academical, theological, and even sexual, for he noticed that his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) intended to raise the point of women's rights. How was it possible that a Bill involving questions of such importance could be properly discussed at this late period of the Session? This was a purely Irish subject, and, as such, ought to be considered. Still, there was a limit to "squeezability." Let them look at the history of the Bill. To whom did they owe it? Why, to the hon. Member for Roscommon, (the O'Connor Don) who, in the first place, introduced an honest Bill. But the Government would not accept it. The way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had turned round on this question reminded him of Richard II.'s turning to the mob that followed Wat Tyler, and exclaiming—"I'll be your leader." There was only one way of passing the measure this Session, and that was by Members agreeing not to discuss it at all; but, for that purpose, the Irish Members must be "squared;" and it seemed, from the speech of the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), that they had been squared most successfully. The Bill of the Government had been materially altered since it was introduced, for it now included all those clauses which the hon. Members for

North-East Lancashire (Mr. Holt) and North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) considered the most objectionable clauses in the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon. He (Mr. Osborne Morgan) supported those clauses, and he should support them in the present Bill; but, in doing so, he drew down upon himself the censure, not only of many of his own Friends, but also of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Yet the Government now came forward and inserted those very clauses in their own Bill. He did not think that was a straightforward way of acting. The Government had endeavoured to do what no Government or no man could do gracefully—namely, to sit upon two stools. They desired to offer solace to the Irish Representatives, and administer soothing syrup to the hon. Members for North-East Lancashire and North Warwickshire. Although there was much of the Bill as amended of which he approved, yet he could not approve of the way in which it had been introduced; and he thought that it would be wise for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to put it on the top of the funeral pyre which he would soon have to light, or else relegate the question to a Royal Commission, or to another Session, or even to another Parliament.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, the existence of the Bill admitted a grievance, acknowledged a claim, and offered satisfaction. There was, no doubt, a strong desire in the House to accept a Bill which might settle the question of University Education in Ireland for a considerable period. It was a palpable fact that the Roman Catholics had not University Education in proportion to their numbers; and when they told the House that they could not avail themselves of existing Colleges, owing to their conscientious scruples they were bound to devise means for enabling them to obtain higher education on conditions consonant with their religion and conscience. This Bill admitted their claim, and offered satisfaction. He understood the claim to be that the Catholics desired to have equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects in higher education. They pointed to Trinity College, and said that students who had Protestant convictions could there be educated with perfect security to their faith. But Catholics were not all of the same mind.

There were some who were content to acquire secular education in mixed Colleges. These could go, and did go, to the Queen's Colleges. But there was a much larger section who required that their spiritual guides should superintend their education and guard their faith and morals while they were being educated in secular matters. Undoubtedly, this large section was cut off from the excellent education of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, and it was to meet the wants of this section that the Bill was devised. Now, if equality of education were the first demand of the Roman Catholics, this Bill certainly did not meet it. For where were the Catholic Colleges in Ireland at all comparable to the well-ordered Colleges—Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges? If this Bill did not secure equality of higher education between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, there could be no settlement of the question of University Education in Ireland. Without equality this Bill could not result in settling the question; but, as the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had frankly pointed out, it must be an eminently unsettling Bill—one that would stir up the foundations of all existing education, and build nothing upon the quaking ground. Now, both sides would go a long way to remove the legitimate grievances of Roman Catholics in regard to higher education; but they would think it intolerable if, by their present labours, they agitated everything and settled nothing. The Queen's Colleges professedly were to remain as they were. He denied that this would be the result of the Bill; but he would put that aside for the present, and look to how this Bill supplemented Catholic education outside these Colleges. It did so in two ways—(1) it created a University open to students resident or non-resident; (2) it induced students to join this University by Exhibitions, Scholarships, and Fellowships. These were to be given for "relative and absolute" proficiency, not only at matriculation, but at each stage of examination for a degree, until it was crowned by a Fellowship. Looking at the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), whose Bill was agreeable to the Catholics of Ireland, they might easily see how such a system of payments by standard would work. Let them follow a student in his

course. He came up for matriculation, and won, say, by "absolute" proficiency, £20. With that he went to his College, and demanded preparation for the first examination in Arts, and he handed over his Scholarship. If successful in that, they might assume that he won £30. That sum he paid to the College to prepare him for his second, and then for his third, examination, at each of which he might win a prize. Ultimately, he might win a well-paid Fellowship. In what form was that different from result fees, payable directly to a College? Only in this—that the student received the money into his pocket, and that the College took it out. Instead of Government money being handed frankly over the table to a College, it was handed under the table. Could his Liberal Friends be deceived as to the character of the Bill, when they found the sudden conversion of Irish Catholic Members, who, refusing indignantly the Bill as introduced, now supported it by significant silence when the money clause was added? Now, which were the Colleges that would benefit by the Bill? There was only one secular Catholic College in Ireland—namely, that in Dublin. But there were numerous Bishops' seminaries, called Colleges, in almost every diocese. Practically, these were mere schools under priestly instruction, and they benefited largely by the Intermediate Education Act of last year, and they would be still better supported under this Bill. The Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) excluded the diocesan seminaries when they benefited by the Intermediate Education Act. This Bill did not. The effect of the two Acts together would be richly to support with public money the Bishops' schools in the various dioceses of Ireland. The Intermediate Act secured payments for boys; and this Bill, when it became law, would also secure payments for young men in the same diocesan seminary. That, so far as he saw, would be the whole operation of the Act. It might improve the upper classes of theological seminaries when they took lay pupils; but it gave no inducement for a Collegiate system of education, or even for any well-ordered curriculum of study. The Bill did not reward laureation in study; but it paid for subjects from the first matriculation, and took no security that the scholar

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should ever proceed to his degree. In such a system there was no equality between Protestant and Roman Catholic education. The Protestant would continue to receive his education at an organized College, under a well-ordered curriculum. He would have the advantage of study in practical sciences in well-appointed laboratories. The mode of studying science by observation and experiment had received great development in modern times; but it could only be carried out in well-appointed Collegiate institutions with museums and laboratories. The Catholics, having no secular Colleges, would be forced to resort to a mere priestly school, chiefly under the Jesuits, at which religious education was the primary object, and secular instruction a mere subordinate purpose. Of course, if the competition for prizes and Scholarships were for relative merit, the Catholic would have no chance in such an unequal contest. But the prizes were for absolute proficiency; and if they lowered the standards to a sufficient abasement, the Catholics might come in under this comprehensive term. But the only effect of the Bill, so far as he could judge, was to throw higher education entirely into the hands of the priests. Now, he did not care whether the priests were Catholic or Protestant, because he thought an Act which had the effect of putting the youth of the country, in relation to higher education, under mere ecclesiastical training, was thoroughly mischievous. That must be the result of the Bill, for, with one exception, there were no Colleges in Ireland other than the diocesan seminaries, and these were those which would be largely supported by this Act, in conjunction with the Intermediate Education Act of last year. It might be contended that the prizes and Scholarships could be won by students working at their own homes without going to diocesan seminaries. No doubt some might be won in this way; but the object of the Bill was not to give educational out-door relief of that kind, but to promote higher University Education in Ireland. The true object of a Bill for promoting higher education ought to be to gather young men together into residence at a secular College, so as to secure the benefits of well-ordered teaching, and to expand their minds by association and the inter-communication of

ideas. That certainly could not be accomplished by any provisions at present in the Bill, or in the Government clause for enlarging its scope. Government had introduced the Bill in the hope that it would satisfy the Protestant Party upon which it relied. But in no sense was the Bill anti-Catholic. It was the most pro-priestly proposal of education that was ever made in any European country in modern times. It might, in perfect fairness, be described as a Bill for the better support of Bishops' schools in Ireland. Now, although he thoroughly disliked a pro-priestly Bill of education, he did not object to a pro-Catholic system. He would willingly support a scheme which would give the Roman Catholics well-organized Colleges of secular education, comparable in efficiency to Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. Without that there would be no equality; and yet both Parties in the House were inclined to support the Bill, because they thought it might settle the question. Of course, the Roman Catholics would take as much as was given them for a time; but they would not be content. When, by this Bill, they had given liberal support to the diocesan schools, this support would not be renounced, but a new demand would arise for distinct Catholic Collegiate institutions, comparable to Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges; and having established under this Bill intense denominational education in the diocesan seminaries, he did not see how they were to resist a demand for true equality, for very soon it would be made. But, beyond that, the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) was right; for it was, in every respect, an unsettling Bill. It unsettled the Queen's Colleges, and reduced them to the position of well-endowed schools. At present, the Colleges were Colleges of a University under a well-ordered curriculum. Their Professors were Professors of the University, and co-ordinated their instruction to the requirements of the degrees. But they would cease to be University Professors as soon as this Bill passed, and have no *locus standi*, for they had not even seats in the Convocation. Their well-ordered curriculum vanished, and their natural inducement would be to prepare for examinations in subjects of "relative and absolute proficiency." Hitherto, in the Queen's Colleges exami-

nation had been a test of organized teaching. In future, not teaching, but examination would be the end, and cramming would be the substitute for teaching; for the 7th clause provided that no attendance at lectures or course of instruction should be obligatory, so that the following out of a well-ordered curriculum ceased to be necessary in the Colleges, which, to keep their position, would have to work for examination, and not for systematic Collegiate teaching. Very few of his Liberal Friends accompanied him into the Lobby when he voted against the second reading of the Bill, so he felt bound now to state his objections to it. He did not believe it could work well for the higher education of Roman Catholics, for it gave to them no equality of Collegiate instruction. It might serve the purposes of Irish ecclesiastics for a time, because it would improve and support their diocesan seminaries. They would feel that the Bill practically gave them what their Church so much longed to obtain—*ad eum qui regit Christianam rempublicam scholarum regimen pertinere*. But it was no satisfaction to the legitimate aspirations of enlightened Roman Catholics, who knew that what they wanted was systematic Collegiate education, under lay Professors, with securities for faith and morals in its superintendence. This Bill did not settle Irish University Education; but it did throw the future higher education of Catholics in Ireland entirely into the Bishops' schools, and that was a result deeply to be deplored for the freedom of education, and for that intellectual development which was so needful for a poor country like Ireland.

THE O'CONOR DON: I do not intend, on this stage of the Bill, to occupy the attention of the House at any great length, because I did so upon the occasion of the second reading. At the same time, it must be remembered that when I spoke last the Bill was a very different one to the one which is now before the House. On the second reading I spoke with considerable difficulty, because we really did not know what the Government intended to propose. We now know the full extent of their proposals on the subject. I must say that, looking at those proposals, it seems to me that the question must come up for consideration again next year. The Government propose to leave to the Senate the arrange-

ment of all details; and, therefore, at the present moment, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyon Playfair) has stated, we are not settling the question. There is no use in concealing the fact that the present Bill cannot be accepted as a settlement, and that it must come up for revision next year, and probably in subsequent years. That is the position in which we are placed. That being so, the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth) proposes that we should refer the question to the consideration of a Royal Commission. I hope my hon. Friend will not press his Motion to a division; because, if he does so, I should be most reluctantly obliged to vote against him. I consider that in this question of University Education in Ireland the need of a settlement is very urgent. We have at the present moment in operation the Act of last year, under which a number of students have passed examinations. By the end of the year many of these young men will be ready for the University, and I think anything which may tend to delay their carrying on their University course is to be deprecated. Nothing is more likely to delay a settlement, and to delay it for several years, than the appointment of a Royal Commission. That is a proposal which is usually made when a Government finds a question very inconvenient, and wants to hang it up for an indefinite period. We had a Royal Commission proposed in 1868 by Lord Mayo, which we expected would report in the following year. But what was the result? The Commission took three years to make their Inquiry, and very little action has been taken on it up to the present day; so that I should look with very great dread upon the appointment of a Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland on the present occasion, simply for the reason that I fear it would lead to almost interminable delay. If it were not for that, I should be very glad to have an inquiry by a Commission; and on one point in particular I should be glad that the condition of education as carried on in the Queen's Colleges should be inquired into, and that there should be an investigation which would show the English people what we in Ireland know perfectly well—that the education in these Colleges, at least in two of them, is a mere sham and a humbug, and that

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they have tended very much to lower and degrade education in Ireland. One of the good effects that is likely to arise even from this imperfect Bill is that that sham will be exposed, and that education in the Queen's Colleges, instead of being lowered, will be raised to the standard which it ought to reach. I cannot concur with my hon. Friend in the Motion for a Royal Commission; and I would appeal to him not to press us to the position of being obliged to vote against him. I do not intend, at this stage of the Bill—because in Committee we shall have an opportunity of dealing with it—to go very much into the details of the measure; but I would wish to reply to some of the remarks which have been made in the course of the debate. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) is always taunting us with the statement that the Roman Catholics are in favour of the Queen's Colleges, and are satisfied with their results. He has challenged us, over and over again, to prove that the statement is not accurate. I thought we had proved it on many occasions. In what way can the opinion of the Irish Catholic laity be ascertained, except by their own declarations? and we have had declarations from them over and over again on the subject. This year, declarations signed by almost all of the higher and middle classes of the Irish Catholic laity have been laid upon the Table. They have been signed by the great bulk of the professional men, the higher class of traders and merchants, all declaring, in the most clear and distinct way, that they are not satisfied with the present state of things, that they do not consider they have equality, and demanding that a change should be made. But my hon. Friend says all this is to be set aside, because he finds that a certain proportion of Roman Catholic students go to the Queen's Colleges, and he says that is sufficient to prove that the Roman Catholic population are not opposed to that system. The number of Catholics that do go to them is very small. Besides, I would point out that, there is a very great difference between entering those Queen's Colleges and receiving a real University Education. Hon. Members never tell us how many of those who enter go on and get a degree. Let us take the figures from their own Calendar. I find that between 1860 and 1870 the

total number of Roman Catholics who entered was 672, and the total number who took degrees of any sort was only 215, or one in three. Then, if you take the degrees in Arts, which, after all, is the real test, out of all these 672 students who, we are told, have received a University Education during these 10 years, how many does the House think took the lowest degree in Arts? Only 89, or one in eight; or on an average three students a year from each of these so-called University Colleges; and yet, in spite of this, my hon. Friend makes out that these Institutions are a great success, because a certain number of young men are tempted by the lavish supply of prizes and Exhibitions to enter on a course which they do not subsequently pursue. On the last occasion I spoke I mentioned, as a proof of this, that in a particular Catholic College, or rather an intermediate school, a boy who was not considered fit for the class in his own school which prepared for the London University matriculation—a boy who was, in fact, in the third class—went up to Queen's College, Galway, and not only matriculated with ease, but got one of the Exhibitions. A letter from this boy states that between 20 and 30 students went up for this matriculation examination, and they had five Scholarships and seven Exhibitions amongst them, or one prize between every two students, and he took the third place in the Exhibitions. My Bill was objected to as giving too many prizes and rewards; yet under it, I proposed that there should be only one prize amongst every 10 students; but in the Queen's Colleges there are often as many prizes as students. Now, I say it is monstrous that that sort of education should be foisted upon the country as such a fine standard, and that people should be afraid this new University Bill will lower it. As I said before, I do hope one of the effects of this Bill will be really to raise the standard. At present, the examinations are in the hands of the persons who teach; and, consequently, although they have a very fine programme on paper, no one knows how much correctness in answering is required by these Professors; and we know that students, whom their own schools would not think of sending up to a University, are able to go to Cork or Galway and gain these money prizes. On the last

occasion that I spoke I pointed out the gross inequality that would exist if the new Scholarship prizes and Exhibitions were to be thrown open to competition by students from Colleges that are endowed. I suggested that if those Colleges were to retain their own Scholarships and prizes, paid for out of the public money, it was only fair that the prizes given under this Bill should be restricted to other than students of those Colleges. Since I made that statement, I have been informed by the heads of the Catholic Colleges that they would entirely disapprove of this, and that they were in favour of competing with the Queen's College students; that they were perfectly satisfied they would be able to beat them; and that they do not want to have it said that these prizes are given to them on a lower standard. They have no fear whatever of that very high teaching which goes on in the Queen's Colleges, and feel perfectly confident of being able to hold their own ground. They say the way to give them fair play would not be to restrict these prizes to students coming from non-endowed Institutions, but to open the prizes at present given by public money to endowed Institutions to competition amongst all classes of students. That is the proposition we should like to see carried out, and which I hope the Government will see their way to adopt in Committee. I do not believe this Bill will settle the question; but it will give an opportunity to students, who are now ready to commence their University course, of carrying it on with some better advantages than they now possess. I will not take upon myself the responsibility of delaying it for a year; and, therefore, although I do not care very much about it, although I do not think it is of much consequence, and although I do not think it will be a settlement, I appeal to my hon. Friend not to press his Motion.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I gather that the general feeling of the House is in favour of proceeding with as little delay as may be to the consideration of this Bill in Committee. The Amendment which is before the House has been moved in a speech of considerable ability; and the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) delivered a long speech, concluding with a *non sequitur* intended to support the Motion. Notwithstanding the arguments of those

hon. Gentlemen, I think the House is inclined to avail itself of the opportunity it now has of dealing with the question during the present Session. The speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard was chiefly devoted to the advocacy of a scheme of his own, in respect of which the hon. Member does not require any information from a Royal Commission. The hon. Member has made up his mind, and he did not hesitate to state the result of his deliberations on the subject. It was evident that, unless a Royal Commission was prepared to adopt his suggestion, the hon. Member would not consider it worthy of his support. [MR. COURTNEY: I expressly said the contrary.] The hon. Gentleman said a great deal to the contrary I know; but I could not trace throughout his speech on what ground he based his support of the proposition he intended to vote for. Then the hon. Gentleman stated, among other things, that there was no grievance at all, and no demand for legislation. He stated that there was no reason for any alteration in the *status quo*. He said that the Queen's Colleges, first of all, should satisfy the people of Ireland. Well, the hon. Gentleman has a perfect right to entertain that opinion, and a great many, I have no doubt, agree with him; but he further went on to say that it does happen that the Queen's Colleges do satisfy the people of Ireland, and in that statement he failed, I think, to carry with him any of those Representatives of Ireland who sit upon his side of the House. It is not for me to say whether they are right or wrong in the opinion they evidently hold with regard to the Queen's Colleges. I stated, on a former occasion, that, from an educational point of view, I considered those Colleges had done good work; but it was evident they did not satisfy the requirements of the people of Ireland; and, therefore, it was on that account alone that Her Majesty's Government undertook to deal with the subject. The right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair) served to reassure those who are responsible for the Bill by the manner in which he dealt with the subject. I felt sure, when the right hon. Gentleman rose, that any defects this Bill might have would not escape observation at his hands, and that if we escaped the ordeal of his criticism we had not much else to fear.

*The O'Conor Don*



What was his criticism? He says the Bill has been changed since it was first introduced. That, of course, we were aware of, and we think the alterations we propose to make, and which are perfectly consistent with the statements which were originally made upon the introduction of the Bill in the Upper House of Parliament, are an improvement upon its original draft. But the right hon. Gentleman says that by the introduction of certain words we are enabling Collegiate Institutions to derive a benefit under the Bill. Well, the right hon. Gentleman has told us that the blot upon the Bill is that it does not afford sufficient inducement to those Institutions, and he would like to have given them encouragement directly. I cannot see that if the result of the proposal is to give encouragement to those Institutions that that is any harm; but what we have laid down is that the prizes and rewards earned under this Bill must be received by the students themselves who earn them, and not handed over to anybody else. I apprehend that the money which has been earned by the student is due to him, and the manner in which he spends it is a matter with which we have no concern. The right hon. Gentleman also said that intermediate schools will obtain aid under this Bill. Well, if there are any precocious boys in these schools who can earn for themselves University rewards I think nobody would grudge them; but, at the same time, I must remind the right hon. Gentleman that no scholar can obtain advantages derived under the Intermediate Education Act who is over the age of 18 years. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] That, at least, is the way I read it, as regards the payments of result fees. On the whole, the criticisms which have been passed upon this Bill have not been of a very alarming character, and I think they show that the House is prepared to go into the consideration of the measure in Committee, and to deal with it in a fair and candid spirit; and I may remind the House that it now has an opportunity of dealing with the question upon a Bill which has been supported by a large majority of the House in its earlier stages, and which affords some promise, at any rate, of meeting with a generous support throughout its remaining stages. If this opportunity be lost, I think he would be

a very sanguine man who would expect to find himself very soon again in a similar advantageous position.

MR. SHAW expressed a hope that his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath would not put the House to the trouble of a Division on his Amendment, and that the discussion, which had been a very interesting one, would be brought to a close, so that they might get into Committee on the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had, he thought, misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair), for what the right hon. Gentleman said was that the Bill would encourage diocesan schools, but would not encourage Colleges. That was, no doubt, a grievance; but he would not on that account vote against the Bill, or treat it in any other than a fair and generous way, because they had every hope that the Government, who had acted so well throughout the business, would, when they heard the arguments to be advanced in Committee, agree that that was the blot on the Bill, and would help them to promote Collegiate Education in the four or five Colleges which they hoped would grow up in time. He trusted that the good sense of the House would enable them to carry the Amendments they had placed upon the Paper.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the speech of the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair) was the speech of the debate. No Irish Member could have hit the blot of the Bill better than he had done. Under the Bill the House was asked to endow diocesan education, which it was not the special wish of the Irish people to have endowed. The Bill was one for endowing, not only denominational education, but clerical denominational education.

MR. FAWCETT said, it was obvious that a Bill of the importance of that before the House could not pass at this period of the Session, unless both sides acted on the principle of giving and taking. There was so much in the Bill that he disliked that he would gladly have opposed it; but it was evidently the wish of the House that it should be considered in Committee. If the Bill were allowed to go into Committee, he hoped the Government would not force

on them those portions of it to which the strongest possible objections were entertained. He wanted an answer to this question, and on that much would depend—Why were they going to destroy an existing Institution which had done its work so well, when all they desired might be accomplished by retaining the Senate of the Queen's University, and enlarging their powers in an analogous way to what was done 10 years ago with Oxford and Cambridge, by enabling them to grant degrees to those who had not resided at either University, but had attained the requisite standard of education? If the Government were anxious to have a new University, they might, at least, meet the friends of the Queen's University halfway, and give them some security as to what its character would be by saying that all the existing members of the Senate of Queen's University should be members of the new University they proposed to constitute. They might add new members; but if the Government gave that guarantee they would remove the most serious objection that was entertained to this Bill—namely, that it would suddenly deprive those who had fulfilled their public duties so well of the position which had been conferred upon them and the trust which had been confided to them. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give them some assurance to that effect; if he did a great part of the objection to the Bill would be removed, and its progress would be expedited.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER only rose to answer the question of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett). He regretted that he was not, at the present moment, in a position to give exactly the answer he should wish to give. He felt, with the hon. Member—and the Government felt with him—that it was of the greatest importance that in making such a change every consideration should be shown to the distinguished men who had, with so much public spirit and success, conducted the Queen's University; and he might safely say that in the organization of the new Senate the greatest care would be taken to admit and place on it the largest number of the members of the Senate of the Queen's University. He could not go the length of saying, at the present moment, that the Govern-

ment would be prepared to put into the Bill a clause that would import into the Senate the whole of those gentlemen who were at present on the Senate of the Queen's University; but when the matter came to be considered the greater part, if not the whole, of that body might be included.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not believe that the present Governing Body of the Queen's University was so good a body as some seemed to suppose.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Foundation of University).

Mr. COURTNEY thought it would be best at that stage to report Progress, and that the Committee should resume at 9 o'clock. The Amendment standing in his name raised a most important question, which it was absolutely impossible to discuss properly at that time; and as he believed the Government would think they had done a good stroke of work that afternoon in getting into Committee with the Bill he moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Courtney*.)

Mr. J. LOWTHER was obliged to say that, as the hon. Gentleman had already delivered two long speeches upon this question, it was hardly reasonable to move to report Progress. He trusted the Committee would be allowed to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. MELDON rose to Order. He wished to know whether, if Progress were reported then, the Committee could resume at 9 o'clock?

THE CHAIRMAN: There will be nothing to prevent the debate being resumed at 9 o'clock if the House so desires.

Mr. SHAW hoped the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) would not press his Motion. The hon. Gentleman could make his speech then; the Committee need not divide after it; and

*Mr. Fawcett*

they would then have the interval between that time and 9 o'clock in which to digest the speech of the hon. Member.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. COURTNEY regretted that it was necessary for him to make another speech. He should move, in page 1, line 12, after "by," to insert "supplementary." The object of that Amendment, as understood by hon. Members interested in this question, was to proceed in this matter in the same manner as the Government of Lord Russell proceeded in 1866—that was to say, by enlarging the powers of the Queen's University, so as to admit all those students who desired it to a degree in the University. It would be remembered that in 1866, after some correspondence and discussion between Sir George Grey and the Roman Catholic Prelates, which had not resulted in showing any disposition on the part of those eminent persons to accept the proposal, Lord Russell's Government proposed to issue a supplementary Charter for the University. Queen's University had been founded by way of bringing the Irish Colleges together into University life, and by its Charter it was provided that only those students should be admitted who had passed through a course of instruction at one or other of the Queen's Colleges. Up to that point the Queen's University had had no local habitation. It was contended that many students desired the privilege of obtaining admission to degrees who, for conscientious scruples, were unable to resort to the facilities offered by the Queen's Colleges; and it was proposed to enlarge the Queen's University by admitting the outside students to degrees, however or wherever educated. Lord Russell's Government proposed to solve the University Education Question in Ireland by issuing a supplementary Charter, and the fact of that course having been adopted by the Government, of which Lord Russell was the head, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) a Member, ought, he thought, to recommend his Motion to hon. Members on both sides of the House. That proposal had failed because the then Government had overlooked the fact that the supplementary Charter altered the original

Charter of the University against the will of the Body Corporate; but the same objection did not apply in this case. The Lord Chancellor had been understood to say that the reason for not following the former precedent in this case was the legal difficulty attendant upon it. No one knew better than the Lord Chancellor what the legal difficulty was; but if they acted under the powers of an Act of Parliament they could proceed by way of supplementary Charter as well as by original Charter. There would be no difficulty in that course. The principal objects of the Bill were to enable degrees to be given to students who had not passed through the Queen's Colleges or Trinity College, and to give them prizes; that would still remain the first principle of the Bill. They wanted, next, to provide certain Scholarships. But both those ends could be clearly secured by enlarging the Queen's University. Nothing whatever was gained by the creation of a new University that could not be secured by the enlargement of the existing University. Then the question arose—why should they destroy the Queen's University? It had done perfectly good work; it had got together a considerable number of students, and a certain number of them obtained their degrees; it had a certain status in Ireland; it had a history, and it had traditions—in short, in the language of the Law Courts, it was a going concern, and he (Mr. Courtney) did not know why it should be broken up. The Petition of the medical graduates of the Queen's University, which he held in his hand, declared that the abolition of the name of the Queen's University contemplated in the Bill at present before Parliament was for every medical student belonging to it a personal wrong; and that if Parliament deemed a change necessary the name of the Queen's University might be retained. He thought it was impossible not to feel that the medical graduates of the University had made out a very strong case, personally, as well as collectively, against the change contemplated by the Bill, by showing that medical education in Ireland would be injuriously affected by breaking the continuity of the Colleges in the step about to be taken. There was another Petition, to which he asked the attention

of the Committee, presented by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), from the University Graduates' Association of London, and other graduates of the Queen's University, declaring that the dissolution of the Queen's University was an unprecedented proceeding, and that the status of the Petitioners would be thereby impaired.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA rose to Order, and asked whether, under similar circumstances, he would be right in occupying the time of the Committee by reading such long Petitions?

THE CHAIRMAN replied, that the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) was in Order in referring to the Petitions relating to the Bill before the Committee.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the documents which he had read were Petitions from graduates of the Queen's University, and had reference to the Amendment which it was his intention to propose. Nothing, therefore, could be more pertinent than the statements in question. The petitioners submitted to the House very grave reasons why this change should not be effected. The Petition went on to say that the dissolution of the University would be a proceeding unprecedented in the United Kingdom. Hon. Members should note that the Queen's University had been in existence for something like 30 years; that it had gone on with the increasing appreciation of the people of Ireland from the time it was started to that day; that the standard of examination had been gradually raised, and that the number of its students had increased to 2,000. They had that continuity of existence, and it was, nevertheless, proposed, instead of making use of the accumulated force gained by the University, to dissolve it, establish a new University, and to make a fresh start. There was no argument sufficiently strong to support that proposition; certainly, no argument had been adduced. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had been challenged that afternoon to produce a single argument in favour of the proposed abolition. He had made, as he generally did, a very short speech, shortened by the omission of a great deal the Committee might have been very glad to hear from him. The right hon. Gentleman had, in his speech of that afternoon, quite omitted to refer to

*Mr. Courtney*

the question of the necessity for dissolving this University and creating another University to take its place. His Amendment, he thought, was well recommended by its doing that which was proposed by Lord Russell's Government in 1866, and which would have been done then but for the reason to which he had referred. He had another Petition upon this subject, which had been presented to the House; but this he did not propose to trouble the Committee by reading.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, Committee report Progress; to sit again *this day*.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Crow*  
*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 78.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON expressed a hope that the House would go into Committee on the Bill, which was merely for the purpose of continuing the existing Act for three years, there being a substitution of two Judges instead of one Judge for the trial of Election Petitions.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought the proposed change too important to be discussed now at the fag-end of a Morning Sitting, and opposed the taking of the Bill.

Committee *deferred till this day*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND)  
(No. 2) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 250].

(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(*In the Committee.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he had reserved some observations upon this clause, at the time when, by the Stand-

ing Orders, the debate was suspended, which he would now make to the Committee. He believed no one had asked for the dissolution of the Queen's University. The Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), which had brought about the present Bill, by some strange process of pressure, had respected the Queen's University, and left it absolutely untouched. The Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), which preceded the downfall of his Government, proposed to dissolve the University, and to make one University for Ireland, and that was the particular part of his Bill most strongly objected to, against which the greatest arguments were raised, and upon which it was shipwrecked. He (Mr. Courtney) asked what was the argument by which the Government defended this dissolution? It had not been asked for by anybody. Why, then, did they refuse to accept the simple and direct method of enlarging the Queen's University? The Lord Chancellor, in speaking of the present Bill, would not allow that any grievance existed; but he admitted that there was a deficiency. Well, supply that deficiency; and it was for that purpose alone that he proposed to insert the word "supplementary" before the word "Charter," in this clause of the Bill. The next Amendment upon the Paper standing in his name ran parallel to this, and if it were adopted the whole clause would run thus—

"It shall be lawful for Her Majesty, in case Her Majesty shall be pleased to do so, by supplementary Charter, to extend the powers of the Queen's University in Ireland, hereinafter called the University, as hereinafter provided."

He moved the insertion of the words of his Amendment.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, although the hon. Member for Liskeard had supported his Amendment in a portentously long speech, he hoped the Committee would not agree to it. The University proposed to be created by the Bill was entirely different from Queen's University. The Queen's University was nothing more than an aggregation of Colleges, exactly in the same way as the University of Oxford was an aggregation of 19 different Colleges. But the University which it was proposed to establish by the present Bill was something entirely different. It was

much more like the London University than the other. In the 7th clause it was provided that—

"The University shall confer a degree upon every person who had matriculated in the University."

That, of course, simply meant that the students should be what were called unattached. It went on to say—

"No residence in any College nor attendance at lectures or any other course of instruction in the University shall be obligatory upon any candidate for a degree, other than a degree in medicine and surgery."

That plainly showed that the University contemplated was something entirely different from Queen's University. It was, therefore, impossible to supplement the Charter in the way proposed. The Queen's University, as the hon. Member for Liskeard had pointed out, had a history of its own; but, unfortunately, that history did not exactly commend it to his hon. Friends below the Gangway, and for that reason it would be unwise to continue its present name.

MR. SYNAN said, there was, in the question before the Committee, something of greater importance than a name. He was obliged to say that if the fatal fluency of his hon. Friend went on to the same extent in proposing his other Amendments to the Bill as it had done upon this Amendment the Session would have to be prolonged till next September. If the Senate of the Queen's University was a representative body this Bill ought never, in his opinion, to have been brought in. If the Senate of the Queen's University was to be the Senate in the new University, why were hon. Members there to discuss the matter at all? The argument was contradictory in terms. The new University was intended to grant degrees outside the University. His hon. Friend had a fixed opinion; he would not go outside it; he persevered in it, and he would torment the Committee with it until they became disgusted with the Bill and the whole question. The only argument advanced by the hon. Member in support of his Amendment was the supplementary Charter proposed in 1866. But who rejected that Charter? It was the very Queen's Colleges on behalf of which the present Amendment was proposed to the Committee. There was never a greater contradiction; and he appro-

hended that the lapse of 10 years would not make that contradiction less apparent. He hoped his hon. Friend would be ashamed of his Amendment, and not put the Committee to the trouble of a division.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, as the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had moved his Amendment, he thought the Government were perfectly justified in saying that if the Government and the House had been of opinion that the Queen's University was adequate for the educational wants of Ireland, there would have been no occasion for the Bill. Of course, this was really the same question as the hon. Gentleman had argued, with great ability, a few hours ago, on the Motion that Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair. This measure was not intended as a penal dissolution of that University, which he had repeatedly declared to have rendered great services to Irish education. But it had been admitted, on all hands, that some change should be made with regard to Irish education, in order to meet what, perhaps, some might regard as sentimental objections to the existing system, and the system introduced by this Bill was a fresh departure in that respect. He could not accept the Amendment of the hon. Member.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS cordially supported the Amendment. He thought that there should be some reason given for the proposed alteration on the part of the Government. In the absence of that information, he thought the onus of proof did not lay upon those who desired to preserve a system which had admittedly done much good. The onus lay with those who made this extraordinary proposal. From his own intercourse with persons connected with the Queen's University in past years, and at present, he knew that this alteration was looked upon with the greatest dislike.

MR. BIGGAR said, the Bill would be a disadvantage to the Roman Catholics; but he thought it best to leave the question to be fought out by his successors on the Estimates which would have to be presented in connection with the proposed University.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, the proposition of the hon. Member for Liskeard was reasonable and logical if applied to the Bill as introduced. As the Bill was

presented, it was simply a Bill to supplement the system of the Queen's University; but it was now, practically, altered by the new clause, which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had proposed as part of it. That constituted a totally different Institution from the Queen's University, with its supplementary Charter of 1866; and he did not think that the hon. Member for Liskeard himself would be satisfied with the Queen's University carrying out such a totally new principle as that of examination without curriculum in the diocesan schools of Ireland. The hon. Member could scarcely expect the Committee to accept his Amendment, which, it was to be hoped, he would withdraw.

MR. COURTNEY understood the observations of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to mean that no fault had been found with the University, and that it was to be dissolved without any reason. That course appeared to him to be extremely wrong. To say that the present Senate of the Queen's University had not the confidence of the people of Ireland was to advance no reason for rejecting his Amendment. The hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had rushed into this question without making himself acquainted with the antecedent history of the University. He said how ridiculous it was that a supplementary Charter should be made when they were going to alter the Queen's University, so as to include students from all Colleges. The plan, however, which the hon. and learned Gentleman pronounced to be ridiculous and absurd was suggested, and attempted to be carried out, by Lord Russell, in 1866, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and by the present Lord Carlingford. Perhaps, if the hon. Member had remembered this fact, he would not have characterized, as a matter of absurdity, that the Queen's University should be enlarged in the manner suggested by his Amendment. He would leave the proposal in the hands of the Committee. No reason had been advanced against it, except that which, upon the showing of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was a reason in its favour—namely, that the dissolution of the University did not in any way imply that it had been a failure.

*Mr. Synan*

Mr. FAWCETT said, that the subject was one upon which they might come to some compromise. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) in the opinions expressed by him as to the unnecessary destruction of this University. He had never heard any valid reason advanced for that abolition. However, it was scarcely to be expected that the Government could surrender the cardinal point of their Bill. Still, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might meet the hon. Member for Liskeard to a great extent. He had already stated that a considerable number, if not the whole, of the existing Senate of the present University should become members of the Senate of the new University. He (Mr. Fawcett) would be satisfied if the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before the Bill left the House, would give them the names of the Senate of the new University, so that they might see to what extent the promise of the right hon. Gentleman had been fulfilled. This appeared to him to be a very reasonable thing to ask for; and if it was conceded it would, in his opinion, wonderfully facilitate the progress of the Bill. There were to be attached to this new University vague and indefinite powers, dealing not only with money belonging to the people of Ireland, but with money coming from the taxpayers of England and Scotland. If the Government were going, to a great extent, to define the conditions upon which this money might be spent, it was, he thought, not too much to ask them to tell the Committee what was the body, and who were the persons, to whom it was to be intrusted, and to whom these powers were to be handed over? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, on the previous day, that before the new body was constituted it was necessary to settle what were the powers to be intrusted to them, and that that would be known when the Bill had passed through Committee. Therefore, he asked the right hon. Gentleman to state, on condition that the present and other Amendments of the hon. Member for Liskeard were abandoned, that when the Bill had gone through Committee he would communicate to Parliament the names of the members of the new University Senate.

Mr. SHAW said, he should be glad if the Chancellor of the Exchequer

would accede to the request of the hon. Member for Hackney, provided it were possible to do so. But the Committee must remember where they were, and they must also remember that to carry out the intention with regard to the Senate of the new University would require a considerable amount of correspondence with gentlemen who might be asked to give their services. If the information could be given, he could see no reason why it should not be; but he thought it was very unreasonable to pledge the right hon. Gentleman to any action at that moment. If they looked over the names of the Senate of the Queen's University, as they were at present, it would be seen that some of them were remarkably good; but there were others which it would be ridiculous to think of. Indeed, some of the owners of them were in the other world; some of them, also, were noble Lords who had arrived at a time of life when it was usual for them to seek the ease afforded by the other House; and it was idle to expect that they would do the work which would be looked for from the new Senate. He had had some intercourse with gentlemen connected with the Queen's Colleges since the present Bill had been before the House, and he had found them very anxious to preserve the standing and endowments of their Colleges; but he had not met with any difficulty as to the proposed change. They were men of common sense that he spoke of, who thought that nothing was more necessary than that the change should take place. He hoped the Government would put upon the new Senate men who were thoroughly in earnest, and who would be able to give time and attention to this great work.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that the Committee had before it the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard, which had been supported by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett). He did not think they should enter upon interlocutory matters, but decide upon the question of the Amendment.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it would facilitate more than anything the progress of the Bill, and would give universal satisfaction, if his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give the names of those members who had been already ap-

pointed to the Senate of the new University. He was aware of the great difficulty of the subject, but he was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman had well considered it; and he ventured to urge strongly that it would be in the interest of the Bill itself, and of the country, that the names of the Senators of the new University, so far as possible, should be given on Report.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that out of the present Senate of the Queen's University, which numbered 24, five only were Catholics and all the rest Protestants. Taking them as they came in the Directory, there were Sir Dominic Corrigan, the Vice Chancellor, no doubt a very distinguished man; then there was Major General Larcom, an Englishman, and connected with the police; but he was dead. Then came the late Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and he was dead also. Next he found the name of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel); but did anybody expect that he would take the trouble to go to visit Ireland, of which he did not entertain very pleasant reminiscences? The Government should select the best names on the Senate of the Queen's University, and supplement them by others of the highest character.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had already more than once stated to the House what were the difficulties in naming, or attempting to name, the gentlemen who should constitute the Senate of the new College. Of course, at that moment they had not decided even the constitution of the University, and if that was a matter still in the future much less had they decided upon the Senate to be appointed. The hon. and gallant Baronet behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) thought it was a very simple thing to state the names of those persons who were to constitute the Senate on Report. He quite agreed with the hon. and gallant Baronet that the constitution of the Senate would be a matter of the greatest importance, and that it would be a matter which would require the most anxious consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Now, it was known by experience how difficult it was to constitute even a much smaller body than the Senate now proposed, and a body for much less important purposes—as, for instance, the Royal Commission which had been de-

cided upon some little time ago, and had necessitated a great deal of correspondence and personal communication with gentlemen for the purpose of forming it. He was perfectly certain that if they were to constitute a Senate for so important a purpose as the conduct of a University, established as the new University was to be, that should command the confidence and respect of all classes in Ireland who were interested in the matter, and of all classes out of Ireland, it would be necessary to communicate with and to invite the assistance of many persons whose knowledge and position made it desirable that they should be appointed. The hon. and gallant Baronet had suggested that a portion of the Senate should be named; but that, he thought, would be undesirable, because to make a fragmentary statement upon that subject would be altogether unsatisfactory and misleading. Before the names were finally announced it would be necessary to agree with those gentlemen whom it would be desirable to invite to take part in this constitution. No doubt there was a very distinguished nucleus in the existing Senate of the Queen's University, and there could be no doubt that a considerable proportion of those who now stood upon the list of the Senate were gentlemen who, upon every consideration, one would desire to introduce in the body of the new University; but the question had to be regarded as a whole, and under several aspects. They would, for instance, have to consider how far the claims of persons to represent certain sections were sufficient, and how far one name would balance another. If one gentleman refused, it might entirely alter the composition of the body. In those circumstances, he thought the Government ought not to be pressed for their decision, and that it would be unwise for them to undertake to name the new body within a definite period. Most assuredly no time would be lost in endeavouring to constitute a Senate; and the names of those gentlemen at present on the Senate of the Queen's University would, undoubtedly, for their own sake, and for the sake of education and the proper constitution of the Senate of the new University, be amongst the very first that would come under the consideration of the Government. He did not think they could be fairly asked

*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*



members of the Senate of the new University. The Government should, as far as possible, try to make the Senate popular throughout the country, otherwise a barrier to the success of the Bill would be raised at once, and a new agitation might commence. They ought to place some of these ecclesiastics upon the Senate. However, to save unpleasantness, he would not proceed with the second Amendment of which he had given Notice; but move, in page 1, line 20, to omit the word "alternate," in order to provide that all vacancies in the Senate should be filled up by the Convocation of the University.

*Amendment negatived.*

Mr. BIGGAR said, that as the clause stood the graduates of the University would, in 20 years, be entirely overshadowed by the electors of the present University. In order to prevent that, he would move, in page 1, line 25, to leave out "six," and insert "eighteen."

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

Mr. COURTNEY thought his Amendment deserved the serious attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It raised no sectarian question whatever. According to the Bill, the Senate was to consist of 36 persons, nominated by the Government, and, after the first nomination, the vacancies were to be alternately filled by Convocation until the number of elected members reached six. That certainly was a very small proportion. It appeared to him most desirable that this University should be, as far as possible, free from the jurisdiction of Dublin Castle, and when they had once set it going it should have an independent existence as an Institution. If they could find a mode by which it could have an independent existence, and could be uninfluenced by Dublin Castle, he thought everybody must approve of it. His proposition was that out of the 36 members of the Senate one-half should be elected by Convocation; and as it was said that the result of that would be to throw an immense preponderance of power into the Queen's University, he proposed to meet that by providing that at each election the cumulative vote should be adopted. The additions to the Senate would then fully represent the different sec-

*Mr. Biggar*

tions of University life. They would have the medical faculty represented by a certain number; they would have the legal faculty represented; and if there were a divinity faculty in that University the divines would be represented also. They would get in that way a composite electoral body, fairly representing the academical life of the University, and they might then trust it to live an independent existence. He need not appeal to hon. Members who had received University education, for they knew how very desirable it was that Universities should be free from the continual intrusion of Ministers of the day. It was a great fault in the Queen's University that it was entirely under the control of Ministers of the day; and, therefore, he hoped they would remove this new University, as far as possible, from that control, while they secured the representation of independent elements by the means he had suggested. He knew the difficulty he laboured under in making a suggestion of that serious kind at that period of the Session; and he felt that had it been earlier the proposition would, in all likelihood, have commended itself to the House of Commons. Now, of course, however, the Government were unwilling to listen to any suggestion which made any alteration whatever in the Bill. This proposal, however, he begged them to turn their attention to, because it could be debated without any inconvenience, as it involved no immediate action or interference with the circumstances of the new University whatever. It would not come into play till the University had been well started, and vacancies had occurred. Those vacancies could not occur for a considerable period of time, as they would only arise after the deaths of nominated members. The Government would also be laying down a very sound principle, which would greatly assist in the working of the University, would help it to manage itself, and make its Governing Body representative of its academic life.

*Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 25, to leave out the word "six," and insert the word "eighteen." — (Mr. Courtney.)*

*Question proposed, "That the word 'six' stand part of the Clause."*

MR. J. LOWTHER thought that, as regarded the cumulative vote, it would be a desirable addition to the clauses. As to the other point, he thought six elected members would be sufficient.

MR. SYNAN would be in favour of this Amendment if they had had a system of Colleges; but this University was to be an examining University, and, therefore, he considered the Amendment inconsistent with the Bill and with the whole scheme. They wanted the College system, but they had not got it; and he did protest against the representative body of this new University being elected by students from Colleges which were not connected with it, which were not University Institutions, and which had not the confidence of the people. This Bill was brought in because these Colleges did not command confidence. The Amendment was founded on a total misapprehension of the Bill, and he should strongly object to it.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR hoped the Government would consider this question before they decided against it. He considered that the hon. Member for Liskeard had proposed, perhaps, too large a number of elected members; but if 12 were adopted he thought he could show that it would be advantageous for all parties. It should be considered, in the first place, that Governments varied from time to time, and that whatever Government happened to be in was too apt to be pressed by its own political Party to make appointments in particular directions. It would be recollected how this acted in regard to Maynooth. The Charter of that College enjoined that it should consist of half laymen and half ecclesiastics. But, under pressure, they were now all ecclesiastics. In that way the Governing Body of the University might be made to consist of political parties, instead of being nominated for the sole purpose of academic life. If they increased the number of the elective members they gave security for the first principle of academic life—namely, that the graduates of the University, who were most interested in its success, should always have an adequate representation of it, and, with the cumulative vote, the Roman Catholic, the professional, and the Protestant graduates would all be represented. The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan) was scarcely right in saying there were no

teaching Colleges in connection with this University. The Queen's Colleges were to continue; and he hoped before long that his Catholic friends would find it would be a necessity that other teaching Colleges should be added to this University. Therefore, let them try and keep up the feeling of interest amongst the graduates of this University, and give them a proportion which would be a far greater security for education than any mere nomination by political Parties.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN rose to support the Amendment. What they wanted was a body which should represent the life of the University, and not a mere State-appointed engine. If they had only six selected by the graduates of the University it was really little better than nothing; and if the Government could not see their way to give half, let them, at least, accede to the reasonable proposition of his right hon. Friend below him (Mr. Lyon Playfair), who was a better authority than any other man in the House on the subject, and give one-third.

THE O'CONOR DON said, if the University were starting now for the first time, with a new body of students, he could see a great deal of reason in the proposition; but they must remember that for a great number of years the graduates of the Queen's University, if such a proposition as this were adopted, would have the election of all these members. The result would be to render the University unacceptable to those for whose benefit it was intended. He was rather surprised that his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard, who was connected with the University of London—["No, no!"]—who, at all events, he presumed, was acquainted with the provisions of the Charter of the University of London, should have spoken of the proportion of graduate representation proposed in this University as one of an extraordinary character. The proportion given at the University of London was not more than that at the Queen's University; and, further than that, in the Queen's University the graduates elected their own members absolutely, while at the University of London all the graduates could do was to select three names to submit to the Crown, from which the Queen selected one. Comparing the two, the Queen's Uni-

versity was, therefore, more popular than the University of London. If they were starting a new scheme, he certainly should wish the proportion to be more than what was now proposed; but considering the body which would have the control over these elections for a number of years he thought the proportion in the Bill was quite sufficient.

MR. FAWCETT said, as far as he understood this argument it was based on the suggestion that the whole of these elected members were to be elected at once. ["No, no!"] Well, at any rate, the argument came to that conclusion. He admitted that if these elections were to be at once it was obvious that if the Government accepted the suggestion made the proposal would be open to the objection made; but if the Government accepted the modified proposal of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon Playfair) it could scarcely come into operation under 8 or 10 years. In the first instance, Government appointed 36 members of the Senate, and alternate vacancies were to be filled up by election. Reckoning, then, that there was one vacancy a-year, 12 vacancies would elapse before the number mentioned in the Bill would have been elected; and it was not until after that time that this modified proposal would come into effect, and up to then everything would be exactly the same as it now was under the Bill; and, consequently, the monopoly spoken of amongst the graduates of the Queen's University would by then, to a great extent, have ceased. If the Bill was not an empty farce and a sham before then there would be lots of graduates in the University, independently of those who had been educated in the Queen's Colleges. They must consider, also, that they were not merely considering whether a Protestant or Catholic should be elected; but they were deciding a great principle for the University of the future. No one in that House had spoken more frequently and with greater effect against the evils of political nomination than the Irish Members; and when they considered that at Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, nothing like political nomination would be tolerated for a moment, he thought they ought to consider this Amendment. What would have been the reception given to the University Bill lately in-

roduced if either the Home Secretary or the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come down and said, not that five-sixths, as was now proposed, or a half, or a third, but a sixth of the Governing Bodies should be nominated by Parliament? He ventured to say that the Members of that House who belonged to Oxford or Cambridge — whether Liberals, Conservatives, or Radicals — would have rallied to a man against such a proposal, and attacked it as fatal to the independence of the University. The very essence of both these Universities was their freedom from political influence. What was good in this respect for Oxford and Cambridge was good for Ireland; and as it produced such blessings here it would not inflict evil there. Scarcely a week passed without some Irish Member forcibly and powerfully denouncing the evil influences resulting from wire-pulling and class influence in Ireland. If that was the case, did not they think it well to keep away from one of the highest influences of life the blighting and malign influence of political nomination? If Oxford and Cambridge were allowed to govern themselves, he could not see why a certain freedom should not be allowed to the new University they were about to institute. The strongest argument in favour of this proposal was that it would not come into operation at once, and he hoped Government would make this concession.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The fallacy running through the argument of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), and of other hon. Members, is that they compare this University with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. ["No, no!"] The hon. Member put it strictly on that ground. He must bear in mind that the theory of this Bill is that Ireland stands in need of a University of a different character, stamp, and type from Oxford and Cambridge. She wants a University of the type of the University of London; but it is a teaching, not an examining, University that is required. We follow this type of the University of London; and it must be borne in mind that it is of the greatest importance fair play should be given to all classes in turn. It might accidentally happen, if you trusted to the system of election

too much, that a vacancy might occur amongst one class of electors, and that it might be filled up by the election of another; whereas the responsibility which lies upon the Government of the day would prevent any destruction of the proper proportions to be observed in the Senate. I think it would be a very great mistake if we were, in starting this University, to depart from that proportion.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY thought, before they discussed the Amendment, they ought to know what the number proposed was. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) proposed 18. Well, a right hon. Gentleman, who knew quite as much about the subject, said that 12 were sufficient. Before the Government Bill was disturbed they ought to have some agreement between those who were determined to force their views on the Committee as to these points. There was also a great inconsistency in the argument of the hon. Member for Liskeard. He objected to what he called "Castle nominations," yet that was the very thing he urged upon them in his previous Amendment. In the whole of the Queen's Colleges every one of the Senate was nominated by the Castle. These gentlemen really made their proposals without considering or knowing the state of affairs in Ireland. The hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) talked from his experience of English Universities; but they should know how, from the conflict of religious or political opinion, a minority might have the power and the majority be made the sufferers. He felt how necessary it was that somebody should be there to hold the balance. He did not think there was any reason shown for altering the number; and if it was altered, they ought to know whether they were to have 18 or 12. For his part, he thought it should be nine.

MR. C. S. PARKER pointed out that they were placed in a practical difficulty by discussing two Amendments at once. He understood the Chief Secretary to accept one and to refuse the other; but if the right hon. Gentleman would look at the clause he would see he could not accept a cumulative vote without re-casting the clause, for, as it stood, there would be one vacancy at a time to fill up; and if there was but one vacancy at a time he would defy anyone to use the principle

of a cumulative vote. As to the difficulty raised by the hon. Member who had just sat down, he thought it might not be insuperable. He had no doubt the hon. Member for Liskeard would accept the number of 12, and it would also be a convenient number, because it would give four vacancies every year. He had himself been intimately connected with University life; and he admitted the point made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that there was a great deal of difference between an examining University and the case of Oxford and Cambridge. But, on the other hand, nothing would sooner make a position for a new University than that it should have a considerable portion of its Senate elected by the graduates.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped the Government would stick to the Bill. They knew it now, and could fairly estimate how it would work. For the present it would be much better to stop as they were. It was not a Bill to last all time; and changes would be made, if necessary, in the future.

MR. A. MOORE also advised the Government to stick to the original number, as the only result of the change would be to throw an undue balance of power into the hands of the Queen's Colleges. It was not a question of Protestant or Catholic, for the Irish were the most liberal people in the world, and their most influential Members of Parliament differed from them in general; but if this Bill was to be a success they must have men in the Senate who commanded the confidence of the public.

MR. ERRINGTON pointed out that the present number of the graduate Convocation of the Queen's University was 3,000; and at an ordinary valuation basis—say £100 a-year—it would take 30 years before the Queen's Colleges election was eliminated from the Convocation of the new University.

MR. COURTNEY, in reply to the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), pointed out that he was far from being inconsistent. The argument of the hon. Member was fallacious. They accepted 36 members, to be nominated by the Castle, and out of that number he suggested a certain number should afterwards be elected. There was no inconsistency of principle in that. He was perfectly willing to accept the modification of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon

Playfair), and to accept 12 as the number. Many years must pass before the election of the additional members began; and it would not be until then that the additional power he suggested would come into play. By that time, they would certainly have a large number of graduates belonging to the new University, in addition to the graduates of the Queen's University. He might also be allowed to point out that in proposing the cumulative vote he had certainly given a great safeguard against the predominance of the Queen's Colleges. He might also state what might, perhaps, be a novel fact to the Members of the Committee, and, perhaps, to the Government. In 1866 the government of the Queen's University was reformed under a Charter then granted, which provided that six out of 24 should be elected. What was the history of that transaction? The Government proposal at the time was that 12 out of 24 should be elected—six by the graduates, and six by the Professors—while his proposal was that only 18 out of 36 should be elected by Convocation. Convocation, in the case of the Queen's University, declined to concede so large a proportion of power as a quarter to the Professors. He believed that after the lapse of 12 years, with the cumulative vote, they would get a really fair representation of the academic life of the University; and he should, therefore, do his utmost to obtain the acceptance of the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 167; Noes 44: Majority 123.—(Div. List, No. 208.)

MR. COURTNEY said, the next Amendment commended itself to the judgment of the Chief Secretary; but it was now perfectly valueless after the recent Division, and he did not think it worth while moving it.

THE CHAIRMAN asked the hon. Member if he intended moving his Amendment?

MR. COURTNEY replied that he did not.

MR. MELDON begged to move, in page 2, line 4, after "six," to insert—

"That at any election of such elected members of the Senate, each member of Convocation shall have as many votes as there are persons to

be elected, and shall be entitled to accumulate them or distribute them at his pleasure."

The principle was accepted everywhere else; and as it would work very well in the Bill he thought it might be inserted.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA admitted that the Amendment would do no harm, but it impaired the symmetry of the measure to incur it with a Proviso of this nature; and, therefore, he hoped it would not be pressed.

MR. J. LOWTHER admitted that the Amendment would not have any effect; but if the hon. Member wished to introduce it he thought it contained a sound principle.

SIR HENRY JAMES observed, that they must draw the Bill on intelligible grounds, and there never could be an opportunity as the Bill at present stood, when more than one person could be up for election at the same time. If the Committee would take the trouble to look at the Bill they would see it was so drawn that as each vacancy occurred a person should be elected to fill it. There might be six elections in each year; but there would be a separate election for each vacancy; and, therefore, what could be the good of the cumulative vote? Even if two members died on the same day their successors could not be elected at the same time; and, therefore, he thought they had better not put in the proposition.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, if the hon. and learned Member wished the Amendment inserted he should offer no objection; but it certainly would impair the symmetry of the clause.

MR. MELDON observed, that he could not think the Amendment useless. A time might come when there would be four, five, or six vacancies at the same time. Besides, some new system might be introduced. The number of members to be elected on the Senate might be increased. He thought it was altogether wrong to say that there should be separate elections for each vacancy. The principle was a sound one, as the Chief Secretary had said; and an occasion might arise when it could be used. It could do no harm; and, therefore, he should press the Amendment.

MR. DILLWYN observed, that he must demur to the observation that this principle was a sound one. He had the

*Mr. Courtney*

greatest possible objection to this principle of the cumulation of votes; and he should object to any principle of that kind being introduced in that sort of way at that late period of the Session, when it could not be discussed.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE suggested to the Chief Secretary that he should undertake to consider the matter on the Report, because it was absolutely certain the words could never be of any use.

MR. J. LOWTHER said he would do so if the hon. and learned Gentleman would withdraw the Amendment.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN was very much surprised to hear the Chief Secretary say that this principle of cumulative voting was a sound one. He should like to know whether it was a principle which had been approved by Her Majesty's Government, and whether they were definitely committed to it? It was applicable not merely to University elections in Ireland, but to a great number of other things. He believed it to be a thoroughly unsound principle, especially unsound when applied to educational matters, on which there were often great differences of opinion; and he must think it was a very singular thing that while Government had shown the greatest unwillingness to consider anything the hon. Member for Liskeard had proposed they should now almost jump at an Amendment which contained a principle that many of them thought a crotchet peculiar to the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney). If it was the intention of the Government to introduce this new principle into the Bill they would raise a new form of opposition to it, and so do a good deal to delay its progress. He should certainly think it his duty to take a Division on the subject whenever it was proposed, and in whatever form.

MR. RITCHIE observed, that this was by no means a new principle, even in educational matters, because it was carried out in voting for members of the School Board.

MR. SHAW hoped the Amendment would be withdrawn. It contained a very large principle, and if it were pressed they would have the distressing spectacle of a division in the Radical Party.

MR. MELDON asked leave to withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that the matter was considered

by the Chief Secretary before the Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. BIGGAR moved, in page 2, line 8, to leave out from "and" to the end of line 9, inclusive. This clause fixed the franchise, and gave votes to gentlemen who had been educated in the Queen's University. He did not understand why they should have that clause; and he thought only elected members should be graduates of the new University, and that the whole of the elections should be left in the hands of those gentlemen.

MR. SHAW hoped that the hon. Member for Cavan would not press his Amendment. He was in favour of it in the abstract; but he did not think it should be pressed at that time.

MR. BIGGAR entirely differed from the opinion of the hon. Member for Cork. He thought that the Bill ought not to be pressed on under the circumstances. He really could not see upon what grounds the graduates of Queen's University were to be given votes in the Convocation of the new University. No argument in favour of that had been adduced. For these reasons, and until something could be said against the proposition he had asserted, he should challenge a Division. If a reasonable case could be shown upon its merits why he should not press his Amendment he would not do so. The hon. Member for Cork had offered no reason whatever against his Amendment. His experience of the way in which Bills passed through the House did not encourage him to withdraw from his opposition. What they were endeavouring to do was to make the Bill as nearly as possible what it ought to be.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the hon. Member for Cavan wished to have his Amendment discussed upon its merits. He (Mr. J. Lowther) was not aware that it had any. The hon. Member could hardly realize the proposition which he propounded—namely, that the entire existing members of Convocation of the Queen's University should be disestablished. He hoped he would withdraw his Amendment.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA also trusted that the hon. Member for Cavan would not press his Amendment.

MR. P. MARTIN did not consider the questions raised by the hon. Member

for Cavan should be thus summarily disposed of without discussion. The Amendment had this merit—it brought under the notice of the Committee the striking contrast between the professions made of placing Catholic interests on an equality with Protestant and secular interests, and the manner in which that Bill gave practical effect to those professions. Under the provisions of the Bill Secularists and Protestants were to be left in possession of the endowments of the Queen's Colleges. And in thus giving votes to the present graduates of the Queen's University they would have given to them a preponderating influence in the new University. Under these circumstances, he thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cavan was a sensible and fair one. If the Convocation of the Queen's University was admitted under the Bill to the privilege of voting, it was only right that graduates of the Catholic University should also be entitled to a like privilege.

Mr. GRAY would suggest to the hon. Member for Cavan, who had said that he would withdraw his Amendment if any reason was shown to him for doing so, that the Committee had already voted on the point that the members of the Senate were to be elected by Convocation, and the point now raised was beside the question altogether.

Mr. BIGGAR begged to withdraw his Amendment, and wished, at the same time, to state his reasons for doing so. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had imputed to him that he did not understand the result of his Amendment. He thoroughly understood it, and intended to carry out the plan that the graduates of the new University should be representative of that, and of no other body. He had given Notice of an Amendment to raise the number of elected members of the Senate from six to 18. He thought 18 was a proper number; and, seeing that the number of elected members would be so very small, he did not think that the Queen's College graduates should be allowed to be in a majority. Under the circumstances, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of a Division. Before withdrawing his Amendment, he wished to say that he did not think that the Bill would do the slightest good to the Catholics of Ireland, and that hon. Mem-

bers who were assisting in its passage into law would find that the end of the Act would be worse than the beginning. It would only intensify the present system of unfairness existing in Ireland.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID wished to point out to hon. Members from Ireland that in passing the clause as it now stood, without any provision for re-considering the proportion of elected members of the Senate, and those appointed by the Crown, they were preparing a great difficulty for the future graduates of the University. In the University of London, there had been, for many years, very considerable discontent amongst the graduates that they had not sufficient power in their own University. He desired, therefore, to point out to hon. Members that if they wished to do the best for the new University they should introduce some clause by which, under certain circumstances, the proportion between the nominated and the elected members of the Senate could be altered. Speaking from his own experience in the University of London, he was sure that unless there were some mode of revising the proportion between the members elected and those nominated by the Crown considerable dissatisfaction would arise in the future.

Clause, *agreed to*.

Clause 4 (Convocation).

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, that the Convocation of the new University was to consist of a Senate and graduates, and "other persons" to be appointed by the Crown. He did not understand what was meant by "other persons." Were they to be qualified persons? That was perfectly new as regarded the constitution of a Convocation, and, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would explain what it meant. He thought there were very few hon. Members who wished to do any damage to the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; and yet, though the Queen's Colleges were made by the Bill to cease to be Colleges of the University, and the Professors of those Colleges would cease to be Professors of the University, if they did damage in that way to the Queen's Colleges they ought to do justice to them in the mode he would

*Mr. P. Martin*

suggest, for the Queen's Colleges formed admirable Institutions. The Presbyterians of Ireland considered those Institutions admirably adapted to their wants, and the House ought to do nothing to endanger the efficiency of the teaching of those Colleges. That would be done if the Professors of the Queen's Colleges were made to cease to be Professors of the University. In the case of the Universities of Scotland the Convocation or General Council consisted of the Senate, of the graduates, and the Professors of the University; the Professors were not necessarily graduates of the particular University at which they were Professors, for they might be graduates of any other University; but they were members of the Convocation so long as they were Professors of the University. The Amendment which he now had to propose was connected with a subsequent Amendment, which had for its object to prevent damage to the Queen's Colleges, by keeping them in their position, and insuring that the Professors of the Colleges should continue to be Professors of the University. Irish Members most interested in Catholic education would see the importance and value of the Amendment. He was convinced that in the progress of legislation they would have to make well-defined Catholic Colleges as well as other Colleges, and then the Professors of the Catholic Colleges would be, by his Amendment, members of Convocation. In order to keep up the status of the Professors, he would move to insert after the word "graduate," "and of Professors of the University."

#### Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 17, after the word "graduate," to insert the words "and of professors of the University."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question proposed. "That those words be there inserted."

MR. O'DONNELL said, that they were not hostile to the Queen's Colleges; but he did think they might fairly object to any insertion in the Bill of a provision by which the whole body of the Queen's College Professors would be made members of Convocation. They ought to read the proposed Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh University in connection with his other Amendment. The

right hon. Gentleman really proposed to capsize the whole purport and intention of the Government Bill. He intended to raise the Queen's Colleges to the position of favoured University Colleges, which, in addition to their endowments, should, in a special manner, be attached to the new University. That would be absolutely fatal to the new University in Ireland. They had a strong objection to the present favoured position of the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University in Ireland. In the clause in question, besides the Senate and graduates, it was provided that other persons should be members of the Convocation of the University. Therefore, under the provisions of the Bill, it might well happen that the most eminent Professors of the Queen's University would be appointed members of Convocation. But if they were made members of Convocation, as was proposed, the Government Bill would be destroyed altogether.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh University was to constitute all the Professors of the Queen's College *ex-officio* members of Convocation. The Professors of the existing Queen's Colleges were *ex-officio* members of the Convocation of the existing Queen's University; but he saw no reason why that should continue to be the case under the very different circumstances of the proposed University.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR was very anxious that it should be thoroughly understood that the Bill reduced the Queen's Colleges to the position of nothing better than ordinary endowed schools. By the Bill the Queen's Colleges, as Colleges of the University, were abolished, and the Professors of the Queen's Colleges were reduced from their position of Professors of the University to that of tutors of a College. A small section of Catholics took advantage of the Queen's Colleges, and a large proportion of Presbyterians; and yet it was proposed to reduce those Colleges merely to the level of common schools. Was it the wish of the House to give advantages to the Catholics upon University Education by the Bill; and was it the deliberate intention of the House that they should, at the same time, endanger the efficiency of the Queen's Colleges? If that was the purpose or effect, he should have given



an uncompromising hostility to the Bill from the beginning. But he understood the proposition of the Bill to be that the Queen's Colleges were to be kept in a state of efficiency, in order that the Presbyterians, and such Catholics as chose, might continue to use them as at present. If the Queen's Colleges ceased to be Colleges of the University they would be mere schools; and if they made Professors cease to be Professors of the University they would reduce their position considerably. He did not ask that the Professors of the existing Universities should be made part of the Governing Body, by which he understood the Senate, of the new University; but simply that they should have places in Convocation among the 3,000 graduates who had been spoken of. Would this small number of Professors make much difference in so large a body, except by giving to it increased weight by the academic experience of its professorial members? But it would make the greatest difference to the Professors themselves to recognize them as Professors of the new University, and it would also make the greatest difference to the Queen's Colleges to be recognized as Colleges of the new University. If Scotch Members thought that the Government was going to injure the Queen's Colleges they would not give that support to the Bill which they had hitherto done; and they could not help thinking that unless the Amendment were adopted the effect of the Bill would be to reduce the Queen's Colleges from their position of University Colleges to mere schools.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH remarked that, while holding the Office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he had made it his duty, not only to examine into the condition of the Colleges which he had actually visited, but, so far as he could, he had examined the work they did. No one would be less ready to support the Bill than he would, if he thought it would affect the efficiency of the Queen's Colleges. He did not believe that would be, in the slightest degree, the effect of the Bill. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that there was a nominal connection between the Professors of the Queen's Colleges and the University at present; but that was all. Practically, the state of things was that

the Professors were appointed, as Professors, nominally of the University, but really of the Colleges. Their teaching was confined to the Colleges to which they had been appointed, and they were in much the same position as the tutors of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. In the Charter the Professors appeared as Professors of the University; but, in practice, their teaching had been exclusively confined to their respective Colleges. If, under the provisions of the Bill, it was possible, as he believed it was, to respect vested interests, even in name, of the existing Professors, he did not see any reason for endeavouring to perpetuate a nominal connection between the Professors and the University which it had been found impossible to carry out in practice. He believed that the real status of the Professors at the Queen's Colleges would be entirely protected by the Bill as it now stood, and that the Queen's Colleges would retain the position they had hitherto enjoyed, and would work well in connection with the new University.

MR. SYNAN said, that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh was founded on the assumption that the Committee would adopt another Amendment, by which he made the Queen's Colleges University Colleges of the new University. He wished to give the Queen's Colleges a position which he refused to give to Catholic Colleges. If equality were extended to the Roman Catholic Colleges, then he could understand the reasonableness of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman; but until that were done he must offer his most decided opposition to the proposed Amendment.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, that his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh simply proposed that the Professors should form part of the Convocation. He must say that he thought it much more reasonable to provide that the Professors should be members of Convocation than to give power to the Crown to flood Convocation with persons of whose efficiency they had no guarantee. What better guarantee could be given of the suitability of those gentlemen to act as members of Convocation than that they had been appointed Professors of the Queen's Colleges?

*Mr. Lyon Playfair*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL remarked that, in his opinion, they could not adopt the present Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh to make the Professors of the Queen's Colleges the Professors of the University, unless they adopted his other Amendment to make the Queen's Colleges part of the University. They could not recognize the Professors of the Queen's Colleges as part of the University Colleges, unless they were prepared also to make the Professors of the Roman Catholic Colleges members of the University. A great deal could be said in favour of that course; but it was not the principle upon which the Bill proceeded.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 57; Noes 174: Majority 117.—(Div. List, No. 209.)

MR. COURTNEY desired to move an Amendment that stood in the name of the hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), in order to obtain some information as to what was meant by the clause. It was provided that the Convocation of the University should consist of such graduates and "other persons" as might be appointed by the Crown. What Her Majesty's Government meant by "other persons" he did not know. He should, therefore, move, in page 2, line 15, to leave out "and other persons."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the object of the power given to the Crown by that clause to appoint persons members of Convocation was to enable the Government to give effect to vested rights and interests. The Queen's University, at the present moment, comprised Professors and a Secretary, who were *ex-officio* members of Convocation. The provision in question would enable those persons holding the offices he had mentioned to be placed upon Convocation. The reason for putting the power in such general terms was to avoid specifying individuals, and to give power to the Government to protect any vested rights and interests which they thought desirable.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, that the mode adopted by the Government of protecting vested rights and interests was a very awkward one. To

put down the general term "other persons" was a curious way of providing for vested rights. He thought such vague general words as "other persons" most objectionable. He would suggest that it would be better to omit the words, and to specify by the clause minutely that those persons who, at the present time, had a right to admission to the Convocation of the Queen's University should be admitted members of Convocation of the new University. It would be much better to do that than to leave the clause in its present state.

MR. MACARTNEY said, that as the Committee had already decided that the Professors of the University should not be admitted members of Convocation of the new University it was a curious proposition that they should admit those words into the clause for the purpose of protecting the rights of persons whom they had already decided had no such rights. He should certainly support the Amendment.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that there was no other intention in the words than to protect those vested rights and interests. If any words could be inserted on Report, making that clearer and more explicit, he would do so.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL would like to know what was meant by vested rights and interests?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that he meant to refer to the Professors of the University.

MR. COURTNEY congratulated himself very much upon having moved the Amendment, because they had had a very clear exposition from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as to the fact that the Government considered that the Professors and Secretary of the Queen's University had vested rights. The Government intended that they should be members of the new Convocation, and the right hon. Gentleman had promised that he would take care that a power should be taken to make them so.

MR. NEWDEGATE thought that Her Majesty's Government was treating the Committee in a rather curious way. First, they refused admission to those persons; then they said that general words were intended to admit them. If they had intended to admit those persons at first, it would have been well that they should have informed the

House before asking them to vote against their admission. They were left very much in the dark as to the intentions of the Government. Why the House should withdraw its confidence from the Professors of the existing Queen's Colleges because they were so he did not know.

MR. J. LOWTHER observed, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh University (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had proposed an Amendment to the effect that Professors of the Queen's University should be members of Convocation. In answer to that Amendment, he had said that they would be eligible to be appointed members of Convocation. The Government had been perfectly consistent in refusing to make the Professors *ex-officio* members of Convocation, and in taking a power to make them members of Convocation, if it was thought desirable.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT did not think that the words could be left as they stood in the Bill without further explanation. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had told them that a power was not required to appoint any other persons than the present Professors; and yet, under the power taken, the Crown could appoint any person it chose. Parliament was asked to give power to appoint any person whatever. The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not mean to use that power, but only to admit certain qualified persons to Convocation. But if the power were not meant to be used, why was it taken in the Bill? It might be very easily restricted to the persons in whose favour the Government intended to use it. It seemed to him that the proper course would be to strike the words in question from the Bill, and to put in a proper definition upon Report.

MR. PLUNKET thought it would be quite sufficient if the words were left in the clause, and amended, as promised, by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, upon Report.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the words at present in the clause were misleading, and there was no use in continuing them. It would be much better to strike them out, and to insert a fresh provision upon Report.

MR. J. LOWTHER did not coincide with the views of the hon. and learned Gentleman as to striking out the words

from the clause. He was in favour of leaving the clause as it was, and introducing a limitation, although protecting vested rights and interests upon Report. He would undertake to do that.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN observed, that if the clause were passed as it stood they would be really abrogating their functions as a legislative body. The clause simply gave power to the Crown to flood Convocation with any number of persons it pleased. It ought to be struck from the clause.

MR. SYNAN said, the discussion upon this part of the clause was a contest between "tweedledum and tweedledee." What difference did it make whether the right hon. Gentleman limited the words, or struck them out, and brought up fresh ones on the Report? He could see no use in fighting about words.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, the Government were constantly in the habit of promising that they would do things on Report; but when Report was reached there was no opportunity for any discussion at all. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the words meant a certain class of persons whom he specified. Why, then, could not the clause be altered at once, so as to indicate them distinctly?

MR. PLUNKET thought it better that the clause should be allowed to stand without alteration.

MR. NEWDEGATE thought the words should be struck out at once. They were not to be in the Bill, according to the assurance of the Government, and there could be no reason for retaining them.

MR. J. LOWTHER had stated exactly what he intended to propose on Report. If the hon. Gentleman could not trust him, he could trust the hon. Gentleman. He had promised that the words should be struck out.

Amendment *negatived*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 5 (Election of vice-chancellor) *agreed to*.

Clause 6 (Power to confer degrees) *agreed to*.

Clause 7 (Provisions of charter).

MR. O'DONNELL said he did not intend to move the Amendments stand-

*Mr. Newdegate*

ing in his name, because he thought it better, as, practically, the whole Bill would have to be taken over again next year, to allow the clause to pass as it stood.

*Clause agreed to.*

*Clause 8 (Examinations).*

MR. COURTNEY said, they were bound to consider whether University Education was best promoted by having the examinations open to men and women. Of course, hon. Members were aware that Parliament had passed a Statute enabling all Universities to open their examinations in medicine to women. They might also be aware that the University of London, to which reference had been more than once made, had by a new Charter last year opened all its degree examinations to women. As far back as 1876 the University of London was authorized, by Supplementary Charter, to hold examinations and give certificates of proficiency to women, just as was contemplated by this Bill with respect to Ireland. Application was made to the Crown for a new Charter, to extend degree examinations to women the same as to men, and this was granted on the 4th of March, 1878. So that in the University of London, upon which the new Irish University was in some degree to be modelled, men and women were admitted upon equal terms. The first year's result of this change had been extremely satisfactory—65 women having entered for the Examination, and 29 having passed with honours—the percentage of those who passed with honours being greater than in the case of the men candidates. There existed an absolute demand for the examination of women for the same degrees as men; and if the same opening was presented to women in the Irish University as existed at the University of London, it would, of course, be attended with the same results. He would add one or two facts to show to how great an extent the opening of University degrees to women had been adopted in the Universities of the world. England, he was obliged to say, was the most behind in civilization in its reluctance to open degree examinations to women. There was only one other civilized nation—namely, Russia, where degree examinations were not open to women. In Denmark all

degrees were open. In Lyons and Paris women had taken degrees in Art and Science since 1871. In Leipsic, women had taken degrees for the last five years. In Holland, they had been admitted to examination. In Italy, all degrees were open to women. In Russia, the University of Moscow was open to women for lectures only. In New Zealand examinations for degrees were open to women. With those examples before them, with the example of what had been done in the University of London, and with the fact that the University now in contemplation was, as nearly as possible, like the University of London, he would like to hear what arguments could be adduced against the proposal to throw open degree examinations to women in Ireland, and would, therefore, move, in page 3, line 1, to leave out from “including,” to “necessary,” in line 2, inclusive, and insert “both of men and women.”

MR. O'DONNELL hoped, very sincerely, that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) would be accepted. This was no question of what was ordinarily called “women's rights.” If women chose to cultivate their brains—as he trusted they would do to a greater extent than they had done hitherto—and if they desired to have the same certificates of proficiency as were open to men, they had clearly no right to refuse them University degrees, even if they refused them to Catholics. He trusted that the Amendment would be accepted, without the Committee being put to the trouble of a Division.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL was one of those who believed that God had made women different to men, and therefore objected to the Amendment.

MR. J. LOWTHER thought that the provision for granting certificates of proficiency contained in the clause would meet the case. He could not agree to the Amendment.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR urged that if there was equality of examination with regard to men and women there should be equality of degree also. Surely in the new University they could not place women in an inferior position with regard to their certificates to that in which men were placed. He hoped the Amendment would meet with the approval of the Committee.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the Government wished to avoid that women should become members of Convocation. He would consider the question of degrees before Report.

MR. BÉRESFORD HOPE thought his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland was resorting too freely to consideration on Report. By making a hasty alteration, at that hour of the night, they might do a good deal of damage one way or another; and he, therefore, trusted his right hon. Friend would stick to his original intention, and leave the words as they were.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY had understood that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would arrange so as to give women the advantage of the Bill without making them members of Convocation. If hon. Members stood up for the equality of rights of Irishmen, they were equally bound to stand up for the equality of rights of Irish women. English women could get these degrees; and, therefore, there was no reason in the world why Irish women should not get them also.

MR. SHAW said, very few ladies in Ireland would ever avail themselves of the privilege of becoming members of Convocation.

MR. FAWCETT had understood the Chief Secretary for Ireland to say that the Government were perfectly willing that, as in the University of London, both men and women should be admitted to the same examination; and if they passed the same examination with the same proficiency that they should have both the same degrees, but that he did not want them to become members of Convocation. That was the real point of contention. Were the Committee to understand from the Chief Secretary for Ireland that, on Report, he would introduce words which would give women in Ireland the right of attending the same examinations, undergoing the same test, and enjoying the same degree, but not of becoming members of Convocation?

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID thought it would be a great pity if these intermediate examinations were given up. They had done a great deal in England to encourage intellectual cultivation amongst girls of the middle class, and he believed that hon. Members would be glad to see the same thing in Ireland. With regard to the demand for degrees

for women, he would say that formerly he had steadily opposed the conferring of degrees upon women; but he confessed that he saw a great deal in the argument of his hon. Friend, who asked why, if degrees were conferred upon women in England, they should not also be conferred upon women in Ireland? and he did not see how that could be fairly answered.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN suggested that the point might be settled by striking out the words "degrees, and such" in line 42.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the difficulty of accepting that would be that it did not touch the question of giving these female graduates the right of voting in Convocation. The matter required very careful consideration; and it would, he thought, be better to leave the clause, for the present, exactly as it stood.

MR. COURTNEY said, there was no wish to force women to take degrees. All that was desired was that they should be able to take them if they liked. It appeared to him that the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had suggested the true solution of the difficulty. If the words "degrees, and such" were omitted, the Government could have no difficulty whatever with regard to the clause. He begged leave to withdraw his Amendment, in order that the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire should move the omission of the words "degrees, and such."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN moved the omission from line 42, page 2, of the words "degrees and such."

MR. O'DONNELL hoped that the hon. and learned Member would not press his Amendment to a Division. They had an understanding on the part of the Government that the same facilities would be given to Irish women as to English women, and he did not think that anything could be more satisfactory.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. BIGGAR said, that, as an undertaking had been given to the Committee he would not move his Amendment.

Clause *agreed to*.

Clause 9 (General Powers of Senate and Convocation) *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Dissolution of Queen's University).

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the Amendment which he wished to propose was to limit the graduates of Queen's University, who were to be graduates of the future University, to those possessing educational qualifications. It was provided that all the existing graduates of Queen's University would continue to be graduates of the future University. They hoped and expected that the new University would be a University of really high standing; but, at present, the examinations passed by the graduate of Queen's University were of an illusory character. The graduates of Queen's University were admitted by a matriculation of a nominal character, and any hon. Member would find that the matriculation examination was a perfect farce. In the existing Queen's Colleges there were, practically, no rejections for matriculation, and all the examinations were of a most elementary and easy character. The examination for the pass degree was very simple. A couple of books of Virgil, and a couple of books of Xenophon, and a little knowledge of Latin and Greek grammar, passed a candidate. In fact, the examinations at Queen's University could be easily passed by a man of a little classical knowledge by six weeks' reading. Strong as were his objections to the pass degree of the Queen's University, yet his objection to admit as graduates of the future University, and of all the powers of attending Convocation, and voting the professional graduates of the Queen's University, was infinitely stronger. His objection arose from the simple fact that there was no general culture required in the case of an M.D., or of a graduate in civil engineering in the Queen's University. For instance, a man could go through the whole M.D. course without receiving anything like the education required even for a B.A. degree. Some years ago a statement was publicly made that the M.D. degree could be obtained at Queen's University without the requirements for a B.A. degree, and the writers in Dublin, accustomed to the practice of Trinity College, refused to believe that assertion. That fact had

since been admitted; and it was now known that not even the first University examination in arts was required to be passed by students for an M.D. degree, or the civil engineering degree. Those degrees were mere professional degrees, and could not in any sense be described as University degrees. As a professional degree, that of M.D. at the Queen's University might be of some value; but as a graduate was not required to go through any course of general literature and culture, it was clear that his qualifications to be considered an educated man were very slight indeed. He mentioned these matters for the purpose of showing that some limitation ought to be placed upon the admission of the graduates of Queen's University to be members of the future University. He did not think that an M.D. and a civil engineering graduate of Queen's University should be admitted members of the proposed University, unless they had passed, at least, the first University examination in arts. He proposed that all members of Queen's University who had passed in honours should become graduates of the new University, and professional graduates who had passed the first examination in arts. It would really injure the future University if an overwhelming number of merely nominal graduates from the present Queen's University was forced upon it. When it was proposed to lower the standard of the Queen's University the existing graduates protested against it, and the graduates of Belfast presented a Memorial; the graduates of Galway did not present a Memorial, but individually spoke as strongly against the proposed lowering of the degree as any. Notwithstanding that the standard for the degree was lowered, there were at present 17 varieties of honour degrees. With regard to the pass degree, it was arranged on a plan giving the student an almost unlimited power of selection. There were pass subjects which could undergo almost any amount of grouping. The result was a most extraordinary want of uniformity, and a want of general culture. He was willing to leave over the discussion on the matter to next year, because he wanted to see how the Bill would work. But he protested against flooding the new University with a number of men who had no title to any general culture, and who

occupied the position they did simply because the existing Queen's University had yielded to the temptation of lowering the standard for their degrees. He begged to move, in page 3, line 21, after "graduates," to insert—

"In arts with honours, or graduates in medicine, law, or engineering, who have passed with honours the first University examination in arts."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it was quite impossible to insert those words in the clause.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped that the hon. Member would not divide upon this Amendment. It was, no doubt, to be regretted that a high standard had not been kept up in the Queen's University. They all hoped, nevertheless, that one sufficiently high would be maintained in the new University. He should give the Bill the best support he could, avoiding all Amendments which were not indispensable, and he trusted that all hon. Members would show the like forbearance.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he would be satisfied with having his Amendment simply negatived.

Amendment *negatived*.

Clause *agreed to*.

Clause 11 (Transfer of property).

MR. O'DONNELL said, that this clause proposed to transfer the endowments of Queen's University to the new University. He wished, also, to transfer the public endowments of the Queen's Colleges, as well as those of the Queen's University, to the new University. He did not interfere with the provision that followed, by which it was provided that where any trusts had been created in respect of public endowments those trusts should continue to be carried out; but he thought that the endowments of the Queen's Colleges ought to be thrown into the common fund. It had been suggested before that the students of the Queen's Colleges should be excluded from competing for the general prizes of the University, while prizes which were open to them could not be competed for by the other students of the University. He now proposed that the public endowments of the Queen's Colleges should follow the fate of the public endowments of the Queen's University,

*Mr. O'Donnell*

and should go to the common fund of the new University. He begged to move in page 3, line 32, after "University," to insert "and the Queen's Colleges."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the principle laid down by the Government was that the Queen's Colleges were to be left intact, and they should not interfere with them in the manner proposed by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he only wished to deal with the endowments of the Queen's Colleges. He would, therefore, alter his Amendment that stood in his name by saying the endowments of the Queen's Colleges.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 32, after the word "University," to insert the words "and the endowments of the Queen's Colleges."—(*Mr. O'Donnell*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE O'CONOR DON would venture to say a few words in favour of the Amendment. Unless they had something of that sort they could not possibly have equality in the subsequent clauses to be proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He believed that equality would be better brought about by opening the endowments to all students than by confining those of the Queen's Colleges to their own students. That was the way in which proper equality should be aimed at. They did not wish that any or all the students from the Queen's Colleges should be precluded from competing for the University prizes; but it would be unfair to give to the students of the Queen's Colleges the exclusive right to compete for the prizes and Exhibitions provided out of the public funds, and at present attached to those Colleges, and to allow them, in addition, to compete for the new prizes. He thought it was so obvious an inequality that some alteration would have to be made. Whether the hon. Member for Dungarvan would think it right to go to a Division upon the Amendment, or to raise the question upon the Estimates, he did not know; but one thing was quite certain—that so long as the inequality existed the Queen's College Estimates could never come before Parliament without the question being raised that their endow-

ments should be thrown open to all students of the University. If his hon. Friend went to a Division he should certainly support him.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that hon. Members could hardly expect that the Queen's Colleges should all go at one blow. With respect to the Arts Department, he should certainly vote with the hon. Member. But besides the Arts Department there were the Professional and Physical Departments, which were in no sense sectarian. Hon. Members could scarcely wish that the great advantage that Ireland enjoyed in respect of professional and physical education, being supported and maintained by the State, should be abolished. He hoped that the Amendment would not be pressed, as the effect of it would be to deprive the country of the professional and physical education which was now given in the Queen's Colleges.

MR. NEWDEGATE was opposed to the Amendment, because he thought its purport would be to endow other Colleges instead of the Queen's Colleges.

MR. SHAW said, that the principle raised by the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan was a very important one, and one in which he heartily concurred, and if his hon. Friend went to a Division he should certainly vote with him. He questioned whether it would be wise, however, to press the Amendment to a Division, as they could hardly expect to carry it at present, and it would be well to postpone its consideration to some future occasion. He was strongly in favour of throwing open all endowments; but he did not think it would be wise to take all the endowments from one College and throw them all into one boat, and let all the students compete for them. In Ireland they had three Queen's Colleges; and that at Belfast, which was at present Presbyterian, they should not interfere with. They hoped that that College would become useful for Catholics as well. On a future occasion the question that must arise out of that Bill would be that they should make those remaining Colleges useful to the localities in which they were situate, or else to take away their endowments. He would rather wait a year to see the effect of the Bill, for they would then be able to consider the question better than on the present occasion.

MR. SYNAN said, that all the Amendment did was to propose that the Exhibitions of the Queen's Colleges should not be left entirely to the students at those Colleges, but should be open to all students of the University. It was proposed, in fact, to throw all the endowments into one common fund. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) seemed to think that the purport of the Amendment would be to endow other Colleges. That was not so. They only wanted to transfer the Exhibitions, hitherto confined to the students of the Queen's Colleges, to the new University, and to allow all students to compete for those prizes on equal terms, whether they came from the Queen's Colleges or from any other College. There was an exception in the new clause, that if students from Queen's Colleges obtained University prizes then the prizes they had obtained at the Queen's Colleges should be taken into account. That would be, in effect, to take from the students the prizes which they had obtained in their own Colleges. His hon. Friend below him was in favour of keeping Collegiate Education and endowing it; but he would point out to him that the purport of the Bill was to do away with and separate Collegiate Education from University Education. What they required was Collegiate Education connected with University Education, and that they had been refused. Having been refused that, they wanted all the students of the University placed on the same footing. If they wanted Colleges for the purpose of education, and not merely for the purpose of securing Exhibitions, let the students of the Colleges have no special prizes, but compete for all Exhibitions upon equal terms with other members of the University. At that hour of the morning it might be useless to go to a Division; but if his hon. Friend pressed his Amendment he considered that the matter was so plain that he should vote with him.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he knew that he would be beaten, and he had already shown, he thought, that he had no disposition to trouble the Committee with Divisions, which he did not think of great importance. There was, however, a distinct meaning in this Amendment, and, therefore, he meant to take a Division. If there was not to be levelling up there must be levelling down, and by



"The professors of the said colleges shall be called or designated, as at present, University professors; and the said colleges shall be hereafter called or designated Queen's University Colleges."

The noble Lord said, his Amendment did not raise over again, as might appear at first sight, the question which he and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had brought forward at an earlier stage. It was not an Amendment intended in any way to, nor did it, come into opposition to the Queen's College Professors. It was simply meant to secure to the Queen's College Professors, so that they should suffer no diminution of status or title by this Bill. He believed that was the intention of the measure; but he doubted whether, as now drawn, it would be carried out.

Mr. J. LOWTHER expressed a hope that the Amendment would not be pressed.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was only proposing to do what was done when the University of London was increased. The old University of London was the present University College in Gower Street; and, in order that the Professors of that Institution should suffer no diminution in the status of their position, the title of University College was conferred on that College, and they were all made Professors of that College. He thought, without in the least going back on the decisions to which they had come, it would be possible to carry out this Amendment. At the same time, he knew perfectly well that with the majority of the Government it would be no use in pressing it to a Division if it were opposed; and, therefore, he would withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Mr. HOLT asked, what position the Queen's Colleges would occupy when this Bill became law? The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had told them they would occupy the position of endowed schools; while the Chief Secretary had said they would retain their old position.

Mr. O'DONNELL pointed out that the future position of Queen's Colleges, so long as they existed, would really depend upon their merits. If they gave a sound and excellent education they would have a very fine position throughout Ireland. His impression was, how-

*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

ever, that hon. Gentlemen should not put to the Irish Secretary conundrums of that description at that hour of the night.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) thought the question was a very reasonable one. The Queen's Colleges in Ireland would be in the same position as when they were constituted under the Act of 1845; and it would be remembered that the present Bill did not in the least affect the status of those Colleges. They would, therefore, remain in the same position that they now occupied.

Mr. MACARTNEY understood the question rather to be what position they would be in as regarded the University.

Clause *agreed to*.

#### *New Clauses.*

New Clause (Saving of rights of officers of Queen's University).

Clause read a second time.

On Question, "That the Clause be added to the Bill?"

Mr. PLUNKET wished to call attention to the fact that the Professors of the Queen's Colleges now obtained fees by acting as Examiners to the Queen's University, and he wished to know whether their salaries in that respect would be preserved by this clause?

Mr. J. LOWTHER replied, that the hon. and learned Gentleman had given him no Notice of the question, and, therefore, he was not quite certain upon the subject; but he apprehended that all the rights of the Professors would be preserved by that clause.

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked if it was competent for him to move any Amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member would have been perfectly able to move any Amendment in the clause before the Question was put that it be added to the Bill. That having been put, it is not competent to him to move an Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause *added to the Bill*.

Mr. J. LOWTHER moved, in page 3, after Clause 8, to insert the following Clause:—

(Senate to prepare scheme.)

"And whereas it is desirable to promote the advancement of learning in Ireland by means of the creation, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, and also by the erection of suitable buildings in connection with the University to be established under the said Charter: Be it Enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Senate, within twelve months after their first appointment, to prepare and forward to the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, a scheme for the better advancement of University Education in Ireland, by the provision of buildings, including examination rooms and a library, in connection with the University to be founded under any such charter, and by the establishment of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, or any of such matters, in which scheme the following conditions shall be observed:—

- "(1.) The said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes shall be awarded for proficiency in subjects of secular education, and not in respect of any subject of religious instruction;
- "(2.) They shall be open to all students matriculating or who have matriculated in the University, and the scheme may propose that they shall be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and that they shall be subject to any conditions as to the age of the candidates, their standing in the University, their liability to perform duty, and otherwise, as the Senate shall think expedient;
- "(3.) In fixing the value and number of the said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, the senate shall have regard to the advantages of a similar kind offered by the University of Dublin and Trinity College to students matriculated in that University, so as to avoid as far as possible any injury to the advancement of learning in that University and college;
- "(4.) Provision shall be made that no student holding any exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize in any other University, or in any college attached to a University, or in any college endowed with public money, shall hold any of the said exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, or other prizes in the University to be created by the said Charter without taking the value of such previous exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize into account.

"Such scheme shall, within three weeks after the same shall have been forwarded by the senate to the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, be laid before both Houses of Parliament if Parliament is sitting, or, if not, then within three weeks after the beginning of the next ensuing Session of Parliament."

New Clause brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he hoped the Government had no intention of pressing that clause then. It was of the very essence of the Bill; and if it were discussed fairly and honestly it ought to occupy some hours. It was a new clause, which altered the whole character of the Bill; and if it were passed at that hour of the morning it was impossible that it could receive that honest consideration which it deserved. They had advanced the Bill already very far indeed in the time spent upon it. No waste of time had been shown in discussing it; and it would advance the interests of the Government and of this measure alike, if this clause were considered at a time when they would be able fully to discuss it. He begged to move to report Progress. ["No, no!" "Go on!"]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the Government had no wish to press the Committee; but he gathered from the expressions of opinion that it was the general wish of the Committee that they should conclude the Bill that night. There were not many Amendments to this clause; and, of course, at that period of the Session, it was very difficult indeed to get time to discuss proposals at length. The Committee had been very patient and good-humoured, and he was sure would listen readily to the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. COURTNEY declared it was most unreasonable that they should approach this new clause at that time. They had done very well already in their work that night, and the Government ought to be extremely satisfied. They had been at work ever since 2 o'clock, and they had gone right through the Bill, not delaying in any way by discussion on any points raised; every Amendment, in fact, had been discussed in a summary fashion, and question after question rapidly decided. Up to the present no alteration whatever had been made in the Bill; but they would now have to discuss a totally new point, involving the consideration of the new University and the way in which it was to be worked, and it was most outrageous to suggest that they

should, even at that period of the Session, be asked to proceed. He would not detain the Committee; but he would certainly divide if any attempt were made to go on in this way.

MR. BIGGAR did not agree on this question with some of his Colleagues; and, considering the importance of this clause, he thought the Government should agree to report Progress, especially as this clause was of the very utmost importance.

MR. SHAW pointed out that the House had sat recently until 3 o'clock in the morning to transact Business; and he really thought at that late period of the Session they might take another hour and a-half to finish this Bill. By making their speeches short and to the point they might easily get through by that time, and he did not see any reason why they should not.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND said, he had come up to town especially to hear the discussion on this measure, although he had taken no part in the debate. It was absolutely essential that this great change should be discussed when the debates would be reported, and the action of the Government would be understood in the country; and not at a time when it was perfectly certain that their speeches, whether long or short, would not be published.

MR. FAWCETT remarked, that the hon. Members who were now calling out most lustily to go on were the very Gentlemen who had, night after night, during the Session, thrown all sorts of impediments in the way of Business of the smallest importance being discussed at that hour of the morning. ["No, no!"] Why, those hon. Members would not even let people speak. They not only wished to take up three-quarters of the Session themselves, but they compelled other speakers to talk three times as long as they would do by shouting out "Oh, oh!" and "Divide!" Night after night, when the Government had attempted to take some very unimportant Business at 1 or half-past 1, they had been stopped from doing so by the very Members who now begged them to go on. He appealed to the Division Lists and to the Government themselves in proof of what he said. He had been sitting in that House almost continuously since 2 o'clock, and he must confess he did not feel himself ready to go

on and discuss this most important clause. He had not attempted to throw any unnecessary impediment in the way of the Government; and the few occasions on which he ventured to intrude had been generally to ask some hon. Friend to withdraw a Motion of which he had given Notice. What was it they were asked to do? To consider a clause only divulged to them on the second reading. When the Bill left the House of Lords there was nothing in it about endowment, and there was not a shadow of allusion to it in the speech of the Lord Chancellor, when he was questioned on the subject. The Bill considered in the House of Lords was the one they had been considering that evening; but now a new clause was introduced, endowing the new University which they were about to create; and, therefore, he did think that the appeal to the Government to report Progress was necessary, considering the important question involved in this proposition.

THE O'CONOR DON said, personally, he was quite ready to sit there for any number of hours; but after an expression of opinion from so many Members he did not think the Government would gain anything by attempting to go on. He had always thought that it was not well to go on with Business at that hour of the morning, when the House had been sitting for a considerable time, and had made substantial progress with a measure. He himself was, of course, quite ready to go on; but he really thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would gain instead of losing time by reporting Progress.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, instead of wasting time the best thing would be to take a Division.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 21; Noes 128: Majority 107.—(Div. List, No. 211.)

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said, the words with which this clause commenced indicated very clearly that they were asked to discuss a new Bill. It began exactly like a Preamble—"Whereas it is desirable, &c., &c." They were asked to discuss an entirely new principle, at a time when not a word would be reported, and he, therefore, thought

*Mr. Courtney*

that the debate had better be adjourned. He begged to move that the Chairman leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir David Wedderburn.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, there was no doubt whatever of the great importance of this Bill, and there seemed to be a disposition on the part of a very large proportion—an immense majority of the House—to go on. On the other hand, Gentlemen who asked for the adjournment were Gentlemen who had given very great attention to this subject, and had taken part in a very long discussion which had already taken place; and he could not but admit that that discussion had been conducted with very great attention, and care, and moderation. He thought that the best way would be for him to agree to the Motion to report Progress, with a view to taking the Bill that morning at 12 o'clock, when he hoped they would be able to terminate their labours.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

House resumed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

#### SUPPLY.—[28TH JULY.]

Postponed Resolutions *further considered.*

(1.) "That a sum, not exceeding £22,340, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MAJOR O'BEIRNE said, there was one item in this Vote which he objected to—the salary of the Inspector of Fisheries in the Northern District of Ireland. He desired to call attention to the action of the Fisheries Inspector (Mr. Brady) in regard to a small place in his district. Previous to its being placed under his supervision, it was a very common thing for the fishermen of the locality to take as many as 400 salmon in the river. By following a misleading notice, issued in November, 1871, the Inspector had been enabled to place this river under his bye-laws; and, in consequence of these laws, the salmon

fishery had been almost completely destroyed in the river and in Loch Fyne. Then the right of taking fish had been granted to a Mr. Markham, although he had never enjoyed the right of using nets there before 1862. If anybody had suspected that this was to have been given to him, a mass of evidence could have been brought forward to show that he had not that right of fishery, and the lessees would also have been called upon to prove their right. The people in the district, however, were entirely misled by the notices issued by Mr. Brady, and he ought to be called upon to explain what he had done. He should like to call attention, also, to the manner in which Mr. Brady had altered the bye-laws of the district. He had made the time for fishing in the Sligo River—10 miles off—commence in March; while in this Drowse River he put the time of fishing on the 1st of February, so as to give Mr. Markham the preference in getting his fish into the market. He found, also, by looking into the Reports of the Fishery Inspectors, that these fixed draft nets were not allowed in any district except Mr. Brady's district. All these things, he thought, demanded an impartial inquiry, and he would move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the salary of the Inspector.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Vote be reduced by the sum of £700, the salary of the Inspector of Fisheries for the Northern District of Ireland."—(*Major O'Beirne.*)

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA sincerely hoped the House would not accept the proposition; because if there was on the Fishery Board one man who had done more than any other to preserve the Irish Fisheries, and to keep the profit of them to the poorer classes, he ventured to say that Mr. Brady was the man. If the House had paid attention to what his hon. and gallant Friend had said, he thought they would speedily come to the conclusion that there was an inquiry wanted as to the circumstances of those waters to which different periods of close time were assigned; but granting all that he would ask whether the salary of one of their Inspectors was to be stopped in order that a private right of Mr. Markham's should be tried? He hoped the House would not think of entertaining this proposition.

He could testify, from a long knowledge of Mr. Brady and his district, that a more safe and efficient officer did not exist in any Department of the Government.

MR. J. LOWTHER quite agreed that it would not be at all expedient to take a strong measure like stopping the salary of the Inspector of Fisheries. He had no doubt the course adopted was quite proper, and in accordance with the Act of Parliament. At the same time, the hon. and gallant Gentleman had put forward some complaints from persons interested in property in the neighbourhood in regard to some of the bye-laws issued. He knew from experience in England that river authorities and Conservancy Boards were capable of becoming a standing nuisance in their neighbourhood, unless some attention was paid to them; and, therefore, the hon. and gallant Gentleman was quite justified in calling attention to the subject. He thanked him for the manner in which he had done so, and promised to make inquiries to see whether any change was required.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Second Resolution further postponed till *To-morrow*.

LUNACY LAW AMENDMENT BILL.  
(*Mr. Dillwyn, Sir George Balfour, Mr. Herschell.*)  
[BILL 111.] BILL WITHDRAWN.

MR. DILLWYN moved that the Order for the second reading be discharged. He certainly should bring forward this measure next Session, unless Her Majesty's Government did so; but he had been very desirous, if possible, of getting a second reading, in order to have some discussion on the subject, and to enable him to improve the measure in the Recess.

Motion *agreed to*.

Order read, and *discharged*; Bill *withdrawn*.

BOUNDARY COMMISSION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL—[BILL 263.]  
(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Pell, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Backhouse.*)  
BILL WITHDRAWN.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE moved that the Order for the second

*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*

reading be discharged. He only introduced it in order to get it printed and discussed; and after consulting with his hon. Friends opposite he now moved to discharge the Order, intending to introduce the Bill again next Session.

Motion *agreed to*.

Order read, and *discharged*; Bill *withdrawn*.

LOUGH ERNE AND RIVER (CONTINUANCE)  
BILL.

Bill read a second time, and *committed to a Select Committee*.

*Ordered*, That the Select Committee do consist of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection:—Viscount CRICHTON, Mr. KAVANAUGH, and Mr. CALLAN *nominated Members of the said Committee*:—Three to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 6th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Law of Libel [No. 343]; Co-operative Stores [No. 344].

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—£1,200,000, Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1877-8—*considered in Committee*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee*—Endowed Schools Acts Continuance [Salaries]\*.

*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment\* [287].

*First Reading*—Border Summons\* [284].

*Committee—Report*—University Education (Ireland) (No. 2)\* [250-283]; Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing [262]; Bills of Sale (Ireland)\* [273].

*Considered as amended*—Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment [128]; Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice)\* [269].

*Third Reading*—Public Offices (Fees)\* [266], and *passed*.

*Withdrawn*—Judicial Factors (Scotland)\* [267].

## QUESTIONS.

AFGHANISTAN—THE MILITARY FORCES—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA.  
QUESTION.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, considering

that as we are informed the success of our movements in Afghanistan was complete, Whether there was any, and, if so, what urgent necessity for the withdrawal of the troops from their advanced posts during the hot season with the result, during the return march, of a loss by cholera fourfold that of the whole campaign?

MR. E. STANHOPE (for Colonel STANLEY): Sir, the troops could not have been left for the hot weather in tents in the Cabul Valley, where cholera had already appeared, without incurring the imminent risk of far greater loss than that which they unfortunately sustained. It was highly undesirable to keep the troops exposed in tents a day longer than the military and political requirements necessitated, instead of moving them back into their cantonments with all the sanitary advantages to be found there. As regards the actual loss sustained, although we know that it was considerably exaggerated in some quarters, we have not yet received any official information as to what it really was.

#### MARRIAGE LAW OF FRANCE.

##### QUESTION.

MR. BIRLEY (for Mr. HARDCASTLE) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has yet received authentic information as to the Marriage Law of France affecting the intermarriages between French men and English women solemnized in this Country; and, whether he is able to state what steps he will take to secure that information shall be given to persons proposing to contract such marriages as to the conditions under which alone they will be recognized as valid in France?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that he had not yet received from the Foreign Office any formal notification of what the law actually was; but he had received a communication from the French Embassy, which assured him that if a marriage contracted between a French man and English woman, according to the law of the place, were registered at the French Consulate in England, that marriage would be valid in France under all circumstances. Until he received formal information from the Foreign Office, however, he could not take any steps to make this information general.

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#### POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAMSHIP COMPANY.—QUESTION.

MR. J. HOLMS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can state on what day the House will have the opportunity of considering the Postal Contract recently entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; and, whether, in view of the great importance of the financial issues involved both to England and to India in this Contract, he will arrange that the House will have the opportunity of considering it at such a time as would admit of its being properly discussed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he hoped to proceed to the consideration of the postal contract referred to at the beginning of Business on Friday morning. He could not, however, make any absolute promise that the question would be considered on that day.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND)

(No. 2) BILL—[Lords.] [Bill 250.]

(Mr. James Lowther.)

COMMITTEE. [Progress 5th August.]

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause—

(Senate to prepare scheme.)

(And whereas it is desirable to promote the advancement of learning in Ireland by means of the creation, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, and also by the erection of suitable buildings in connection with the University to be established under the said Charter: Be it Enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Senate, within twelve months after their first appointment, to prepare and forward to the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, a scheme for the better advancement of University Education in Ireland, by the provision of buildings, including examination rooms and a library, in connection with the University to be founded under any such Charter, and by the establishment of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, or any of such matters, in which scheme the following conditions shall be observed:—

- (1.) The said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes shall be awarded for proficiency in subjects of secular education, and not in respect of any subject of religious instruction;

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- (2.) They shall be open to all students matriculating or who have matriculated in the University, and the scheme may propose that they shall be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and that they shall be subject to any conditions as to the age of the candidates, their standing in the University, their liability to perform duty, and otherwise, as the Senate shall think expedient;
- (3.) In fixing the value and number of the said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, the senate shall have regard to the advantages of a similar kind offered by the University of Dublin and Trinity College to students matriculated in that University, so as to avoid as far as possible any injury to the advancement of learning in that University and college;
- (4.) Provision shall be made that no student holding any exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize in any other University; or in any college attached to a University, or in any college endowed with public money, shall hold any of the said exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, or other prizes in the University to be created by the said Charter without taking the value of such previous exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize into account.

Such scheme shall, within three weeks after the same shall have been forwarded by the senate to the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, be laid before both Houses of Parliament if Parliament is sitting, or, if not, then within three weeks after the beginning of the next ensuing Session of Parliament.)—(Mr. James Lowther.)

Question again proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in moving that the clause be read a second time that day three months, said, that before it went any further he hoped the Government would tell them what seemed to him to be the gist of the whole matter—namely, what money they proposed to give under it. They had told them what money they proposed to give under the Intermediate Education Act of last year, and he could not see any reason why such information should be withheld on the present occasion. As far as he was concerned, that was really the whole matter. He did not propose to make any objection to the Bill upon religious grounds; but would extend religious equality to all, and endeavour, as far as possible, to conciliate the Irish Representatives, and respect the prejudices of the Irish people. He felt, however, very considerable difficulty in dis-

playing respect to those prejudices by giving over a large sum of money, altogether disproportionate to the grants made to other parts of the Kingdom. He did not object to the due consideration of the prejudices of the Irish people; but there was no doubt that those prejudices had for some time been favourable to denominational education. He confessed he was very much startled when the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) said what would be the effect of the Intermediate Education Bill. The hon. Gentleman told them that the result of that Bill was to encourage the most ultra denominationalism it was possible to conceive; that the effect of the Bill was to give the money almost entirely to the Jesuits and to nunneries. He (Sir George Campbell) had since heard that 96 or 97 per cent of the money would really go to Roman Catholic Institutions of that kind. He was very much startled when such an authority made that statement, and it seemed to him a very strange argument wherewith to induce the House to pass the present Bill, which approached very similar lines. After full consideration, he was inclined to think that the hon. Member for Roscommon was right, after all. He was inclined now to think with the hon. Gentleman that since they had gone so far and made such a false step as to pass a Bill of such an intensely denominational character to deal with Intermediate Education, it was scarcely worth while to make any great objection to their proceeding on a like course as regarded University Education. Therefore, upon religious grounds, he was not going to make any objection to the proposal of the Government; but upon financial grounds he had the greatest possible objection, because it did seem to him that what was intended was to try and smooth over existing difficulties by throwing a sop to the Irish Members, which sop was to be taken out of the English and Scotch taxpayers' pockets. That objection would not be removed until he knew what money had to be given; how and from what source it was to be given; and, in order to give the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther) an opportunity of stating those things, he should move that the clause be read a second time that day three months. It

seemed to him that the Government had lately entered upon a succession of sops to the Irish Members which had always come out of the taxpayers' pockets. Last year the sop was a large sum given in the shape of the Intermediate Education Act; and this year they had had two sops. To one of these sops he could offer no objection—namely, the voting of a portion of the Irish Church Fund to primary education; but now they were to have a sop in addition to that for primary education. Now the Government proposed to give a sop of an unknown amount with regard to University Education. It was for that reason that he and others wished to know, before they went further, what was the amount which it was proposed to grant. He had, on former occasions, remarked that there was a considerable *rapprochement* between the Government and the Members below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland seemed to be rather pleased when such a suggestion was made, because, he said, he was always glad to conciliate the Irish Members. He (Sir George Campbell) had not the least objection to it either, so long as he did not do it by extracting money from the pockets of the English and Scotch people. With regard to the University Question, he might observe that a little time ago there appeared to be some suspicion of benevolence on the part of the Government towards the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon, and now there appeared to be a little benevolence towards the Bill of the Government on the part of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), and those hon. Members who acted with him. It was evident that they hoped to get a good lump of money by the Bill. They regarded the Bill as the first stepping-stone towards what they wanted to have; it would not, in their opinion, have a settling effect, but it would give them so much money to the good. He doubted very much the policy of continually throwing these big sops. If a man had a savage and troublesome dog which annoyed the neighbours, it might be dangerous to continually throw him big sops. The more the dog got the more he would want, and would make himself very disagreeable if his request were not acceded to. There was also

one further view of the matter—the Government might be doubtful as to their position, and might be throwing out these sops to the Irish Representatives with the view of improving it; but if the Irish Representatives were accustomed to have too much of their own way, government by a Liberal Administration would be wholly impossible. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was stated to have said—"The fact of the matter is, we intended to do nothing, and we should hardly have managed it, if the Irish Members had not assisted us." He (Sir George Campbell) would not have thought that the Irish Members were ready to assist them without a bribe. While he said that, however, he thoroughly acknowledged that they owed a considerable debt to Ireland with regard to primary education; but with respect to University Education he would submit three reasons why the present Bill should not be passed. The first reason was that as regarded this question of giving what he presumed to be a large additional grant from their pockets for University Education, he would submit that it would involve giving to Irish University Education from their pockets an amount of money wholly disproportionate to that which was given towards education in other parts of the United Kingdom. Hon. Members from Ireland seemed to have shown considerable jealousy with regard to the grants given for Scotch University Education. Now, what were the total grants for Scotch University Education? They figured in the Estimates at £18,706. What was the grant already made for Irish University Education, quite apart from the endowment of Trinity College, or apart from the Parliamentary grants? There was paid out of the Consolidated Fund, for that purpose, £21,000; there was another £5,000 for the Queen's University, which was to be the new University; an additional grant of between £5,000 and £6,000 devoted to the expenses of the Queen's Colleges, and another £5,000 or £6,000 given for building purposes. So it was perfectly clear that for University Education in Ireland there was given no less than £37,000, which was exactly double what was now given to Scotland. Now, the population of Ireland was not double the population of Scotland; and as re-



garded intellectual requirements, the people of Ireland did not exceed the people of Scotland, and still less was that the case in regard to the advance of education. Therefore, it was quite clear that for University Education Ireland already received from this House a great deal more in proportion than Scotland; and if it were, as he understood it, that the effect of the present clause would be that a large additional sum would be given to Ireland, the grant for Irish University Education would be totally and enormously out of proportion. It was necessary that the matter should be settled, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland should tell them whether Her Majesty's Government meant to increase the endowment, or by what means they intended to make the grant without further taxation. That was one very cogent reason why they should not proceed with the clause now before the Committee. Well, then, he had another reason, with regard to which he thought he should have more sympathy from hon. Members from Ireland. It was undoubtedly the case that they left undisturbed the existing grants to Queen's Colleges, while the additional funds for University Education were to be common to the whole of Ireland. Why, then they created what he meant to say was a palpable inequality, and while that existed the Bill would be an unsettling Bill rather than a settling one. It was impossible that there could be anything like equality while they had certain Colleges getting all their grants from this House, and other Colleges which received no such grants. That, he thought, was an argument in which he had the sympathy of hon. Gentlemen from Ireland. There was another view of the case which he took. It was quite right that they should be as liberal as possible to Ireland; but the opinion he had formed, from observation in a good many parts of the world, was that there was no greater injury that could be done to any country than that its higher education should be in excess, and out of proportion to the lower education given in that country. It seemed to him that they would do an injury to Ireland if they were to increase its University grants—they would have the head more powerful than the tail. Whilst primary education in Ireland was still deficient, they

would be creating a State aid for higher education which would be wholly out of proportion. The result of that would be a very bad effect upon the people who were over-educated in the upper ranks. The people of England and America were beginning to feel that there were considerable evils attaching to higher education, one of which was that there were now too many people who would not work with their hands. He had had too much experience of that in Bengal, where University Education had gone ahead of primary education; and there was another country, in regard to which it was notably so—he alluded to Greece. All the disturbances and difficulties of Greece were greatly due to excessive University Education. The Greeks were an admirable race from a commercial point of view; and he did not think the Irish had rivalled them in that respect.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. Member that the observations which he was offering to the Committee, though they might be applicable on a certain stage of the Bill, had no direct reference to the clause now before the Committee. The clause provided for the establishment of certain prizes and buildings under a distinct Charter, and it would be well if the hon. Gentleman would confine himself to the clause now under consideration.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that his object was to prove that the effect of the clause was to create an additional endowment for University Education, and to submit that it would be an injury to the people of Ireland to give them too much University Education. He was quite ready to admit that the Irish element they had in the House was an excellent one. No doubt, it imparted to the proceedings a variety and a liveliness which they would be without had they not the presence of the Irish Representatives; but he was also inclined to think that the result of increasing the University Education of Ireland would be that they would have three or four times the present number of highly-educated Irish Gentlemen in the House, and they might have a little too much of that liveliness. Perhaps he would not be out of Order in explaining what his view of the matter was, and in explaining the mode in which he thought that the Government might meet the diffi-

*Sir George Campbell*

culty in a satisfactory manner. He could best do that by reading the Amendment he had upon the Paper on going into Committee on the previous day, but which he was unable to move—

"That this House is prepared to accept a measure analogous to the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878, provided the total charge on public funds for higher education in Ireland is not increased; the arts department of the Queen's Colleges being absorbed in the new scheme; and State Colleges confined to physics and professional education."

That was the suggestion he desired to make, the effect of which would be the end of the Arts department of the Queen's Colleges; that they should apply the money to the general purposes of University Education under the present Bill; and that they should reserve, probably, two of the present Queen's Colleges as special Colleges for professional and scientific education. That would meet the wishes of the Irish people, without taking any additional money out of the pockets of the people of England. He thought the wording of the clause which was now before the Committee was such that it might be possible that the Government intended to do something of the kind; but he was afraid, judging from observations which had fallen from them, that, in reality, their intention was to give a large additional grant, which he must again describe as an unwarrantable sop to the Irish Members. He wished to vindicate his consistency in that respect, because, when another Bill dealing with the question was before the House, he objected to giving a large grant out of the Irish Church Funds to University Education, because he thought it had better be given to primary education. Now, the Government had acted upon that view which he then expressed, and had given those funds to primary education. But it seemed to him that their position was still worse, if the grant, instead of being given for primary education, was to be given to University Education. He understood that the Lord Chancellor could not assent to the funds of the Irish Church being devoted to Irish University Education, although he had not given expression to such an opinion in the House of Lords. In conclusion, he hoped they would receive some information from the Chief Secretary upon the points he had raised.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and insert at the end of the Question "this day three months."  
—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that it was not the practice in Committee to move that a new clause should be read a second time that day three months. It should be met with a direct negative.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that in that case he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Campbell) had asked him a simple question—whether he was prepared to state the financial arrangements which would be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Bill? If the hon. Member would refer to the marginal note at the end of the clause, he would find that the proposal of the Government was to prepare a scheme, and within a certain specified time submit it to the House. It was impossible to say what the scheme would involve until they knew what it was. The hon. Gentleman had proceeded to throw out a great number of suggestions which appeared to him (Mr. J. Lowther) as being eminently calculated to develop ideas which might result in a lengthy discussion upon matters with which the Bill had nothing whatever to do. He was rather slow to refer to the question of education in India or Greece upon which the hon. Gentleman had dwelt and about which, no doubt, he was well informed. The hon. Gentleman next proceeded to repeat the statement which he had made on a previous occasion, that it was the policy of the Government to throw sops to Irish Members. He, however, did not object to the sops, presuming them to exist, which he (Mr. J. Lowther) did not, provided they did not come out of the pockets of himself and of taxpayers. The hon. Member then went on to describe the sops, and said that there was a large sop in the shape of the Intermediate Education Act; and that this year, in addition to the present Bill, there was another large sop out of the pockets of the taxpayers in the shape of the National School Teachers Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he referred to the increase of the National School teachers' salaries.

MR. J. LOWTHER, resuming, said, that no doubt in that case the hon. Member was correct in saying that it came out of their pockets; but he was inaccurate in describing the other funds dealt with as emanating from the pockets of the national taxpayers. The hon. Member had further said that if money was given for this new scheme a corresponding increase ought to be made in the case of Scotland, and that they ought to know how much money was likely to be recommended by the Senate in support of the scheme suggested under the Bill. There was no power in the Bill to enable the Senate or anybody else to dictate to Parliament as to the sum of money to be expended. There was only power to submit the scheme to the House; and it would be fully competent for hon. Gentlemen to discuss the scheme, or to endeavour to induce Parliament to reject it. There would be every opportunity for the fullest discussion. He would venture to throw out the hope that in the few precious hours that remained they would not be drawn into a discussion as to primary education and intermediate education, or as to the relative claims of Scotland and Ireland with regard to higher education. There was no intention or wish on the part of the Government to hurry on the discussion. All that they asked was that the time devoted to the consideration of the measure should be consumed in its *bond fide* discussion, and not with side issues.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA desired to make only one remark relative to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy's (Sir George Campbell's) criticism upon the Bill and upon the present clause. One statement of the hon. Gentleman was wholly erroneous. The hon. Member had stated that the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) had informed him privately, presumably, that 96 or 97 per cent of the money given under the Intermediate Education Act went to conventual schools. [MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Agreed.] The hon. Member for Galway was listened to with great patience on the previous day. He (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) did not agree, for from whatever source that statement emanated it was entirely wrong, and ought to be cleared up. The hon. Member

for Roscommon was present in the House; he was one of the Commission, and knew better than any other Member what the facts were. Perhaps he would explain that there was no foundation for the statement made by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy.

THE O'CONOR DON said, that as he had been pointedly alluded to by the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) he might be permitted to make an explanation. He was not present when the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) spoke upon the subject; but what he (the O'Connor Don) did say on the occasion referred to was that a very large proportion—he did not think he estimated it at 97 per cent—voted for Intermediate Education went to denominational schools. He did not say Catholic schools, but denominational schools, and, of course, amongst these institutions were Jesuit Colleges and convents. Therefore, he argued, if there was nothing which hon. Gentlemen could object to in the voting of a portion of the Church Surplus for the Intermediate Education Act, which was more denominational than University Education, there could be no objection to devoting a portion of the Surplus to University purposes. He never said that a large proportion went to Catholic schools, but that the proportion of the money that went to Catholic schools would be very much in proportion to the relative number of the population.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the Government must remember that the great majority of the House was in no degree responsible for the time at which the measure was introduced; and when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland appealed to them to alip this Bill through—

MR. J. LOWTHER begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon. What he did say was, that the Government in no way asked the House to hurry the discussion through; but he hoped, as time was short, they would not go into the question of education in India, or in other parts of the world, or go into any side issues.

MR. NEWDEGATE, resuming, said, he was not surprised that Her Majesty's Government were exceedingly anxious that reference should not be made to the proceedings in respect to education in India, for there was a much

more apt illustration much nearer home—in respect of recent revelations relating to education in France. He could quite understand that, and he was disposed to make every allowance for the difficulties in which Her Majesty's Government found themselves placed. The Government seemed, for some reason hitherto totally unexplained, unable to refuse the Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), without giving something in its place. He (Mr. Newdegate) had before commented on that fact. He could not understand the satisfaction that Irish Members experienced in finding the name of the Sovereign withdrawn from educational establishments in Ireland; but he perfectly agreed that in the makeshift measure which they had before them there were no elements which would justify the attachment of the name of the Sovereign to the University which was about to be created. On the contrary, there were the gravest objections to Her Majesty's name being in the slightest degree connected with the proposed establishment. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), representing as he did a Scotch constituency, was no doubt very contemptible in the eyes of hon. Members from Ireland. The Scotch were a quiet people—"Question!"—but he very much doubted whether they would not remember the kind of treatment their Representatives experienced from the Irish Members. ["Question!"] He could quite understand that the Home Rule Members, having pursued a course eminently detrimental to the action and constitution of the House, were surprised and delighted to find themselves rewarded for their labours by the present measure. Hon. Members could scarcely wonder at the allusions to which they had rendered themselves liable by the obstructive course they had pursued during the last two Sessions and the present Session. He was quite ready to admit the difficulty in which Her Majesty's Government found themselves placed; but he must remind Her Majesty's Ministers that, although this measure might be popular with a certain section of the Irish people, it was not likely to be popular either in Scotland or England; it was a measure, which would be viewed with the deepest suspicion, and none the

less from the circumstance, that Her Majesty's Government proposed to delegate enormous powers to a body, whom they had hitherto refused to name. He proposed, supposing the clauses should proceed so far, to move an Amendment, by which he hoped to secure to Members of the House some information as to who were to be the Governing Body, to whom the House was now asked to delegate such enormous educational powers. The Government must not be surprised to find that the secrecy with which they proposed to act excited suspicion. The Members of the House would be grossly wanting to their functions and to their duty, if they voted public money without some assurance as to who was to have the spending of it. According to the present provisions of the Bill, the spending of the public money would be at the discretion of persons as yet unnamed. He did not wish to create unjustifiable obstruction to the Bill. It had been introduced—

MR. MITCHELL HENRY rose to Order. He submitted that this speech was upon the merits of the Bill, and the same objection which was made to the speech of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) would apply now.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the observations of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) did appear to him to be, in a great measure, open to the observations he had addressed to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). He could not say that they were wholly unconnected with the clause; but it appeared to him that, in dealing with the clause, the hon. Gentleman had shown a disposition to take a very wide range, and it was desirable for the Committee to keep close to the principle of the clause before them.

MR. NEWDEGATE, continuing, said, he always desired to treat the opinion of the Chairman with respect, and would be the last who would willingly do anything disorderly; but the clause was really in itself a new Bill. He hoped, therefore, that the Committee would extend to himself and other hon. Members an indulgence which the circumstances required. The addition of this clause had been postponed in a manner almost without precedent; for, coming in at the end, it proposed to make of the

measure nearly a new Bill, so largely would it alter the whole character of the Bill. There was nothing approaching to the present proposal in the Bill when it was originally produced in the House of Lords, or in the form in which it had reached this House; he, therefore, hoped the House would feel that the circumstances of the case justified the extended criticism which the proposal of this clause inevitably elicited, and the consumption of the time which it must occupy. He did not wish to detain the House unnecessarily, but to call attention generally to the necessity of providing that, when the scheme to be formulated by this unnamed body—the Senate—would be submitted to the House next Session, there should be secured full information on the whole subject, especially as regarded the constitution of the Senate, and further, not only as to the amount of money required, but as to the manner and method of directing and conducting the expenditure connected with the University.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he would confine himself strictly within the four corners of the Amendment, and his speech should be brief, for he knew the anxiety of the Committee, and of the Irish Members, to get on; still, this was a very important clause, and there were one or two points which, without wasting time, it was absolutely necessary should be touched on in a few words. He wanted, first, to call attention to the words "relative or absolute proficiency," in the second paragraph. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who seemed to have a great talent for silence in seven languages, to explain the real meaning of those words. Although he could not exactly prove it, he believed they were put in at the very last moment when that clause was announced. The debate had gone on when, suddenly, a suggestion was thrown out by the hon. Member for Galway that payment should be made, not only for merit in scholarship, but also for passes. As far as he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) could make out, Her Majesty's Government clutched at the straw, like a drowning man. There was a little rush out of the House, and a little cooking up of this Amendment, which was then read out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer

at a later period of the evening. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) expected that those words, "absolute proficiency," were put in at the last moment as suggested by the hon. Member. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: No, no!] He was delighted to hear he was wrong in that, as it was only his impression, which many other hon. Members of the House shared with him. However that might be, he wanted to know now what the meaning of those words was? He supposed he would be told that the Senate would settle it; but was Parliament going to divest itself entirely of its legislative functions, and put in words of a vague and unknown meaning, which were to be afterwards defined, not by a Court of Justice, but by a Senate which Parliament itself was to appoint? He could not find those words in any Act of Parliament relating to these matters of any sort or kind; yet they were of the utmost importance, because if they did mean what the hon. Member for Galway demanded—payment for a pass—they were introducing an absolutely new principle in educational matters, and the University to be created would stand on a peculiar footing; for he knew no College, either in the United Kingdom or anywhere else, where persons were paid for passing a pass examination. Payments were made for merit; Scholarships were adjudged, and Fellowships were awarded; but payment for a pass was quite a new thing. He confessed himself, looking at the question not from any religious or denominational point of view, but strictly from an educational point of view, that he could not see why the money of the taxpayers of Ireland, just as much as the money of the taxpayers of England, was to be paid away to students for going through a pass examination. This point was of the utmost importance in its bearings on the 3rd section of the Bill, because in that it was enacted that nothing was to be done under this scheme which was to injure other educational institutions. He knew, however, of no other institution in which a payment was made for a pass; and, therefore, if they introduced into Ireland a new University where payments were given for a pass, it must stand to reason that students would be attracted to it from the existing Universities. He hoped the Government would not be silent on this

*Mr. Newdegate*

question, but would really give them an explanation of what was intended by those words. Again, they had a certain bearing on the 4th sub-section. There it was stated that if a student holding a Scholarship, or a Fellowship, or who had gained any other prize at any other University, obtained a prize in this new University, it was to be taken into account. That, however, did not exclude the student from a competition; and, therefore, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent students from other Universities crowding in under the double attraction of payments for the pass, and of facilities given for obtaining prizes in addition to those which they had already obtained in their own University. He confessed that there was, to his mind, a great deal to be said on this whole question, whether it was desirable, and, indeed, whether it was necessary, that they should allow students from other Universities to come crowding into this new University? He knew it would be said that it would tend to keep up the standard; but if they had a properly-constructed Senate, with adequate self-respect, which an eminent body of men would have, and a good set of men as Examiners, they certainly ought to be able to trust them to keep up that standard. There was a great educational objection, also, to this system of allowing what might be called double entries, because it encouraged a system of educational "pot-hunters." Men, under this scheme, would go from one University to another. They were told that men already came up from Cambridge and obtained the great prizes in London. But the two things were not at all alike. In London the prizes were very small in value indeed; but, then, to obtain the prize was a great honour. In the case of this University, however, the amount of money would be very great, and he was afraid it would produce a set of pot-hunters. Men, of course, were not able to keep their terms *pari passu* at Oxford and Cambridge; but they might, after obtaining a degree at Oxford, go to Cambridge. He knew that was done sometimes; but they were men who were never very well looked upon. If a man went to a University he was supposed to take it for better or worse, and he ought to stay by it, and be satisfied with the prizes it offered, and ought not to go from one to the other in order to put as

much money as he could into his pocket. They did not want to encourage in the educational world something like what he was told took place at race-meetings, where people entered their horses simply in order to get a share of the gate-money. They did not want to bring University Education down to the level of the Turf, and yet that was possibly what might come about under this clause. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), it was one more proof how very desirable it was that the expenses of this University should not be made the subject of an annual wrangle; but that the amount should be charged upon the Consolidated Fund, and settled once and for all, or, what would be far better, that they should pay it out of the Irish Church Surplus. He fully believed that until they had got rid of that Surplus there would be no peace about it; and he was beginning to think that the hon. Member was right who said, during the debates on the Irish Church Bill, that a time would come when they would find it necessary to tie up that Surplus in a bag and throw it into the sea.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE observed, that the difficulty in the interpretation of the words "relative" and "absolute" efficiency would have been cleared up, if his noble Friend (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had only recollected the different systems of their own University and the University at Oxford. He was afraid he would have to say that that was the system at Cambridge; but, at all events, in their time it was a system of relative efficiency. There were the Senior and the Second and Third Wranglers, the Senior and the Second and Third Classics. At Oxford, on the other hand, they had the system of absolute efficiency, and there was nothing but a list of the first-class men. Of course, there might be plenty of University gossip as to who was the best man, and who had just shot in; but before the world the system was one of absolute efficiency. If he thought for a moment that this clause would result in a bribe to men to go in and pass the examination he should vote against it. No desire to help Ireland to a good thing would induce him to degrade academic training in this way; but he could not and would not

read the clause in the sense in which his noble Friend had read it. What was an Exhibition? A terminable annuity to an undergraduate. What was a Scholarship? It was a terminable annuity of a superior amount, carrying more privileges, and running into the earlier graduate days. What was a Fellowship? A terminable annuity granted after graduation. These money prizes and Scholarships and Exhibitions were things which were offered at every College in the University, and after each examination; and though they were often given in money, yet more generally they were given in books. How there should be so much difficulty about this question of absolute or relative efficiency passed his comprehension. As to the second point raised by his noble Friend, he (Mr. Beresford Hope) agreed with him very much that the Universities ought to be limited. He thought an Amendment might be moved, limiting matriculation degrees and prizes in this University to other Universities and Colleges in Ireland. He thoroughly agreed with his noble Friend in his objection to that peripatetic system of men tramping about the country getting an M.A. degree at St. Andrew's, and then coming down South to carry off the prizes from their own Universities. That certainly should be stopped; but there was another reason why he supported that view. This Bill was a Bill, as he ventured to say again, brought in exclusively to meet the peculiar circumstances of Ireland. It was a measure which they must regard exclusively as an Irish measure, as to which they must put on one side a good many personal prepossessions, in order to deal with a certain state of affairs in Ireland, which they hoped would be alleviated by it. Why should they not make it a purely Irish University, and limit the degrees and prizes to Irishmen, or to men who had been for so many months studying in Ireland? That would also meet in a most substantial way the difficulty the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had raised yesterday, of the Irish University competing with the London University, and giving degrees at a less price and with less trouble. If this University were limited to Ireland, and London were limited to the whole world and such Irishmen as preferred to go there, there would be no trouble of this

kind; but for the sake of academic education generally, and to make this Bill a substantial boon to Ireland, and to meet the London University grievance, he hoped the clauses would be so dealt with as to show that this University was meant for the Irish.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he thought Irish Members would not thank the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) for his interpretation of the words "relative" and "absolute." What those words meant in the present clause was that a student might be paid for having attained a standard proficiency, and not, as was the case at any existing University, for relative merit. There was a great danger of the scheme. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had practically admitted that the proposed system was one of concealed result fees. It was a system of fees paid to the scholar, but reaching, through him, the College. If the assistance to Irish University Education was to be really valuable to the education of Irish Catholics, these result fees must be very large. That was to say, that the Scholarships, Exhibitions, Fellowships, and so on, must be very large, in order that the Colleges might get, through the scholars, some assistance worth having. If these prizes to the scholars were small, the assistance to the Catholic education of Ireland would also be small. That would not be, and was not intended to be, the result of the working of the measure. Thus the country would be landed in a most unpleasant and lowering competition on the part of the new University as against the Universities in other parts of the Kingdom. The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) had said — "Make this University strictly limited to Ireland;" but that might lead to reprisals, and might shut out the Irish from the English and Scotch Universities. What could be more insulting to Ireland than such a proposition, which practically said to Irishmen that they must be protected from the competition of Englishmen and Scotchmen? In Scotland, Irishmen freely entered the Universities, and won the Bursaries, Exhibitions, and Scholarships, when they proved themselves the best men. The Scotch were delighted to have the hon-

*Mr. Beresford Hope*

our and advantage of competing with them. At one time Irishmen formed nearly a fifth of the students in Scotch Universities, though, at the present time, having got more Colleges of their own, they formed a smaller proportion. The state of affairs he had described as existing in his own country was very proper and desirable, and the idea of establishing a University which would not be open to the whole world—[Mr. J. LOWRY: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman said "No, no!". Then he (Mr. Lyon Playfair) supposed that the new University would be open to the whole world. If that was so, in what position would they be? The University would be the place of the keenest competition in the Kingdom; because, as he maintained, the Scholarships, Exhibitions, and other prizes must necessarily be very large in amount. Thus, competitors would come forward from England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as Ireland, not for the purpose of gaining knowledge, but simply to win the valuable prizes offered, and thus the legitimate object of assisting the poor of Ireland in getting a high-class education would be in a great measure defeated. In education the acquisition of knowledge was a noble motive; but the search for it to win gold was ignoble. He thought that that was an extremely serious objection. There was another point which he wished to mention. There could not be a high standard for the classes in the new University. He hoped that they would never adopt such high standards as those of the University of London, although those were in themselves admirable. Every year 700 medical men were required, and yet the London University, so high were its standards, only supplied 25 of them. In the same way, it only obtained about 50 Arts graduates per annum. Therefore, if the new University were to adopt such high standards, it would starve learning. Such standards would not suit a poor country. They would not suit Scotland nor Ireland. If, however, the new University had lower standards, as was necessary, it would come into direct competition with the University of London and other similar institutions, and students from all parts of the Kingdom, seeing much larger payments given for much smaller results than elsewhere, would flock to the Irish University

simply for the purpose of making money. This subject was surrounded with such great difficulties that he and other hon. Members were naturally anxious to know who were to be the members of the Senate intrusted with the drawing up of the scheme of prizes. They must have superhuman intelligence and ingenuity, to enable them to do good instead of harm, in drawing up their scheme. The whole Bill, in fact, was surrounded with dangers, and was most incoherent. The last part of the clause did not seem either to be drawn in the usual way. The scheme was to be laid before Parliament; but Parliament was not to have cognizance of it, or have a discussion on it under ordinary circumstances. That, certainly, would require alteration when they came to it.

MR. PLUNKET said, this certainly would be a very serious matter, if he interpreted the clause in the same way as his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair). He (Mr. Plunket) was bound to say, however, that he interpreted it in an entirely different sense. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of it as an insult to Ireland, while other Irish Members had expressed their readiness to accept it.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he did not call the Bill an insult to Ireland; he spoke of the proposal to limit the University to the Irish nationality, and no other, as an insult.

MR. PLUNKET said, he did not know where the right hon. Gentleman got the idea from. Perhaps he had conjured it out of his own brain. [*Cries of "Hope, Hope!"*]

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he had especially guarded himself against any such construction.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had based his observations on what he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had said he had mistaken his proposition.

MR. PLUNKET was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyon Playfair), although very sincere in the cause of education, had been carried away by his zeal on this occasion. The clause took the natural view as to degrees and honours to be competed for, and said they should be open to everybody coming from England or Scotland who had



matriculated there, or should matriculate; there was no insult to Ireland in the matter. Passing away from that, it was much more important, however, to know whether there was any danger in the clause to existing institutions by undue competition for prizes. As one of the Members for the University of Dublin, he had looked very carefully into this matter, and he observed that care was taken by sub-section 3 to give protection to those institutions. Let him explain exactly what he understood, and what seemed to him the obvious and honest meaning of those words—"relative and absolute." The system already existed, as he understood, in the University he was proud to represent. That University gave prizes—not of a large amount, or to any stated number. The first and second honours were given according to an absolute standard. They sometimes found no one at all in the first-class, sometimes there were six, sometimes nine, and ten, and so on. In the second and third classes the same system was followed. Why should not they have the same system in the new University? It was quite a mistake to call these payments for a pass at all; it was payment for passing a certain standard of excellence. But it by no means followed that every individual who passed the University would be paid for so doing. That would be against the provisions of the 3rd sub-section, which provided that no such plans should be suggested or carried out. With reference to the other point mentioned by his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope), that care should have been taken that men did not come from other Universities, he thought that was quite fair. No one was more unpopular in a University than a man who came back with long experience and advantage to pick up prizes never intended for him at all; but when they talked about a man paying additional fees, only to win the difference between the prize he had obtained elsewhere and the prize given by the new University, he thought the danger was becoming rather imaginary. If he thought there were any reason for that, he should very much rather see the Bill defeated; but, as far as he could see, the provisions of sub-sections 3 and 4 were quite sufficient to guard against that, and against what

really were nothing but imaginary consequences.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I quite recognize the value of a great many of the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Lyon Playfair), and the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), and others, who have taken part in this discussion. Undoubtedly, the matter is one which requires very careful attention in regard to the several points which they have brought under our notice. I cannot help thinking, after all the discussion which has taken place this morning, that the actual position, and even the very nature, of the proposal which is contained in this clause is somewhat misunderstood. The Committee must bear in mind that what is now proposed is that the Senate, which is to be constituted in this new University, is to be charged to go carefully into the preparation of a scheme, the object of which is to provide, by Exhibitions, Fellowships, Scholarships, and other prizes, for the proper advancement of learning in Ireland. That is a very difficult and a very delicate task. We propose, in the clause, certain conditions which are to be observed in drawing up such a scheme, and these conditions indicate very nearly the general lines on which we think the Senate ought to proceed; but it must be borne in mind that after the Senate shall have prepared its scheme it will be worth nothing at all, unless Parliament votes the money which is to give effect to it. It is provided that the scheme shall, within a certain limited time, be laid before Parliament; and it will, of course, be for Parliament to consider it as fully as possible. There can be no objection to the words proposed to be added by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), that the names of the Senate shall be given; but, as a matter of fact, long before the scheme can be laid before Parliament, the names of the Senate will have been so completely before the public that there can be no need of it whatever. Then, what will happen? We shall have to consider the scheme they prepare, and the relations of the University to the different educational institutions, and this will be a matter which will require very careful consideration, and which will guide Parliament in the course it may take, and in

*Mr. Plunket*

the Votes it may be asked to pass. There seems to be an impression on the minds of some persons — and my right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh takes care to magnify that impression — that when you have got a Senate, which is an unknown quantity in itself, it is to have power to draw up a scheme with very general directions, and that it will, of course, exercise the power it will have, by making proposals of enormous grants, and that Parliament will be in some way or other bound by them. I must say that I think all this is rather a hobgoblin. What will take place will be that the Senate will apply itself carefully to the consideration of the scheme, and they will have to bear in mind the conditions proposed here, and they will also have to bear in mind what is the amount it will be possible and reasonable to ask Parliament to vote. I must say, speaking for the interests of the Treasury, we should look rather critically at the amount that it might be proposed that we should submit to Parliament, and it is quite certain the House of Commons will always look very critically at any amounts which might be asked. The noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) threw out the suggestion that these words as to “relative and absolute” were an afterthought. I do not know upon what he founded that; I fancy upon something I said in the course of the discussion when the clause was first proposed. I beg to assure the noble Lord that he is entirely in error. What took place was that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in an earlier part of the discussion, gave a general indication of the kind of proposal we intended to place on the Paper. That was made the subject of some conversation, and a suggestion was then thrown out by the hon. Member for Galway that there should be something in the nature of result fees. Then, later in the day, I read the clause as drawn up and agreed to several days beforehand, and without, of course, any reference to what the hon. Member for Galway had said as to these result fees. This clause was, in fact, also a part of the proposals of the Government. With regard to the objection of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Lyon Playfair), that there was a sugges-

tion that we should insult the Irish nation by confining the benefits of this University to Ireland, I think no such suggestion ever was made, and I am quite sure it was not intended to be made by my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope). What he pointed out was that which was perfectly well known to all those at all acquainted with the working of our University system, that there are cases — I believe it applies especially to London — where men, who have received their education and are receiving their education at other Universities, and who have received and are receiving prizes and awards from those Universities, yet come down, with the advantages of their Oxford and Cambridge training, to carry off various prizes at London. I believe there is some dissatisfaction felt at this, and it is a matter which certainly deserves consideration and care. It is with reference to this that the 4th sub-section has been introduced into the clause; but nobody ever wished that the University should not be open to any Englishmen or Scotchmen who chose to go and matriculate there, and who chose to offer themselves for prizes. The only thing provided is that, if a man holds a prize, it must be taken into account when he comes to obtain a prize at this University. Hon. Gentlemen will see that the course of the Government is not only forced upon them by circumstances, but that it is the more convenient course with reference to obtaining a satisfactory settlement of this matter. In order to provide and establish a proper scheme for the working of such a University as is now under consideration, it is necessary that you should have the advice and assistance of persons thoroughly well qualified to take all the academical considerations into view, and to prepare and elaborate a scheme in the quiet of their own Senate houses or their own apartments. It would be impossible to work out by discussion in this House the details of such a scheme. You must have it, first of all, from those gentlemen, and when they have elaborated it, it then can be laid before Parliament. Of course, even then, this House will not be bound by the scheme, nor will it be compelled to make any grant to support a scheme of which it disapproves. I believe the effect of this proposal will be that the

Senate will give themselves carefully to the elaboration of a scheme, that we shall have it thoroughly put before us next Session, and that we shall then be called to give effect to it by Votes submitted to us. If we then find there are matters which require further elucidation, and Parliament is not thoroughly satisfied, explanations will be demanded, or Amendments can then be made.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had not taken any part in this discussion, because if the Irish Members were satisfied with the Government proposal it would require a good deal to induce him to interfere. He would not, indeed, have said anything but for the speech of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), and he now only wished to say very shortly why he should vote for the clause. He thought it was, to some extent, open to the educational objection alluded to by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon Playfair); but he was very glad to find that the proposition to have an Irish University, at which no one out of Ireland need apply, was disowned. He was glad of that, because it seemed to him that the proposition had been received with some degree of approval. He could not imagine, however, that any hon. Gentleman could accept such a proposition, if he realized what it meant. Undoubtedly, if this University was to be open to every inhabitant of the Three Kingdoms, there would be cases in which some of these prizes would be won by Englishmen and Scotchmen, and that men who had been students at Glasgow and London, and had got a degree, would not be unlikely to come to this University, where they would get, not only a degree, but also money results. That, certainly, was an objection which applied to this mode of meeting the difficulties of the question more than to the mode of payment to the Colleges by result fees. He should vote, however, for the clause, because, in spite of these objections, he thought it was a mode of meeting what he considered a real Irish grievance. He thought it was a clumsy, and, as compared with the scheme of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), a comparatively inefficient mode of attaining the result desired—that of dealing with what was a real and just grievance; but he thought it did attempt to meet it,

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

and, at any rate, would do so to a great extent. The grievance was that their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland thought it right to have secular and religious education combined. They should not, therefore, lose the means of obtaining a degree of their share of State assistance. It was to meet this grievance that the hon. Member for Roscommon proposed his Bill, which went directly to the root of the question, by proposing to give assistance to the Colleges for secular education only. The Government found there was something in the grievance; but they could not meet it in the direct way. They could not propose that aid should be directly given to the Colleges, for they had the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) and the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) to fear, and they had a great many hon. Gentlemen also, who were frightened by the notion of giving any such aid. Therefore, instead of giving the money directly, they gave it indirectly. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer still indulged a pleasant hope that the money would not result in payment to these Colleges; but they all knew now very well that this clause, which made the Bill into a new Bill entirely, and which was, in fact, the essence of the proposition—a clause without which the Irish Members would not have thought it worth while to assent to the Bill—contained its essence in the word “absolute.” They would have the prizes so arranged that they, perhaps, would be very considerable money-helps to the Colleges in which the young men were educated. He thought it was only fair they should do this. It would be much more straightforward and much more creditable to the House—he was not blaming the Government, for the House was much more to blame—if it had done this directly. There would have been greater safeguards for education if this money had been given to the Colleges direct. They would not then tempt young men to go to these places rather for money than for education, and the Bill would not be open to the very great objection that, instead of being an assistance to well-constituted Colleges—though it would be an assistance to those Colleges also—it would assist gentlemen whom they knew in that House as “crammers.” As re-

garded straightforwardness, he would have preferred the plan of the hon. Member for Roscommon; but as they could not put the matter straight on the Statute Book they must do it indirectly. That being a necessity, he supposed there was nothing for it but to accept the proposal of the Government. There was one other part of the clause to which he did object; but it was not an objection of sufficient moment to make him oppose the Bill. It was that part which would condemn the House to annual contests in this matter. He did not wish to have the time of Parliament taken up by these annual discussions, and he so far agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) that there should not be uncertainty in University Education. He was in great hopes that this Bill would now pass. It had been a remarkable process of education for hon. Gentlemen opposite, reminding them of another great Bill in which the same hon. Gentlemen were concerned. If it had been stated, on the day that the Government astonished the House at the end of the debate by announcing this new clause, that a Bill in this form would pass the House, some of the hon. Gentlemen opposite, including, probably, the hon. Member for North Warwickshire, would have been very much astonished. The Bill had come from the House of Lords in one shape; and then they knew very well what was the process of education pursued in former times. The measure was brought in with one interpretation, and then, while passing through the House, another interpretation was put upon it, and, as in this case, a much more satisfactory interpretation had certainly been arrived at. His hon. Friend the Member for North Warwickshire had been at school, and had been educated to some extent. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) hoped that he would not leave school very shortly; for, having been delighted to hear that his hon. Friend did not object to an annual grant by Parliament, there were strong reasons for hoping that before many years his hon. Friend would cease from resisting the making of a permanent grant.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that he did not remember a more marked instance of narrow-mindedness of modern Liberalism than the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Bradford (Mr.

W. E. Forster) had exhibited. He seemed to think that he (Mr. Newdegate) must be ignorant because he was a Protestant, and because, having opposed the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), he had now voted for the second reading of this Bill, when the right hon. Gentleman must know that in the present state of the House opposition was hopeless. He (Mr. Newdegate) would not uselessly expose himself to the imputation that he was unwilling to do what was called justice to Ireland. He was anxious to give facilities to any Irishman who, by presenting himself before competent Examiners, showed that he had ability which deserved support. But he was warned in this matter by the action that was now going on in France. At that moment, France was divided by faction. Several of the religious Orders of the Church of Rome, and especially the Jesuits, defied her laws and refused to submit their educational establishments to the supervision of the State. The Constitution of this country did not pretend to ignore those characteristics, and he objected to endowing such a Jesuit establishment as that of St. Francis Xavier, and several others in Dublin, just as he objected to repealing the clauses in the Relief Act of 1829 forbidding such establishments. The House had, in 1870, at his instance, granted a Select Committee to inquire concerning such Institutions, and it was proved before that Committee that the chief obstacle to the enormous extension of those establishments was their illegality, and their inability, therefore, to hold property in their own name. He had objected to the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon because it would have virtually, nay directly, have recognized, and thus have given a legal sanction to, while it would also have practically endowed, these Jesuit establishments. It might appear to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford that he (Mr. Newdegate) was extremely ignorant on this subject, and that he needed further education; he only wished that the right hon. Gentleman would extend his own education, for he seemed incapable of looking back into history, or of extending his views beyond the narrow confines of these Islands. If the right hon. Gentleman would look to France he might learn something, not from those who, like himself (Mr. Newdegate), he

respect of this Bill, and that of the hon. Member for Roscommon. With respect to the way in which the money was employed in the Queen's Colleges, he would only make one or two remarks. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Roscommon had shown that there were prizes for nearly every student, and that they were given away apparently in the most lavish manner. He (Mr. M'Laren) had made a calculation that the Queen's Colleges get £32,600 a-year from the Imperial Exchequer, while their students were less than 1,000 in number. Every one of these students must, therefore, cost the country over £32 annually. The money which had been devoted to these Colleges was intended for the benefit of all Ireland, but all Ireland would not accept of it; and he wanted to know, therefore, why part of that money could not be applied to the purposes of a University which was intended for the great majority of the Irish people. What was the position of the Scotch Universities? The amount contributed to them by Parliament was only £16,085, and as there were about 5,000 students, it followed that only £3 6s. was contributed out of the Imperial Exchequer for every Scotch University student, against more than £32 for every student of the Queen's Colleges. As he said before, he was not asking for anything for Scotland; but when he found that Ireland received so much more in respect of University Education, he was entitled to ask that a part of the money already granted to Ireland, which the Roman Catholics would not accept of, should be devoted to the new University intended specially for their benefit. Considering how undue would be the proportion of the money supplied by the inhabitants of Scotland and England, he hoped the subsidy would be considerably modified.

MR. MACARTNEY desired to say a few words as to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair). He (Mr. Macartney) was very much surprised to hear that right hon. Gentleman say that, by giving in this new University Scholarships of a substantial and valuable nature, they would be likely to deter poor men from entering for the purpose of education.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he had never made any statement of that kind. On the contrary, he said that the object

of Scholarships was to induce poor men to enter.

MR. MACARTNEY certainly understood the right hon. Gentleman, in one portion of his speech, to say that there were prizes or advantages held forth by this scheme of University Education which would not fulfil the purpose for which a measure of the kind ought to be brought in—namely, the education of the poorer classes in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman said that such was not his meaning, then, of course, what he (Mr. Macartney) was going to say fell to the ground. The hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. M'Laren) had had complained, in rather serious terms, of the disadvantage, in a pecuniary sense, to which Scotland would be put if the Bill became law; but he forgot, altogether, that if there was one part of the United Kingdom well furnished with educational Institutions it was Scotland, where there were four endowed Universities, as against the two possessed by Ireland. [MR. M'LAREN: But not supported by Parliament.] No; but in the same way as Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity, from old endowments. But if they limited Universities to Universities not established with public money, then Ireland would remain with only two. But he merely wanted to say that he was not very much in love with the measure; but he, with others, had accepted it in the belief that it might prove a beneficial compromise. The Government had a very difficult task to perform in finding a plan acceptable to hon. Members who said they represented Ireland, and acceptable, at the same time, to those Irish Members who were not disposed to swallow the measures proposed from the other side of the House. And now, considering how far the Bill had already progressed, he hoped it would not be opposed further by hon. Members who merely desired to air their own particular crotchets, and ride their own hobby-horses.

MR. FAWCETT said, his object in rising was not to prolong the discussion, but to offer a suggestion. It seemed to him that many of the points which had been discussed on the proposal of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) to reject the clause might be, and must, in fact, be raised on the Amendments to be moved to the clause; and, therefore, they might be in danger

of having that discussion twice over. For instance, frequent reference had been made to the very serious objection associated with putting the money intended to be given to the new University on the annual Votes, instead of giving it at once, either out of the Irish Church Surplus, or the Consolidated Fund. Certainly, he intended to move an Amendment on the clause which would raise that point, and, of course, it could then be discussed. Then, again, with regard to the question of absolute proficiency—an important point—he knew that an hon. Friend of his intended to move an Amendment to strike out those words; and, consequently, an opportunity would be afforded, later on, of saying whatever might be thought desirable on that point. He only wished to make one or two observations at the present time, in order to prevent a possible misunderstanding. His right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had said that he liked the Bill of the Government less than he liked the Bill of his hon. Friend the Member for the County of Roscommon (the O'Connor Don). So far as he (Mr. Fawcett) understood his right hon. Friend, one reason why he objected to the Government Bill, and liked the measure of the hon. Member for Roscommon County, was that the latter would have carried out more fully than the present Bill the principle of result fees. Well, he could only say, differing from his right hon. Friend on this point, that the reason why he liked the Government measure better was that it would carry out less fully the principle of result fees, and he should like it still better if it did not carry out that principle at all. He did not wish, on the present occasion, to raise again a discussion about result fees; but, considering the distinguished position which his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford occupied on that side of the House, it was well that he (Mr. Fawcett) should say that he did not believe that, in expressing the opinions which he had expressed that day, his right hon. Friend expressed the opinions entertained even by the majority, much less by the entire, Liberal Party. He (Mr. Fawcett) thought the Government had already gone too far; but if they had gone further in the direction sketched out by his right hon. Friend, the danger that

they would have had to encounter was, he thought, shown by a recent Division which took place in that House, on which occasion 14 Members sitting on the Front Opposition Bench voted one way, and took 28 English and Scotch Liberals with them; while those forming the independent section of the Party took with them exactly double that number of English and Scotch Liberals. Therefore, without saying now which was right, or which was wrong, he certainly thought that if the Government had gone further in the direction which his right hon. Friend had advised they would have met, not only with a considerable opposition on their own side, but also with a very serious opposition from that side of the House.

MR. C. S. PARKER thought that the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) had given excellent advice; and he, for one, meant to follow it. He should not say a word in regard to any points which could be discussed properly upon Amendments to the clause; and he only wished, as a Scotch Member, to give his support to the second reading of the clause, and to say a word or two only on its principle. The principle on which Parliament had hitherto acted in this matter had been to give national aid to no University Education in Ireland which was not conducted on the principle of mixed, or joint education. In the Bill which had already been read a second time, the Bill as it stood without this clause, a certain definite advance had been made. The principle of the Bill, which the House had already accepted, was that henceforward the State should give aid and should give degrees in Ireland to men who might not have been educated jointly, but as they pleased. Well, what was the principle of this clause, as distinct from that of the Bill? He took it that the principle of the clause was that there should be further and sufficient endowments, in order that the new system might have adequate working power. When the Bill was introduced without this clause it was almost impossible to believe that it embodied the whole plan; because it resembled, one might say, a watch without a mainspring. The endowments of the Queen's University, transferred to the new University, were not sufficient to give the latter working power; and the principle of this clause, he understood, was to give further and

*Mr. Fawcett*

sufficient endowments. He might make one remark, not on a point of detail, but on the question whether this was a direct or an indirect way of proceeding. Some language had been used by his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford which he thought could not have been very palatable to Members of the Government. He certainly used the word "indirect" in a manner which might be considered as somewhat offensive. Now, the question as to whether any course was direct or indirect must depend upon the end which they had in view, because what was a direct path to one end might be a very indirect path to another end. He gave the Government credit for this—that the end they had in view was to give sufficient support by endowment to education in the new University, and he apprehended that they had no more direct way to that end than by giving pecuniary assistance to the students themselves. If their end was to assist the Roman Catholics of Ireland especially, then he admitted that to pay the students would be an indirect course to that end. But if the object which the Government had in view was that which they professed—namely, not to endow Roman Catholicism, but education, then he thought the most direct mode of doing it was that adopted in this clause. He should say nothing now on the details of the clause, because they could be discussed later on; but there was one other important point of principle which, if pointed out, might save a great deal of discussion. The principle on which the clause was drawn was, that Parliament should not close the question at the present time, when the details of the scheme were not before it. It was remarked the other day that in some respects the Bill, with this new clause, was almost equivalent to a Royal Commission. It had certainly a resemblance to the mode of proceeding by Royal Commission; and it was most important that they should remember that the clause proposed to put the whole thing into the hands of competent academical authorities, that they might draw up a scheme, and distinctly reserved to Parliament criticism upon that scheme hereafter, whether as to the amount of the endowments, the mode of their distribution, or the standards of proficiency. Therefore, he thought they should not

now discuss these details, but should give an united support to the clause, and next Session they would have an opportunity before the money was voted of entering into details.

MR. COURTNEY agreed fully with his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) that it was inexpedient to raise discussions now which would be renewed again by-and-bye; and, therefore, he was not going to enter into any discussion of the merits of the proposal to make grants "in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency," inasmuch as he proposed, when they came to these words, to move their omission. But occasionally it led to economy of time to get some points in dispute cleared up; and, in relation to this matter, he could not help seeing that there was some confusion at present in the Committee as to what was intended, which might be removed before they really entered on the discussion of the Amendments to the clause. His hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) had said that if he thought by these words it was meant to give prizes in the form of Exhibitions to persons for pass examinations he would most stoutly oppose it. He thought that if his hon. Friend would look at the previous subsection he would see that there was a danger of something of that kind being intended, because it was there stated that the prizes should be awarded for proficiency. But he did not want to dwell upon that point now. What he did wish to point out to his hon. Friend was this. He also said that it would be well to avoid competition between the University of London and the new University—competition which might seriously affect the standard required in either of these Universities—by confining the new University to Irishmen, so that it should be for Ireland, while he went on to say that the University of London should be open to all the world.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE wished to explain. His noble Friend the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had pointed out the evils of "marauding students," and, without laying down any hard-and-fast rule, he (Mr. Beresford Hope) was dwelling on the necessity of preventing the new University becoming a hunting field for the whole world.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would like to know how his hon. Friend proposed to do that.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he was not the Senate, to whom it would have to be left. ["Hear, hear!"]

MR. COURTNEY said, hon. Members might cheer that remark; but either they were going to exclude certain persons who went for this object, or not. The "marauding students," as they had been called, were very well known to the University of Cambridge. They came from Scotland, from London, and elsewhere; and he did not see how, if residence was not essential, it would be possible to exclude them from the new University. He could not appreciate the way in which it was proposed to meet the difficulty; but he would reserve his criticisms on the point.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that before the clause was put he thought there ought to be an answer to the simple question put at the beginning—namely, what was to be the limit of the money to be given under it? It was no answer to say that the amount was to be fixed by the Senate, for there could be no possible limit if the Senate was to have *carte blanche* in the matter. He much feared that if the scheme of the Senate was laid before Parliament and the country, just on the eve of a General Election, Her Majesty's Government would not be much inclined to deal harshly with it, even though it proposed a large expenditure of public money. He could not but remark upon the strange and unwonted unanimity of silence on the part of the Irish Members. ["Hear, hear!"] It was quite clear that they did not want to prolong the discussion. [*Cheers.*] It had been said that if the Irish Members were satisfied there was no reason why others should not be. But they had to pay for it, and he did not think it was conclusive in favour of the Bill that the Irish Members were satisfied and silent. It was a silence which he feared was due to the fact that the Senate were to be endowed with practically unlimited powers to endow the new Irish University out of money provided by the taxation of the whole United Kingdom. He had been looking at the Estimates of the London University, and he found that the grants for Scholarships and Exhibitions there were extremely mode-

rate. If the Government would assure them that the endowments were to be fixed on the scale of the London University, he, for one, would cease his opposition.

MR. FAWCETT appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) not to divide against the clause, because, if he did, he would place many hon. Members in a very awkward position. If the clause was amended, some of them would not object to it; but, if it was not amended, they would have a straighter issue on the proposal that the clause be added to the Bill, because, then, they would divide upon the broad question.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he should challenge the Question, but not insist on a Division.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause read a second time accordingly.

MR. FAWCETT said, he had now a very important Amendment to propose—an Amendment which would have the effect of raising again a question which had been raised before, but not settled. As far as he understood what had been already said, there was an unanimous feeling against raising the necessary funds in such a way as that they should form an annual Parliamentary grant, and thereby form the basis of an annual Parliamentary debate. Whatever views he might hold as to the expediency or in expediency of establishing this University, Parliament had decided in its favour; and he now wished simply, as a practical politician, accepting the opinion of the majority in the House, to make the new Institution as efficient as possible in an educational point of view. It could not be urged that the passing of the Bill would in any way tend to the promotion of higher culture in Ireland if the machinery of the Bill was so constructed as that it would open the door to annual political wrangles in the future, and especially as, at the outset, the scheme of the Senate would be promulgated on the eve of a General Election, and would be subject to all the demoralizing influences which usually prevailed at periods of the kind. It would be unfortunate that this new University should be put in such a position as that it would be in perpetual danger of being sacrificed to the exigencies of rival



political Parties in the House; especially would it be unfortunate that such a course should be taken at the present moment, when the country was on the eve of a General Election. Nothing could be more important than to keep the great educational Institutions of these Kingdoms free from the blighting and benumbing effects of political conflict. There had always been an anxiety to take this course as far as the older Universities were concerned, and he saw no reason why the principle should be started or renewed now that it was proposed to found a new University. It would be cause for regret that, after this new University had been founded, Parliament should be subject to the annual wrangles which for many years marked the application for the Maynooth Grant. The next question was as to the source from which the endowments for the new University should be drawn; and this, though important, was, in his view, a matter of secondary importance as compared with the question of making the grant a subject for annual vote and annual wrangle in Parliament. To take it from the Consolidated Fund would be to bring about the result which he wished to attain; but he could see no reason why it should not be taken from the Irish Church Fund, especially as money had already been taken from that Fund in order to provide for the cost of Intermediate Education in Ireland. Notwithstanding what had been said on that point, he could not admit that the applying of part of these funds to the promotion of the higher education of the Irish would be taking a course likely to benefit the rich as against the poor of the country; for an Institution in the nature of a University, wisely administered, would be as much, in the long run, to the interest of the poor as of the rich, in that it would offer to poor boys of ability as great advantages in the way of education as were enjoyed by the sons of the wealthiest people in the land. He would, therefore, move, as an Amendment, that the monies necessary for the conduct of this University should be drawn from the Irish Church Surplus Fund.

Mr. SHAW agreed with a great deal that had been said by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett). Nothing was more inconvenient than having questions connected with education, especially

the education of a country like Ireland, where Parties were so violent, and where, unfortunately, sometimes political feeling ran so high, being constantly brought forward for discussion; but he thought this was hardly the time for raising the point. In fact, it struck him that they had been occupying three-quarters of a day in discussing a scheme which they hoped to have before them next year in all its details; and he imagined that when the scheme of the Senate came before the House, that would be the time to move the Amendment now proposed by the hon. Member for Hackney. He did not think there could be any more suitable application of the Church Surplus Fund than to the purposes of education in Ireland. If they devoted that Fund to any other purpose, almost—if they devoted it, for instance, to the maintenance of lunatics, who were numerous in Ireland as well as in England, they would find that every such application of the money, although it looked a very sensible thing on the surface, would really relieve the rich rather than the poor, because all such matters were better provided for out of the rates. But education in Ireland, unfortunately, was in a very unfortunate state, and this Bill was the first step towards re-organization. No doubt, discussions on the Estimates on the question of education were inconvenient; but that could not possibly be avoided, and they would not be avoided until there was a full and complete settlement of the question. Irish Members did not intend that expense should be put upon the Church Surplus, or the Consolidated Fund, or upon the annual Votes, until they had seen the plan, and until they knew what was about to be done. When they knew what was to be done—and he had every hope that it would be a fair and full settlement of the question—it would be found that no men in the House were more anxious to remove these discussions, or anything that was irritating or unpleasant, and to place these subjects as they ought to be outside the region of Party politics. Nothing was more detrimental to the cause of education than Party squabbles; and he must say that both in and out of the House there had been one or two references made which were unworthy of the men who made them. It was suggested that "sops"

had been thrown to the Irish Members, and that their votes had been retained. Such things were perfectly absurd, and he thought they were very discreditable to the hon. Gentlemen who put them forward. The Government of the day were in duty bound to bring forward measures which they thought would be for the good of the country; and were the Irish Members to be taunted and insulted, because they thought it right to support those measures which were honest movements towards a settlement of that great question? It would be perfectly absurd on their part, and they would be worthy of a lunatic asylum, if they did not honestly support anything of that kind, no matter from what quarter it came. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) said it was impossible, if a certain line of conduct were pursued, for the Liberal Party ever to come back to power again. In his (Mr. Shaw's) opinion, it would be perfectly impossible for the Liberal Party to come into power at the next General Election, if there were not a much larger proportion of "stupid men" returned to the House on their side.

MR. W. E. FORSTER wished to know the exact meaning of the words in the clause—"Of the moneys to be provided by Parliament." Would it cover the case of a Vote out of the Consolidated Fund, or would it only apply to monies provided by annual Vote?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was unable to say what the legal construction of the words might be. The Government in framing the words certainly intended that the provision should be by annual Vote; and had, therefore, used the ordinary phrase that was commonly adopted for that purpose.

MR. FAWCETT said, he had no desire to put the Committee to the trouble of an unnecessary Division, and he would be content to withdraw his Amendment if he could obtain an assurance from the Government that the necessary funds would not necessitate an annual grant and possible debate. He would suggest that words might be introduced which would only pledge Parliament to vote the money, and would leave it an open question as to the source from which the money should be taken.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, of course, it would be com-

petent for Parliament to pass a Bill directing the money to be taken from some particular source; but the course that was now being taken was the right one to secure that Parliament should have control over the starting of the new scheme. If afterwards it should be the pleasure of Parliament to make a more permanent arrangement, that would be a matter for consideration; but he did not think the present Parliament had any right to bind a future Parliament on the subject. Some other arrangement might be made afterwards. He quite felt the force of the argument that this educational question ought to be removed from the field of Party discussion as far as possible. That applied to all the Universities in the Kingdom. But Parliament must have a proper control over the system; and between the two difficulties he feared they were not at present ripe for making an arrangement for the adoption of such a course as seemed to be favoured by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) and others.

MR. COURTNEY remarked, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said if this clause were adopted as it now stood nothing would be necessary to be done after the scheme had been submitted to Parliament, but to move an annual Vote in the ordinary Estimates, which, of course, would be incorporated afterwards in the Appropriation Bill. Therefore, by accepting the clause as it stood, they would accept the question of an annual Vote. Now, what would happen if they struck out the words altogether about "moneys to be provided by Parliament," and inserted nothing in their place? He thought that would meet the difficulty. They would then be in this position. The Senate would draw up their scheme, and it would be for the House then to consider how the money should be provided. They would then be bound to consider it, which, according to the present wording of the clause, they would not be. He and others wished to have the question reserved—and necessarily reserved—for consideration, and that was the whole point. They wished to secure the guarantee that would be afforded to them by the necessity of having a Bill brought in to determine out of what fund that money should be taken. If those words passed they would not be so placed, and he wished to have that

*Mr. Shaw*

point reserved. He might claim, at any rate, that the House should not so far prejudice the question as to say the funds should be provided by Parliament. The question would come before the House in a proper shape if they determined now nothing about the fund. Therefore, he thought his hon. Friend might very well persevere in a Motion to strike out those words.

MR. SYNAN said, now he could fully appreciate the humour of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), when he said he expected the next General Election would send them stupid men on that side of the House. Nothing could form a stronger argument to illustrate that than the proposition of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). Here was a scheme to pay for Scholarships, prizes, and Exhibitions, and the scheme was proposed to be left a blank as to the means which it was to provide. That was to say, the Senate was to apply the means out of a blank. They might as well send a blank bill into the market to be negotiated as to leave a blank of that kind. Surely, it only required to be looked at, and the absurdity of the suggestion proved itself, without further comment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER did not see how the Government could accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for Liskeard, although it was quite true the words were in the Preamble, which was not generally considered to contain enacting words. He entirely agreed with the arguments of his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett). He was strongly opposed to having an annual Vote, and he saw no reason why this money should not be provided out of the Church Surplus, just as much as for Intermediate Education, and just as much as for some other projects which the Government had got in hand. But he appealed to his hon. Friend not to press his Amendment to a Division, and for this reason—that he must be very well aware there would be a large majority against him, and that would rather more bind the House in its future action than if the words were allowed to stand without a Division, especially after the Chancellor of the Exchequer's express declaration—which he was glad to hear—that not only was the House not precluded from making an alteration by Bill, but, as he understood the right

hon. Gentleman to say, he was aware of the difficulties that would permanently result from having an annual Vote. It was not very easy to provide any other thing than that the first money should be taken by an annual Vote, because if it was to be done in any other way at the beginning they would have to introduce clauses accordingly into the Bill. Therefore, he hoped his hon. Friend would be content with having raised the question.

MR. FAWCETT said, although he had had some considerable experience in dividing against majorities, he felt he might be doing more harm than good if he divided on this question. His Amendment would probably be defeated by a very large majority, and that might be used as an argument that the House had decided, by a very large majority, against paying this money out of the Irish Church Surplus. He understood, from the interpretation of his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster), that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not consider the words in question were an actual pledge to the House in favour of the system of annual Votes, and, indeed, as he understood it, they could not do so. All they could say was, that they pledged themselves that a certain sum of money should be provided by Parliament; and it seemed to him it would be equally provided by Parliament, whether it were provided out of the Consolidated Fund, or the Irish Church Surplus, or the annual Votes. Therefore, reserving to himself the right of raising this question whenever the scheme was presented to Parliament, he should certainly—after the favourable reception which the proposal as to the Irish Church Surplus had received—not give the Committee the trouble of dividing on the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. KAVANAGH begged to move the Amendment he had on the Paper, as follows:—

“To insert after the words ‘and other prizes,’ in line 3, the following words:—‘including the payments to the heads or other governing bodies of colleges of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students.’”

He was anxious to remove, as far as he could, the inequality which it struck him would remain after the Bill had passed, as it stood at present, and he should feel bound to take the sense of

the Committee upon it. The new clause provided that there should be certain prizes open to all comers, and, so far, there was equality. But there was inequality, in so far as all parties would not possess the same opportunities of preparing themselves for the competition. Now, hon. Members on his side of the House would not listen to any proposition for levelling down by disendowment of existing Institutions, and there seemed to be equal objections to the plan of levelling up. In face of the objections to these two plans, he could not see any other way of dealing with the matter than by his Amendment, and that was by granting results fees to the heads or Governing Bodies of Colleges, to be paid for proficiency in secular subjects. By that means, the money would be allowed to go in aid of those teaching Institutions which the House could not directly endow, and he hoped that by degrees those teaching Institutions, which at present had no State aid at all, would improve in their condition and efficiency, and that, indirectly, the inequality he had endeavoured to indicate would be in a great measure removed. He believed his proposal would effect that, without infringing, in the slightest degree, upon what he might call the now-exploded principle of denominational endowment, because his Amendment was governed by sub-section 1 of the new clause, which provided that these Exhibitions and prizes should be awarded for proficiency in secular education, and not for any subject of religious instruction. That, he thought, would remove any objection to his Amendment on the ground of religious endowment. All he desired was that some of the result fees should be given to the teachers instead of to the scholars. He proposed that it should be open to all, to Protestants, to Presbyterians, to Methodists, just as much as to Roman Catholics, and he could not think there was very much denominationalism in that. But he must ask, if that was so, what was there essentially different between a result fee and a Scholarship, Exhibition, or other prize? Were they not all the means of giving money—was not that what they all, practically, did? That being so, he did not think the principle of his Amendment could be so dangerous as was represented. It was simply to allow some

of these money payments to be made to the teacher, instead of to the student. As he said before, it was guarded against being viewed in any sectarian or religious light by the words of sub-section 1, and it was, in no sense, a denominational grant. If the Committee rejected the Amendment, they would be refusing to place the students of these Roman Catholic Colleges on the same footing as other students; and he did not think anybody would wish to refuse to the Roman Catholics, simply because they were Roman Catholics, proper treatment in this matter. It was mere sophistry to represent that result fees were denominational endowments, and that Scholarships, and other prizes, were not. He hoped the Government would see their way to accept some such Amendment as this.

*Amendment proposed,*

In line 3, after the word "prizes," to insert the words "including the payments to the heads or other governing bodies of colleges of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students."—(*Mr. Kavanagh.*)

*Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."*

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Carlow (*Mr. Kavanagh*) that it would be a fairer way, and a less mischievous way, to pay directly for the secular results of education, rather than indirectly, and that it would remove very much the deterioratory influence which would arise if they made the Scholarships of a very high value, and brought them into competition with other Universities. But he begged the hon. Member for Carlow to observe the terms of his Amendment, and in what way it would work. He did not think the hon. Member intended it to work in that way; but it would be impossible for himself and his Friends to vote for it, unless the form was changed, because there was no definition in the Amendment of the Colleges to which it referred. The result would be, if the Amendment were passed as it stood, that they would be doubly endowing all the small "diocesan Colleges," as they were called, of Ireland. He was sure that was not what the hon. Member intended. If the hon. Member were to add to the word "Colleges" in his Amendment words like these—"which the Senate approves as

*Mr. Kavanagh*

having a sufficient curriculum of education"—that would express what he meant, and would enable some hon. Members, who could not vote for the endowment of mere diocesan Colleges, to vote for the Amendment. He only wanted the Committee to understand the Amendment before they discussed it.

MR. MACARTNEY thought if the Committee accepted the Amendment of the proposed Amendment they would stultify themselves, and if it had the slightest chance of passing it would be better to reject the Government Bill altogether, and take the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don). This Amendment, as amended, was, in fact, that hon. Gentleman's Bill shortened. If the Committee adopted what the House had already rejected when it was brought forward by a leading Member of what was called the National Irish Party and a Representative of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland—if they accepted the very same thing from a Protestant Member on the Ministerial side of the House they would certainly surprise him very much.

THE O'CONOR DON said, he concurred, to a certain extent, with his hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) that if the Amendment were adopted it would make the Bill very much more like the Bill that he had the honour to introduce; but he really thought that since the Government Bill was first brought into notice it had been approaching his Bill by degrees. Even with regard to the fund from which, eventually, the University would be supplied with money for carrying on its proceedings, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had indicated, he (the O'Connor Don) thought pretty plainly to-day, that very likely next year, or the year after, the fund that was so much objected to would be devoted to the purposes of this new University. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose to state that he did not say that.] Well, he would not enlarge upon the point, but would confine his attention to the subject really before the Committee. He was quite sure the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) would not object to the insertion in his Amendment of some such words as those suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair). If (the

O'Connor Don) quite concurred with his right hon. Friend that the Amendment, as it stood, was objectionable. In the Bill he had the honour to introduce the Colleges were defined, and it was desired to limit them, and to shut out from the payment of result fees all the small diocesan Colleges. He could not support a proposal to give result fees to all those intermediate or ordinary schools. He did not know whether it would be in Order to amend the Amendment; but, if required, he would venture to move the insertion of the words which had been suggested.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would be quite in Order in moving to amend the Amendment if he thought proper.

MR. KAVANAGH said, he was quite willing to withdraw his Amendment, in order to allow the hon. Member for Roscommon to move his.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that would not be necessary.

THE O'CONOR DON said, in that case he would move to amend the Amendment by inserting the words "which the Senate approves as having a sufficient curriculum of education."

Amendment proposed, to the proposed Amendment,

After the word "colleges," to insert the words "which the Senate approves as having a sufficient curriculum of education." — (*The O'Connor Don.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted into the proposed Amendment."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he was sorry to have to object to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh); but it was contrary to the principle of the Bill, inasmuch as it went to the extent of endowment of denominational institutions, and, for that reason, he should feel bound to vote against it. Reference had been made to the fact that the Government had introduced alterations and modifications of their original plan; but, as he stated last night, those alterations were entirely in accord with the statements which were made in "another place" on the introduction of the Bill. If that was considered inconsistency, there was one point on which the Government had been less inconsistent. They had always said they could not

sanction this principle of result fees. Personally, he had always objected to the money earned by University students being handed, behind their backs, to somebody else; and he thought it was a sound principle that the payment of students should be personal to the students themselves, and not to the denominational institutions at which they had received their education. An hon. Gentleman representing an important Irish constituency announced just now that the acceptance of this Amendment would be fatal to the Bill; and the matter really came to this—Her Majesty's Government objected to the introduction of this principle, and apparently a large section of the House also objected to it, and the question they had to consider now was this—were the Committee willing to accept the Bill as it stood on this point, as a reasonable scheme for the settlement of Irish University Education, or did they desire to compel the Government to abandon the scheme altogether, in favour of another which he thought was not likely to obtain acceptance in this or any other Parliament? He hoped his hon. Friend would be satisfied with having raised a discussion on the point, and would not press his Amendment to a Division.

Mr. SHAW said, he was in great hopes that the Government were about to accept this Amendment; but they seemed to have been frightened by the short speech of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney). He (Mr. Shaw) would try, if possible, to reassure the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Tyrone was, no doubt, a Member of very great ability, with a very large following in that House, and his opposition to this Amendment would be a very serious thing. But, on the other hand, he (Mr. Shaw) knew most of the hon. Members who sat on his own side of the House did regard with very great favour indeed this Amendment, and he could not, for the life of him, see why the Government should object to pass it. One very strong argument he could put forward, and that was, that if this Amendment were passed it must sweep off every other Amendment on the Bill, because all the other Amendments were set down on the supposition that this one would not pass. He was sure the

noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) would not press his Amendment if this were accepted; and other hon. Members, he believed, would do the same. The result would be that the Government would very quickly pass this Bill, and it would be impossible to say what amount of Business they would get through between that time and 6 o'clock, for they would all be in such a state of good humour. This, it must be remembered, was really a very serious question, for it raised the point whether the education the Government was going to give under the Bill should be a scattered thing all over Ireland, thrown into the hands of private schools, or whether they should endeavour to make it a real thing, and so have four or five Colleges in Ireland which would act as the centres of light and influence to the rising generation. He was quite sure the Government desired to do the best thing for the Bill; and he had not the least doubt that they were frightened, more than was necessary, by the opposition offered by a few hon. Members who were not Gentlemen carrying immense weight in the House. This could not, in any sense of the word, be looked on as a denominational endowment. The Government had often been taunted with following too much in the lines of the Bill of the hon. Member for Roscommon; but he (Mr. Shaw) did not think they should be turned away from passing a good Bill by that taunt. There certainly was a great difference between the two Bills; and he would say at once, if this change were admitted, that the Government Bill was the better one of the two. One of its present advantages was that it did not establish a new third University in Ireland, but took old existing Institutions and endeavoured to work them into one large University. In that way it was preferable to the former Bill; and it only wanted this one Amendment, which he hoped the Government would consent to, to make it a very different measure. He therefore hoped the Government would regard it favourably, and not be frightened by the opposition of the hon. Member for Tyrone.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am afraid the matter goes further than that. This is really the cardinal point, or one of the cardinal points, upon which the scheme of the

*Mr. J. Leuther*

Government rests. We may be right, or we may be wrong; that is another question; but we are proposing this scheme on the principle of not giving result fees. We feel that it would be very difficult indeed to insure the working of a system of result fees; we shall not run the risk, at all events, of making this a denominational endowment; and, after having very carefully considered the subject, we have come to the determination that we must really have nothing to do with the system of payment of results fees. The matter, no doubt, is one on which a great deal may be said on both sides; but, in announcing the opinion and determination of the Government, I must say we should feel ourselves entirely breaking faith with the House if we were to attempt so serious and complete a modification of the Bill as is proposed. Now, it is said that by giving payments to the students through these Scholarships and Exhibitions we indirectly give result fees to certain Institutions. It is impossible to say what may be the indirect effect in some cases of prizes so given; but in a very large proportion of cases, at all events, I very much doubt whether it will have any effect of that kind. You give to the student, who has qualified himself by such means as he may find the opportunity of obtaining, a prize or an Exhibition. Well, it is said he would immediately go and hand it over to the College or Institution at which he received his education, and in that way Institutions will indirectly receive the benefit. Of course, the student may dispose, as he pleases, of the money that may come to him; but I do think it extremely improbable that that would be the kind of use made of it as a general rule. The question, of course, is one whether the student should be incited by his own exertions to get a better education for himself, or whether he is to be making money, not for the promotion of his own education, but to assist the education of others. When a young man gains a Scholarship of £10, £20, or £30, that, of course, is a great advantage to him, and it enables him to continue the education he would not have been otherwise able to get on better terms. Perhaps the Institution might get some of it; but that is a very different thing to its being handed over and distributed amongst other persons who are to have

nothing to do with the earning of it. That, of course, is the distinction and the principle. I can only add that when the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) says if we pass this Amendment the Bill will at once be done with, that, perhaps, it would be done with in a different sense to what he means. It is impossible for the Government to accept this Amendment.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, nothing could have been more artistic than the way in which the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) had endeavoured to persuade the Government to accept this Amendment. But although he was generally successful in his attempts, he did not expect him to succeed in it on this occasion. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) did not doubt it was a cardinal point in the Government Bill that there should be no results fees, for nothing in the Bill gave direct aid to the Colleges. He did not want to say anything which appeared to cast a slur upon the action of the Government; but really the cardinal point alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that they should do this thing without appearing to do it, and that they should give aid to these Colleges, and, at the same time, that hon. Members should be able to tell their constituents that the Government declared that they would not give it, and were merely paying individuals what they earned. One would suppose that they were bringing in a new mode of earning money. They did not vote the money that these young men might live by it, but in order that they might get themselves better taught, and to give them opportunities of being taught. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he did not suppose the money the individual student received would be paid to those interested in helping him to earn it, he could only reply that, of course, it would be paid to the superintendents or the managers of the Colleges or Institutions at which he had received his education. The right hon. Gentleman declared that he would not give these annual payments simply to enable a man to go into a higher education as a sort of mode of earning so largely; but that the money was given in order that young men should be able to get their education more or less at the public expense. That surely meant that

the Colleges should be paid for giving it them. It was perfectly true that there was no more denominational endowment in the one case than in the other. He thought there would be none in giving direct aid to the Colleges, provided it were given for secular results and for secular education only. He was convinced this would end in result fees. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had said the Committee would stultify itself by accepting this Amendment. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) differed from the hon. Member, for he thought the Committee would stultify itself by voting against the Amendment. They were going to give this advantage, as everyone knew, to the Irish Members, and were going to accept these proposals, because they would give, as everyone knew, aid to the Colleges. The real stultification was that they were trying to persuade themselves, and trying to persuade their constituents, in which they would be thoroughly unsuccessful, that this was not so. If the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Kavanagh) went to a Division, he (Mr. W. E. Forster) should certainly vote with him; but he was afraid his Amendment was far too straightforward to stand any chance of being accepted.

MR. NEWDEGATE could quite understand the attachment of hon. Members to the Colleges at which they had received their education. He had been at some pains to ascertain which were the Colleges which would receive a benefit under this Amendment. He found that the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) was educated at Clongowes Wood. The hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan) was educated at Clongowes Wood. The hon. Member for Cavan was educated at Clongowes Wood. And this was known to be a Jesuit establishment, which was early after its institution under the presidency or direction of Father Keuny, who was at first one of the Professors of Maynooth. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway had given them a specimen of his education in that House, for there had been no more determined Obstructive than the hon. and gallant Member.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member for North Warwickshire that the conduct of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway is not a sub-

ject for discussion, more especially as he is not in his place.

MR. GRAY rose to Order. He wished to know whether, in any case, to describe an hon. Member as a "persistent Obstructive" was in Order; and, whether the use of such words was Parliamentary?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray) has asked me a question which it is, perhaps, not very easy to answer, because there is no doubt the highest authority in this House has laid down that wilful and persistent obstruction amounts to a breach of the Privileges of the House. At the same time, I must point out that the word "obstructive" is certainly a Parliamentary phrase, and there cannot be any doubt that the hon. Member for North Warwickshire is in his right to say that the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) is obstructing or has obstructed a particular measure. It would be rather in the application of the phrase that any breach of the Order of the House would consist. I think to merely state he had obstructed would not be a breach of Order. To say that he has practised determined obstruction is probably more open to question.

MR. GRAY begged to remind the Chairman that the words used were "persistent Obstructive."

THE CHAIRMAN: I think I shall be in the recollection of the Committee that that was not the phrase used by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire. The words he used were "determined Obstructive," and I am bound to say he was rather trenching there upon the limits of Order.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he would certainly be more careful in future. He found that the hon. and gallant Member (Major Nolan) was educated at Clongowes Wood. So was the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan). The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) was educated at St. Ignatius's College, Tuam; and the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. O'Clery) at St. Munchin's College, Limerick. He could excuse the partiality of these hon. Members for the places of their education; but, at the same time, he could not help thinking that this partiality ought not to influence the Committee so far as to induce them, by adopting this Amendment, to abrogate the main principle of the Bill in favour

*Mr. W. E. Forster*



of the views of a particular section of that House. He could only say that he rejoiced that Her Majesty's Government were about to reject this Amendment, for if they had consented to accept it he should have felt it his duty to do everything in his power to defeat the Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT did not exactly understand why this reference had been made to the places where hon. Gentlemen were educated. It was not to be supposed that everyone educated at those Colleges held the exact opinions of the hon. Members to whom reference had been made. By a book on the Table, he found that the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) was educated at Eton and Christ Church. Now, he (Sir William Harcourt) did not think it would be correct to suppose for a moment that everybody who had been educated at Eton and Christ Church held the same views as the hon. Member. He rose, however, for the purpose of asking the Government to answer the question to which no reply had yet been given. He understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to affirm that result fees were not in their nature a direct endowment of the Institutions to which they were given; but that if secondary results fees were given to denominational Institutions, that was a denominational endowment. Now, he wished to ask the Government when they gave result fees in the Intermediate Education Act, did they intend to give endowments to denominational Institutions? That was given out of the Funds of the Irish Church. Now, he wanted to ask what was the value of their cardinal principle? Was this principle not a cardinal principle when applied to Intermediate Education, and was it a cardinal principle when applied to University Education? That was a question which deserved an answer, and yet the Government had never attempted to answer it, except in one phrase of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who said that the children educated in intermediate schools were younger than those educated in Colleges. No doubt they were; but how did that affect the cardinal principle? The Institutions were in either case equally denominational. He thought he had heard it said, and he believed it was so, that the Institutions to which they gave result fees in the Bill of last year

were, if possible, more denominational than any of the Institutions which would come under the provisions of this Bill. If they were to get a list of those schools, they would find names quite as alarming as any of those which they had recently heard as the result of the research and ingenuity of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate.) [The O'CONNOR DON said, they were the same.] He was told that they were the same denominational Institutions which Government had already endowed out of the Funds of the Irish Church. Now, he wanted to know what had become of their cardinal principle? He would venture to call it, as his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford had done, a hollow sham with which they were going to the country, to pretend that in this Bill they had not given any endowment to denominational Institutions. Had not the Government endowed denominational Institutions in the Intermediate Education Act? They gave result fees there; but now they declined to give denominational endowments. Why was it right to give it last year, and where was the value of their cardinal principle, when they would not give it this? What was the distinction between the two cases? If he was right the Institutions were exactly the same. Why was this cardinal principle observed when they gave it to children under the name of Intermediate Education, and why was it not observed when they gave it under the name of University Education? Such a pretence as that would not hold water. The moment these things were examined they were seen to be a complete sham, and when the Government were pretending to take their stand upon some sort of definite principle it was quite evident that they had no principle to stand upon at all. The Government said there were two things they could not do. They could not give result fees to denominational Institutions. His answer was, they had done it. The next thing they said they could not do was that they could not think of giving endowments out of the Irish Church, because that would go to denominational education. His answer again was, they had done it. These were questions which were sure to be discussed, and would deserve very different answers from those already received. He would ask either the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer or the Chief Secretary for Ireland to tell them how this cardinal principle was preserved in the case of the Intermediate Education Act, but would be violated by the Amendment proposed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: What I said was, that the payment of result fees would render denominational endowment much more disadvantageous than the payment of prizes to individuals. The hon. and learned Gentleman says, is not the case the same as you made out for Intermediate Education as working in that way? Well, I am not prepared to say whether it has or has not worked exactly in that way. But, undoubtedly, the main difficulty of the Government proceedings at the beginning of the Session to legislate upon the Irish University Question was that we wished to see how Intermediate Education would work. If it is true, as we are told, that the effect of what has been done amounts to the endowment of denominational education, that is only an additional reason for our being more cautious as to what we do in the much more important and serious question of University Education. The case on which the Vote for Intermediate Education rested was a wholly different one. When you had no proper system of Intermediate Education in Ireland you were desirous of providing—and you were, therefore, taking steps to endeavour to provide—for the establishment of a proper Intermediate Education system. But here you have in Ireland a system of University Education, which you are endeavouring to make more efficient. That is one distinction between the two cases. There is also a very great distinction with regard to those who are to benefit by your assistance. We are told, by giving prizes to individual students, we are doing indirectly what we refused to do directly. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) endeavours to point out to us that that is the case. Let us take an illustration. Supposing you had a system of Exhibitions founded in order to enable young men who were receiving their education somewhere or other to continue their education at the University of Oxford. Supposing you said that you would give Scholarships of £50 a-year, or whatever it might be, to enable them to go to

Oxford, to any man who could obtain it. Supposing a young man comes up from Rugby, and he obtains it, and it enables him to go to College at Oxford, he gets that money for himself. But supposing you said, if he got the prize in this examination, he was to return to Rugby, where he had obtained his education up to that point, you would then be giving the money not for himself, not to enable him to pursue his education at Oxford, which he could not do without the Scholarship, but you would be giving something for the benefit of the school at which he was educated. If we were to adopt the proposals of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) the money would go, not to the young man to enable him to continue his education, but it would go as a pecuniary payment to the Institution which had produced the scholar. In the intermediate system it is altogether different, because he would remain at the Institution, and the money he earned would enable the Institution to give, or continue to give, a better education than would otherwise be afforded him. But that would not be the case with University prizes. What I said was, not that I considered this to be a cardinal principle which must be adopted in every case, but a cardinal principle of this Bill—that we having to deal with University Education, and being about to bring a system of University training into competition with another University training such as you have already, then it was necessary we should take care, in so doing, that we did not attempt to endow the Institutions out of which the young men were to come who were to gain their degrees and finish their education at this University.

MR. W. E. FORSTER pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his question. The right hon. Gentleman put the case of a young man coming from Rugby and going to Oxford and winning an Exhibition there. No doubt, in that case, the money for the Exhibition went into the pocket of the student, and not into the pocket of the Rugby School. But did the right hon. Gentleman suppose for a moment that the cases were similar? These young men in Ireland were not going up to a University in which they would have to reside—they would not have left the school or College at which they had

*Sir William Harcourt*

received their education—but, year by year, they would receive from the University money which would go to defray their education at the College where they were. He could not find a more apposite illustration of the case than the right hon. Gentleman himself had just given them.

MR. MACARTNEY said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford forgot completely his own argument, which was quite different from the case now put. But was it not probable that these young men would get a certain amount of education at the Collegiate Institutions, and then, with the aid of private tutors, would go on with their education at the University? Of course, they could not do that if the money were paid to the place where they had been educated.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, it was important the Committee should understand the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The supporters of the Amendment contended that the result fees paid for secular education under the Intermediate Education Act were quite as denominational in character as those which could be paid under the Bill, if it were fair to class either one or the other as denominational, simply because the secular results were attained in denominational schools. Now, let them take the case of the large intermediate school of Clongowes Wood. By the Intermediate Education Act of last year, Clongowes Wood received large payments from the Church Surplus Fund as result fees. A youth under that Act might win for his College public money until he was 18 years of age. Suppose at that age he matriculated at the University, and went back to Clongowes to carry on his education, where was the difference, because he was a month older, that any money won under the proposed Amendment should be denominational because he was 18 years and one month old when, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the results fees were undenominational at 18? The fact was, result fees paid for purely secular education were not in any way denominational. The only effect of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) would be to limit the payment of result fees to one or two well-ordered lay Col-

leges, with an efficient curriculum. But the Bill without the Amendment would practically endow, or at least support, every diocesan priestly school in Ireland; and it was because he wished to prevent this ecclesiastical monopoly of education that he would vote for the Amendment.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) was looking exceedingly happy, whether the Amendment passed or not. The hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that if this Amendment was passed he would not get his Bill; and, therefore, although they might go to a Division, if the hon. Gentleman would take his advice, a little more would be said about this matter if he wanted the Bill, and it was his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) impression that the Irish Members did want it. He quite admitted that the Intermediate Act was passed in a great hurry, and his firm conviction was that if the Bill had had a chance of being fairly and properly discussed, and if it had been shown to the House what some of the schools in Ireland really were which would be benefited by it, and that many of them were places where a superior education ought to be given, it would never have passed in the shape it did. At the same time, he firmly believed that there was a great want among the middle class in Ireland for education. He was honestly anxious to meet that want; but now they were asked for a totally different thing. The large mass of the Roman Catholic population belonged to the middle and lower classes, and they wanted the Intermediate Education Act. They were told there was to be a proper Conscience Clause in the Bill; but he doubted whether the Conscience Clause was not big enough to drive any number of coaches through. Now, although the Queen's Colleges had provided, as had been well shown, a good higher education, the Roman Catholics had declared they did not meet their claims, and the Government had brought in a Bill to try and meet these requirements. It was understood, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that there would be no result fees, and it was upon this condition that the Bill was allowed to pass. The Government stated they adhered to what they had said, and he and his Friends certainly intended to hold them to that.

They did not mean to go one inch beyond where they were now; and, therefore, it would be far better they should have a Division and settle the question.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the discussion would certainly have one great advantage, because it would, undoubtedly, be a good advertisement for Clongowes Wood. He wondered whether it had occurred to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) that they had absolutely contradicted one another. The one said that the payments under the Intermediate Act last year, having been made for secular results, were undenominational, and the latter said that, as they had been made to denominational schools, therefore they must be considered denominational.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had merely stated that that was the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. W. E. FORSTER also explained that he had said he did not regard the result fees as denominational endowment, because they were paid for secular instruction.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was inclined to agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman that this was denominational endowment, although intended for secular results. The payments to these Colleges placed the teachers in exactly the same position as the teachers of an English University occupied before the passing of the Test Act. A certain sum was paid to the Governing Body of a large number of Colleges, which was used for the payment of teachers, every one of whom, in one way or another, had to submit to a religious test. That was the objection to the result fee plan. He did not wish to go into the question; but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford must know that he differed from the majority of English and Scotch Liberals. He therefore felt it right once more to enter a protest against the view he had put forward. He begged to add, at the same time, that though he attached considerable importance to his Amendments, he felt that it might be for the convenience of the Committee that he should take the opportunity of stating that they had been pressed upon

him by those who might not be considered the best and most legitimate guardians of the interests of the Roman Catholics in the matter of education in the House that he would not be altogether consulting their views or wishes by pressing those Amendments at that stage of the proceedings. If it had been an earlier period of the Session, he believed he should have obtained for his Amendments a considerable amount of support, as the Amendments were worthy of careful consideration. But as it was wished, if possible, to take the Committee that day, he thought he should not be consulting the wishes of the majority of the Committee by pressing his Amendments. He did not, however, believe the question would ever receive a definite settlement till something was agreed to of the nature of the Amendments he had placed on the Paper, but which he should not now press.

MR. CALLAN said, with reference to the remark of the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), that Clongowes Wood needed no advertisement, for it had produced in the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) one of the best Artillery officers of the present day; while, as regarded eloquence, they had a very fair exhibition of what it could do in the person of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth). And as to the education it gave, he knew that boys who were in the third and lowest class of the school, and in the middle of their class, had not merely passed the Examinations at Queen's College, but had actually got Exhibitions. That only showed that what they had heard about the high standard of Queen's College was unmitigated bosh.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER appealed to his hon. Friend (Mr. Kavanagh) not to press his Amendment, because it would be impossible for the Government to proceed with the Bill if it were carried; and, therefore, the only result would be to defeat the object which they all had in view. It would arouse the opposition of the Nonconformist Party in the House, and all those who were hostile to what he called denominational education. He wished the Bill success, and therefore it was that he appealed to the hon. Member not to divide the Committee. He agreed with the views embodied in the Amendment; but he thought it would be a very injudicious

*Sir Walter B. Bartlett*

thing to press them now. Next Session the question would be opened up again, and by that time the new University would be in full work, and there would be much better opportunities of discussion.

MR. KAVANAGH said, that, personally, he had no wish to give the Committee the trouble of dividing, and if hon. Members opposite who felt an interest in the question were satisfied he would withdraw his Amendment. ["No, no!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will not be in a position to withdraw his Amendment until the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Roscommon has been decided.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Question proposed,

"That the words 'including the payments to the heads or other governing bodies of colleges which the Senate approves as having an efficient curriculum of education, of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students,' be there inserted."

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member now wish to withdraw his Amendment?

MR. KAVANAGH said, he did.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he did not wish to interfere. The Amendment had been moved in a spirit of justice and fair play, for which he gave the hon. Member for Carlow the sincerest thanks. If he preferred not to press it now, none the less should he feel grateful to him for his act. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had put to the Committee the case of "grinders." That was the exact issue they were now trying, whether they would deliver the young men of Ireland over to the grinders and coaches, or whether, by passing the Amendment as it stood, they would give them the chance of a real Collegiate career.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 62; Noes 151: Majority 89.—(Div. List, No. 212.)

MR. COURTNEY said, the Amendment he proposed to move was very short, and would not give rise to much discussion. It was to omit, in line 9, the words "buildings including." The clause proposed to provide buildings, examination rooms, and a library. But

they were told that the University would be simply an examining body; so that he could not understand what new buildings were required at all. He should have supposed that the buildings of the Queen's University would have been amply sufficient for the new University. How would they examine? He supposed in certain rooms, and he would not object to the building of examination rooms; but he did not see what an examining body wanted with any other buildings besides examining rooms. If the Chief Secretary could explain what other buildings were necessary he would be satisfied.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, what he described the other day as a local habitation for the University fell within very narrow limits. The hon. Gentleman did not object to examination rooms and library, and he must point out to him that there must also be a secretary's room, a place for Convocation, another for the Senate, and offices and rooms for other purposes.

MR. COURTNEY said, if he was to understand that the buildings were to be confined to what was necessary to enable the University to work efficiently, such as Convocation, secretary's rooms, &c., he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member for Carlow wished to move another Amendment?

MR. KAVANAGH: No, Sir.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, as he was anxious that the work of the Committee should be completed that day, he would not move the various Amendments which he had placed upon the Paper.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was sorry he could not withdraw the next Amendment, which appeared to him to be one of extreme importance. It was in subsection 2, where the words occurred stating that the exhibitions, &c., "shall be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency," to strike out the words "relative or absolute proficiency." He hoped hon. Members would consider how the scheme of this University would work. They proposed to have an examining body in Dublin or at some other convenient spot in Ireland, and by this clause it was proposed to give Exhibitions, Scholarships, Fellowships, and other prizes in respect of re-

lative as well as absolute proficiency, by which he understood that every person who passed a certain moderate standard would be entitled to receive a prize. These prizes were not analogous to the prizes referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University—book prizes; they were meant to be money prizes. It was proposed to give a prize of this kind to every student who had satisfied a certain moderate standard, and these prizes were to be open to all comers. It was well known that for a long time past Englishmen had been in the habit of going to the University of Dublin, simply because they were able to do so without any great expense, and if they passed an examination they could obtain a degree there. As Dublin was in communication with every part of the Kingdom, a great many Englishmen had, from time to time, gone to Dublin and graduated there, simply because they could get the degree by passing the examination. If that was the case with regard to Dublin, where there were no prizes open except such as could be obtained after some struggle, how much more would the prizes offered in the new University stimulate the coming of men from all parts of the Kingdom to Dublin, in order to obtain what would enable them to satisfy the low standard of the examiners? The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) had shown that in Edinburgh more than half of the students there were not Scotchmen; and in the case under notice they could easily draw a continual affluence of students, if they opened the matriculation examination and the degrees in this way to all comers, and gave them prizes for a certain moderate standard; and the result would be a considerable number of imperfectly-educated persons going in for the examinations, self-educated persons, persons who had been educated by the aid of coaches and others, for the sake of the chance of obtaining £20 or £30. That would not be the only mischief, as this state of things would also work injuriously to the London University. The hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) had admitted the force of that objection, and proposed to remove the difficulty in some way or other. But it was clear to him (Mr. Courtney) that if the schoolmasters, ushers, and head boys of schools, who now came up to London and passed

matriculation and the first and second B.A. examinations, after going through a great deal of hardship and struggling to compete at these examinations—if these people were offered the facility of passing the same examination, and, at the same time, gaining valuable money prizes, they would certainly go to Dublin, where they could go for a moderate cost, and pass the examination there. So the prizes would be competed for by persons coming from England and Scotland, as well as by those in Ireland itself. The only way to get rid of this difficulty was to make the prizes competitive among those who had attained a high standard. If the scheme was maintained as indicated by the Bill, a considerable number of young men, ushers in schools, and other self-educated persons, would go over to Dublin in the hope of obtaining £20, if they passed successfully. The gain of that sum would encourage them to go over again. That would do what had been deprecated in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and would give persons an opportunity of making a money gain out of the University. He believed that the House did not want to develop that kind of University system; nobody desired it; but the result of it would be that their desire to develop higher training in Ireland would be defeated. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had spoken.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, this matter had been very fully discussed that afternoon, when the matter was dwelt upon by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) and others. It was not correct to speak of this Bill as a scheme to entice students away from the existing Universities. It had been explained at an earlier period of the Sitting that the standard was not stated in the Bill, because all this was to be left to be arranged by the Senate. The object was to offer certain inducements to young men in prosecuting their studies, and it would rest with them to make such use of their opportunities as they thought fit. The scheme could not in any respect, from an educational point of view, be open to the objections urged by the hon. Gentleman. The Senate would, he believed, fix a standard of examination sufficiently high to obviate the objections raised, and defeat the abuses apprehended by the hon. Member.

*Mr. Courtney*

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he objected to the Amendment. Of course, the students who got prizes would hand them over to the Colleges, in order that they might prepare them for future examinations; and in this way the Colleges would indirectly, and, as he had already said, in a clumsy way, gain indirect support from the Bill. The payment would be given to the successful student year by year; the hon. Member for Tyrone did not seem to be aware of that. The student, after being six months or a year in the College, went up to the University and gained on his matriculation £20. He went back and said to his College, "Qualify me for going up for the first B.A. examination." He went up and gained £30. Government could not stultify themselves by refusing to give that aid, or by striking out these words, which would have the effect of withdrawing all aid from the Colleges.

*Amendment negatived.*

MR. ERRINGTON moved to amend sub-section 2 of the new clause by substituting, in line 3, "as well as" for "or," so that the prizes should be awarded in "respect of relative as well as absolute proficiency."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it was scarcely necessary to do that. The words, as they stood, were in the spirit of the scheme.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. C. S. PARKER proposed as a clerical Amendment to omit "any," and insert "such," that the students "shall be subject to such conditions."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, this could be considered on the Report.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. ERRINGTON said, his next Amendment related to a matter of great importance. The Government were said to have treated this question with very great unfairness. The hon. Gentleman below him had stated that, in reality, this clause was more or less a sham; that, in fact, they might just as well accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh), which would do openly what the clause proposed to do in an underhand and secret manner. It appeared to him (Mr. Errington) that the answer to that was, that if that were the case the hon.

Member for Carlow would only to have had to move his Amendment and insist upon it. He believed that the Government had made fair and honest efforts to deal with this question, and that they might be willing to go further than they had done; but they found that they had various interests to consult, and they could not do so. He regretted that they had not seen it in their power to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlow; but he hoped that when they remembered that this was not in any sense a cardinal question, and that the Amendment he was about to move did not involve result fees, although they could not accept the hon. Gentleman's Amendment, he hoped they would accept this Amendment of his (Mr. Errington's). He did not propose to enter upon its details; his object was simply and solely on academic grounds to prevent the giving of a stimulus to the system of cramming. The Government desired to give assistance to genuine instruction; but under the Bill the temptation to the manufacture of a spurious sort of instruction which would not be learning would be very great indeed. The result of the Amendment he now proposed would be to leave the ordinary prizes given for relative proficiency as the Bill now proposed, to be competed for by the three classes of persons most likely to be benefited by them; one class would be the students of the Queen's Colleges or the endowed schools; secondly, Collegiate students in non-endowed schools; and, thirdly, the general public, educated either at home or by tutors. He proposed to make the other classes of prizes open only to the Queen's College students, and those who had studied six months in other Colleges. The object would be, in reality, not in any way to establish result fees, but to avoid the use of the University by those who would attempt to gain its prizes merely by cramming. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said there would be great difficulty in deciding the amount that might be required; this scheme of his (Mr. Errington's) would diminish very much indeed the amount of money required. He moved to insert at the end of sub-section 2—

"Provided always, That such exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes as may be awarded in respect of absolute profi-

ciency, shall be paid only to students who shall have pursued their studies in a college in Ireland for at least six months of the twelve months immediately preceding the period of the examinations."

MR. SHAW said, he hoped the Government would assent to this Amendment, which was one of very great importance, and would go to some extent to do away with the weak part of the Bill. In case they would assent to it, he would appeal to the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy), who had an important Amendment on the Paper, to withdraw it. It was quite evident that that Amendment could not be discussed with fairness at that time of the day, and it was of great importance to get the Bill through. He hoped the Government would see the importance of the present Amendment and accept it, perhaps with some technical emendations.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, the Amendment would do what the promoters of the Bill professed they did not intend to do—namely, limit the University to people in Ireland, because it provided that the Exhibitions should only be given to those who had pursued their studies in Ireland. That would be taking away its character of a University, and making it an Institution to which only Irishmen could go; and every speaker had professed that that was not his wish.

THE O'CONOR DON said, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had not given the whole effect of the Amendment. What his hon. Friend (Mr. Errington) proposed was that a certain class of Exhibitions—those for absolute proficiency—should be attached to Colleges under that Bill as it stood: The Queen's Colleges would have the advantage of that; and he proposed that there should be some inducement under the new Act to students to go to Colleges rather than to "grinders." He did not propose that all the rewards should be confined to Irish Colleges, or the Queen's Colleges, but that one particular form of prize should be attached to Colleges in Ireland for absolute proficiency; and, so far, it would be restricted to Irish Institutions.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he thought that what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh University (Mr. Lyon Playfair), and what took

place before with regard to the proposal to limit the advantages of the University, would have convinced the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Errington) that he was treading on very dangerous ground. At that stage of the Bill, the Amendment would be introducing an element of possible discord, which might go a very long way to undo what they had already agreed upon. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press his Amendment. It was upon a system of Free Trade that the University was to be established.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, it would be a great advantage to get through the Bill that day. The hon. Gentleman had scarcely contemplated the extent to which his Amendment would reach.

MR. ERRINGTON, said, he would withdraw the Amendment at that stage, and bring it in again on the Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. BIGGAR had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

"In Mr. James Lowther's proposed new Clause after Clause 8, sub-section 4, to move to leave out after 'Charter,' and insert 'and every college at which any student or number of students have been educated or granted a decree shall get a sum of money for each one of such students who is granted a degree equal to the average expense to the State of the Queen's College students who are granted degrees in the same year.'"

THE CHAIRMAN announced that after the decision upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) this Amendment could not be proposed.

MR. SYNAN said, he had an Amendment to propose to prevent students who held Scholarships and prizes from going to another University for the purpose of competing for additional ones. As the clause stood at present, the concluding words were that the prizes held in any other University or College should be taken into account in the giving of the prizes in the new University. But that might be doing an injustice, and might lead to inconvenience. If those words were struck out altogether it would produce a better effect. The effect of the clause would be the same as the clause in the Intermediate Education Act—namely, that students in the Queen's Colleges or Dublin University getting Scholarships in their own University could not compete for prizes in the

*Mr. Errington*



new University, while all other students could. His Amendment would prevent that injustice and inconvenience which had been adverted to in the previous part of that day's discussion. He must leave the matter in the hands of the Government. If they would omit the words he had specified it would make the Bill more perfect. He proposed to leave out the words after "charter" in line 34, to the end of line 35.

MR. J. LOWTHER thought that, if a lad won a prize of small value, he ought to be allowed to resign it and take one of greater value. It would be very hard because he had won £5, to prevent him from taking one of £20.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. NEWDEGATE proposed to add to the end of the clause, where it provided that the scheme be laid before Parliament within three weeks after it had been forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, the following words:—

"Together with the name of each member of the Senate; and the name of any person from time to time nominated or elected to fill any vacant seat in the Senate shall be in like manner laid before Parliament."

He hoped Her Majesty's Government would consent to give the names of the Senate when their scheme was prepared, and that, afterwards, any change in the constitution would be likewise laid before Parliament.

MR. J. LOWTHER thought the hon. Gentleman would find his object attained if he would stop at the first semicolon of his Amendment. That would be sufficient to secure his desire.

MR. NEWDEGATE asked whether there were likely to be any annual Reports or accounts presented connected with the College, because it might happen that by nomination or election the whole character of the Senate might be changed?

MR. J. LOWTHER reminded the hon. Member that every opportunity would be offered for debate on the Vote in Supply.

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added to the Bill*.

MR. MURPHY, in moving, in page 4, after Clause 13, to insert the following Clause:—

(Application of sections seven, eight, and nine of Attorneys' and Solicitors' Act (Ireland), 1866, and of section thirteen of Solicitors' Act, 1877.)

"The provisions of the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections of the Act of the Session of Parliament held in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth years of the reign of her present Majesty, chapter eighty-four, intituled 'The Attorneys' and Solicitors' Act (Ireland), 1866,' and the thirteenth section of the Act of the Session of Parliament held in the fortieth and forty-first year of Her Majesty, chapter twenty-five, intituled 'The Solicitors' Act, 1877,' shall extend to and be applicable to the University created by this Act,"

said, the object of the clause was merely to give the same privileges to attorneys and solicitors as they enjoyed under other schemes.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added to the Bill*.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID asked when the Report would be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied, that he would take it on Friday.

Preamble *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered upon *Friday*, at Two of the clock, and to be *printed*. [Bill 283.]

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL—[BILL 128.]

(*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

CONSIDERATION, AS AMENDED.

Order for Consideration, as amended, *read*.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

On the Motion of MR. GRAY, the following Clause was *agreed to*, and *added to the Bill*:—

(Bye-laws as to traffic.)

"In urban sanitary districts the urban sanitary authority, and in such parts of counties as are outside the limits of any urban sanitary district the grand jury, may respectively, from time to time, make bye-laws as to the hours during which locomotives propelled by steam or by other than animal power are not to pass over the roads or highways situate within the areas respectively above mentioned, the hours being in all cases consecutive hours, and not more than eight out of the twenty-four, and for regulating the use of such locomotives upon any highway, or preventing such use upon every bridge where such authority is satisfied that

such use would be attended with danger to the public; and any person in charge of a locomotive acting contrary to such bye-laws shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner."

On the Motion of Mr. MELDON, the following Clause was *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill:—

(Returns as to burials.)

"The returns which the clerk, or secretary, or registrar to every burial board and cemetery company or other authority having charge of any burial ground is required to make in accordance with the provisions of the one hundred and ninety-first section of 'The Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878,' shall either be transmitted by each such clerk, or secretary, or registrar to the registrar of births and deaths of the district prescribed by the said section, or shall be sent to the Registrar General of Births and Deaths in Ireland as the Local Government Board shall from time to time order."

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

#### SHIPPING CASUALTIES INVESTIGATIONS RE-HEARING BILL.—[BILL 262.]

(Viscount Sandon, Mr. J. G. Talbot.)

##### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

VISCOUNT SANDON said, the Amendments he was about to propose had been agreed to by gentlemen representing the shipping interest, and by hon. Members on all sides of the House, who had withdrawn their proposals; and, he believed, everybody was completely satisfied with the Bill in its present state. He would now move the following Amendments:—In Clause 2, page 1, line 17, after "commissioner or," insert "in England or Ireland;" page 1, line 18, leave out "the," and insert "Her Majesty's;" page 1, line 20, after "cases," insert "or in Scotland by the Court of Session;" page 1, at end, insert—

"Where, in any such investigation, a decision has been given with respect to the cancelling or suspension of the certificate of a master, mate, or engineer, and an application for a re-hearing under this section has not been made, or has been refused, an appeal shall lie from the decision to the following courts, namely:—

"(a.) If the decision is given in England or by a naval court, the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice;

"(b.) If the decision is given in Scotland, the Court of Session;

"(c.) If the decision is given in Ireland, the High Court of Admiralty, or the Judge or Division of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice exercising jurisdiction in Admiralty cases;

"Any re-hearing or appeal under this section shall be subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by general rules made under section thirty of 'The Merchant Shipping Act, 1876.'"

Page 2, line 4, insert—

"(3.) Where any such investigation involves or appears likely to involve any question as to the cancelling or suspension of the certificate of a master, mate, or engineer, it shall be held with the assistance of not less than two assessors having experience in the merchant service."

Page 2, line 6, after " " insert "section four hundred and thirty-eight of 'The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854,' or;" page 2, line 8, leave out "that," and insert "the latter of those."

Amendments *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

##### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding £1,200,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.

(2.) *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bonds.

(3.) *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*;

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1877-8.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account, for the year ended 31st March 1878, that the balances unexpended in respect of certain Votes for Navy Services for the said year amounted to the sum of £114,783 4s. 11d., viz.:—

|   | £        | s. | d. |
|---|----------|----|----|
| Vote 1. Wages to Seamen and Marines ..  | 1,672    | 17 | 1  |
| Vote 3. Admiralty Office ..   | 152      | 9  | 8  |
| Vote 4. Coast Guard Service (Royal Naval Reserve) ..  | 14,571   | 17 | 4  |
| Vote 5. Scientific Branch ..  | 8,794    | 10 | 7  |
| Vote 7. Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad ..   | 1,449    | 17 | 5  |
| Vote 8. Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad ..  | 627      | 19 | 3  |
| Vote 9. Marine Divisions ..   | 829      | 6  | 7  |
| Vote 10. Naval Stores, &c. :—<br>Section 1. Naval Stores ..                                 | 34,677   | 4  | 9  |
| Vote 11. New Works, Buildings, Machinery, &c. ..  | 38,622   | 16 | 6  |
| Vote 12. Medicines and Medical Stores ..  | 1,945    | 6  | 2  |
| Vote 13. Martial Law and Law Charges ..   | 22       | 14 | 2  |
| Vote 15. Half Pay, Retired Pay, &c. ..  | 10,146   | 9  | 5  |
| Vote 16. Military and Civil Pensions, &c. :—<br>Section 2. Civil Pensions and Allowances .. | 1,269    | 16 | 0  |
|   | £114,783 | 4  | 11 |

(2.) *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the said sum of £114,783 4s. 11d., to provide in part for the following amounts of expenditure incurred in excess of certain other Votes for Navy Services for the said year, viz. :—

|  | £          | s. | d. |
|--|------------|----|----|
| Vote 2. Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines ..  | 27,169     | 10 | 2  |
| Vote 6. Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad ..  | 44,751     | 4  | 11 |
| Vote 10. Naval Stores, &c. :—<br>Section 2. Steam Machinery and Ships built by Contract ..     | 1,522,537  | 6  | 2  |
| Vote 14. Miscellaneous Services ..   | 57,887     | 11 | 2  |
| Vote 16. Military and Civil Pensions, &c. :—<br>Section 1. Military Pensions and Allowances .. | 1,606      | 6  | 11 |
| Vote 17. Army Department (Conveyance of Troops) ..   | 249,615    | 10 | 10 |
| Amount written off as irrecoverable ..   | 3,630      | 18 | 1  |
|  | £1,907,198 | 8  | 3  |

(3.) *Resolved*, That the said application be sanctioned.

(4.) *Resolved*, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account, for the year ended the 31st March 1878, that the balances unexpended in respect of certain Votes for Army Services for the said year, were as follows, amounting to the sum of £184,943 1s. 0d., viz. :—

|   | £      | s. | d. |
|---|--------|----|----|
| Vote 5. Militia Pay and Allowances ..                   | 50,975 | 10 | 4  |
| Vote 6. Yeomanry Cavalry ..                             | 4,435  | 9  | 1  |
| Vote 8. Army Reserve (including Enrolled Pensioners) .. | 23,192 | 10 | 5  |

|   | £        | s. | d. |
|---|----------|----|----|
| Vote 9. Commissariat, &c. Establishments ..                 | 822      | 6  | 9  |
| Vote 14. Establishments for Military Education ..           | 3,894    | 18 | 5  |
| Vote 15. Miscellaneous Services ..                          | 2,794    | 15 | 7  |
| Vote 16. Administration of the Army ..                      | 2,749    | 13 | 5  |
| Vote 18. Pay of General Officers ..                         | 16,708   | 18 | 8  |
| Vote 19. Full Pay of Retired, &c. Officers, and Half Pay .. | 50,935   | 15 | 2  |
| Vote 20. Widows' Pensions, &c. ..                           | 5,227    | 6  | 11 |
| Vote 21. Pensions for Wounds ..                             | 192      | 13 | 2  |
| Vote 22. Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals ..                | 841      | 3  | 2  |
| Vote 24. Superannuation Allowances ..                       | 14,962   | 12 | 11 |
| Vote 25. Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps ..  | 7,209    | 7  | 0  |
|   | £184,943 | 1  | 0  |

(5.) *Resolved*, That it further appears from the said Account that the sum of £73,831 7s. 4d. was realised in the said year in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid.

(6.) *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the said sums, amounting together to the total sum of £258,774 8s. 4d., to provide in part for the following amounts of expenditure incurred in excess of certain other Votes for Army Services for the said year, viz. :—

|   | £          | s. | d. |
|---|------------|----|----|
| Vote 1. General Staff and Regimental Pay, &c. ..            | 1,532      | 3  | 11 |
| Vote 2. Divine Service ..                                   | 751        | 18 | 9  |
| Vote 3. Martial Law ..                                      | 937        | 9  | 4  |
| Vote 4. Medical Establishments and Supplies ..              | 76,248     | 14 | 2  |
| Vote 7. Volunteer Corps ..                                  | 2,651      | 15 | 4  |
| Vote 10. Provisions, Forage, Fuel, &c. ..                   | 282,508    | 5  | 1  |
| Vote 11. Clothing Establishment, &c. ..                     | 460,699    | 9  | 3  |
| Vote 12. Supply, &c. of Warlike and other Stores ..         | 612,691    | 10 | 8  |
| Vote 13. Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home or Abroad .. | 100,137    | 9  | 4  |
| Vote 17. Rewards for distinguished Services ..              | 5,140      | 7  | 8  |
| Vote 23. Out Pensions ..                                    | 120,129    | 18 | 6  |
| Amount written off as irrecoverable ..                      | 399        | 8  | 7  |
|   | £1,663,828 | 10 | 7  |

(7.) *Resolved*, That the said application be sanctioned.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow.

#### ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS CONTINUANCE

[SALARIES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Salaries of the additional Charity Commissioners and Secretary appointed under "The Endowed Schools Act, 1874," in

pursuance of any Act of the present Session for continuing the powers of making Schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS  
IMPROVEMENT ACT (1875) AMENDMENT  
BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Cross, Bill to amend "The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Cross and Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 287.]

House adjourned at Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 7th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Public Offices Fees \* (175); Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance \* (176).

*Second Reading*—Volunteer Corps (Ireland) (154), *negatived*; Mungret Agricultural School, &c. \* (174); Land Tax Commissioners Names \* (173); Municipal Elections (Ireland) \* (169).

*Report*—Knightsbridge and other Crown Lands \* (166).

*Third Reading*—East India Loan (Consolidated Fund) \* (172); Turnpike Acts Continuance \* (163), and *passed*.

VOLUNTEER CORPS (IRELAND)

BILL—(No. 154.)

(The Viscount Monck.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

VISCOUNT MONCK: My Lords, the Bill, to which I am about to ask your Lordships to give a second reading, has come up from the Commons. It applies only to Ireland; but it exercises an important bearing indirectly upon the interests of the inhabitants of the rest of the Kingdom. I freely admit that a Bill of this description, affecting only a part of the Kingdom, and promoted in both Houses by unofficial Members, is liable to some suspicion. It is not quite unnatural that an apprehension might arise that the flavour of a job might lurk in its provisions, and that it might be intended to exonerate those who are affected by it from the performance of a disagreeable duty, or to release them

from an unpleasant liability. I am happy to be able to assure your Lordships that in recommending you to give this Bill a second reading I am not called upon to justify any such questionable proceedings. This Bill will not enable the people of Ireland to get rid of any duty or any obligation to which they are now subject. The Bill is purely an enabling Bill, and its purpose is to give to the people of Ireland a legal right to qualify themselves, equally with their fellow-citizens in Great Britain, for that which all must allow to be the first duty of loyal subjects—namely, the defence of their Sovereign and their country from foreign invasion. My Lords, the Bill comes up to your Lordships with the unanimous approval of the other House. It emanated in that House from the Opposition, and was assented to by Her Majesty's Government. It is much desired in Ireland, and there is remarkable unanimity in its support by the Representatives of that country. It is a measure which will be highly appreciated by all classes. I have good reason for saying so, for I have the honour of being the President of a Society in Dublin for promoting the object of this Bill, and that Society embraces persons of all classes, creeds, and political opinions. It is not necessary that I should go minutely through the provisions of the measure, because they are identical with the Act of 1863, by which the organization of the Volunteers of Great Britain is regulated—except in the one particular that, instead of the recommendations for the organization of a Volunteer Corps being transmitted to the Secretary of State, through the Lord Lieutenant of a county, for approval by Her Majesty, they will be transmitted through the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. That, I think, is an important and proper change from the English Act, and I will, by-and-bye, point out why I hold it to be so. If it were not for certain indications which have reached me I might save your Lordships the trouble of listening to any further observations from me, and content myself with moving the second reading, in the conviction that the Bill would meet with the same reception at your Lordships' hands that it experienced in the other House of Parliament. But my noble Friend (Lord Waveney) has thought fit to give Notice that he means to move

"the Previous Question," and those who have any experience in Parliamentary life know what that means. I should be the last person to cast any imputation upon either the motives or acts of my noble Friend; but we know that "the Previous Question" is a very handy mode of strangling a subject when, either from Party, personal, or any other special reason, you do not wish to be found voting against the principle of a measure. A certain amount of light has been thrown—at least, to my mind—upon the intentions of my noble Friend, by a circular which reached me by post a few days since, and which I infer has reached others of your Lordships, signed by four Members of the House—all friends of my own, for whom I entertain the highest respect and esteem—asking me to come down and oppose the Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill. I do not know whether my noble Friend is acting in concert with these noble Lords; but, if so, I think I am justified in ascribing the meaning I have given to the moving of "the Previous Question." I am only able to guess at the reasons which have induced my noble Friend to take the course he has done and to give the best answer in my power. The first ground of objection that would naturally occur to anyone is that this Bill is to be opposed because the loyalty and fidelity of the Irish people are doubtful. I ask you to consider what that implies in connection with this Bill. It implies not only that the people of Ireland are disloyal, but that they are so depraved that they will take the oath of allegiance with no purpose, so far as I can see, except for the pleasure of breaking it. I will not waste time by arguing the improbability of this *a priori*. I will appeal at once to the inexorable logic of facts. If the Irish people are disloyal, and not to be trusted with engagements of this nature, what becomes of your Army and Navy, into which the Irish element very largely enters? I may be told that in the Army and Navy the Irish are mingled with the English and Scotch, and that in that way their evil tendencies are counteracted and neutralized; but, if that be so, how about the Militia? The Irish Militia is recruited exclusively in Ireland, and against their fidelity I never heard a shadow of reproach. What, again, about that magnificent Force, to which is specially in-

trusted the maintenance of law and order, life and property in Ireland—I mean the Irish Constabulary? The very name of the "Royal" Irish Constabulary suggests that, in a period of great excitement in Ireland, that Force stood the crucial test to which it was then subjected, without, as far as I know, the shadow of reproach resting upon it. During the Fenian times, that Force was recruited exclusively from the Irish people, yet it bore the test without a shadow of doubt being cast upon one single individual composing it. This proves that the Irish people, when trusted, may be expected to afford an example of loyalty and fidelity which any other people might well imitate. Then, there is another lesson to be learnt from the episode to which I have alluded. Assume, for a moment, that the Irish people are possessed with the demon of disloyalty, does not the example of the Irish Constabulary prove to demonstration the effect of trust, of organization, and of *esprit de corps* in exorcizing and casting out that demon? But that is not all. We have not only the test that there are no disloyal people in the Army, Navy, Militia, and Royal Irish Constabulary, but, in the civil branches of life, we have Irish magistrates, barristers, and Parliamentary electors, who dispose, without let or hindrance, of the lives and property of the people of Ireland. Is it not most ludicrous, when we employ them thus in every portion of our civil, military, and judicial administration, to maintain the wretched rag of distrust in reference to the Volunteers, as if it were one of the great bulwarks of the Constitution and a great protection to our lives and liberties? In the way of protection it can do nothing; and, like all other exhibitions of distrust, it is calculated to create disloyalty, and to perpetuate feelings of soreness in the minds of those who are subject to that distrust. So much for the disloyalty of the Irish. Another argument I have heard raised against the Bill which has more plausibility in it, and that is the state of the country. I have heard it said that such is the state of religious and party feeling in Ireland that, in the interest of the people themselves, it would not be safe to trust them as Volunteers, or to put arms in their hands. Agrarian outrages are also adduced as a reason

why Irish Volunteer Corps should not be allowed; but I would venture to suggest that this state of things prevails only in a very limited portion of the country, and the provision of the Bill, which places in the Lord Lieutenant the power of sanctioning the formation of Volunteer Corps, will enable him to refuse his sanction where the state of the country renders it inexpedient that Volunteer Corps should be allowed. I think that, in addition to the prevention of the organization of a Volunteer Force, the power of disbanding any which may already exist in a disturbed neighbourhood would have a powerful effect in removing the feeling which causes the disturbance. Those who know Ireland know that a great deal of the system of secret societies in Ireland arises from a love for association which exists among the people of that country; and it appears to me that if we turn that love of association into a legitimate channel that would have some effect in keeping the people from dangerous combinations. These are two of the grounds upon which I have heard this Bill disapproved of. There is a third ground which requires attention, but which, I think, can be easily disposed of. I had a great deal to do with the organization of the Volunteer Force when I had the honour of being officially connected with Canada, and on this we always insisted—that there should be a secure place for the keeping of arms in every district where a Volunteer Corps existed, and no Volunteer Corps were ever sanctioned where no such secure receptacle existed. I should like to say a word or two on the subject of religious strife and bigotry in connection with the Volunteers in Canada. I was much struck, when I went to Canada, at the similarity of the burning questions with regard to politics, religion, and education there and the burning questions I had left behind in Ireland; and the Volunteer Force, organized much on the plan it is here, was the only Force at my disposal for the suppression of any civil commotion that arose. The Volunteers were constantly called out; but I never heard of any instance of failure of duty through sympathy with those whose disorder they were called upon to check. The Corps were taken indiscriminately from the population, and I never heard of one difference of opinion or dissension be-

tween the different Corps. About two years ago very considerable excitement prevailed at Montreal about the burial of a man in unconsecrated ground, which led almost to insurrection. The Governor had no Force to rely upon but the Volunteers. The Volunteers were called out, and, in their military capacity, put down a riot in which, if they had not been Volunteers, they would probably have been participants. That is a remarkable example of power of association to counteract personal feeling, and I think it affords a strong argument in favour of the Bill I am now submitting to your Lordships. I think stringent provision ought to be made for the security of the arms; but as the recommendation of the organization of a Corps is left to the responsibility of the Lord Lieutenant I presume he will take care not to sanction the formation of a Corps except where such provision has been made. I am old enough to recollect when a great difference in reference to taxation existed between Great Britain and Ireland—very much in favour of the latter portion of the Empire; but that difference has, very properly, entirely disappeared, and now the Representatives of Ireland seek to free their country from the reproach of not being thought worthy to participate, with their fellow-citizens of Great Britain, in the defence of the Empire to whose resources they, equally with them, contribute.

*Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>d</sup>."*—(*The Viscount Monck.*)

LORD WAVENEY said, he was perfectly aware of the disadvantage under which he laboured in asking their Lordships to come to a different conclusion to that of one who had the personal experience of the noble Viscount (*Viscount Monck*); but he was concerned to observe the suggestion of the noble Viscount that anyone who held a different opinion to his believed in the disloyalty of the Irish people. That he desired to dispose of at once, for it was the part on which he least liked to dwell. He was, indeed, surprised to hear the noble Viscount suggest such an argument as actuating the opponents of the Bill. He (*Lord Waveney*) did not believe that there was a single noble Lord, or a single reader of a newspaper who would read the observations of the noble Viscount to-morrow morning, who believed

*Viscount Monck*

in the disloyalty of the Irish people. He thought he had quite enough before him to justify his action in regard to this Bill, excluding altogether the idea which the noble Viscount's argument seemed to impute; and he thought they had ample evidence before them, in the history of the last few years, to make them pause before they adopted the military system of England for Ireland once and for ever. A matter of this national importance must be judged by its effect upon those who were to be the object of the proposed legislation. True it was that in the great struggle of 1867, when so much depended upon the Irish Constabulary, there was but one member of that noble body upon whom the taint of disaffection rested; and while he did not contemplate that any Volunteer would be unfaithful to the obligation he undertook to the Crown, he believed there were causes existing which rendered it unadvisable at present that Volunteer Corps should be organized in Ireland. With respect to the Bill itself, they had scarcely heard of it during its progress through the House of Commons. He understood that the promoters of the Bill were a body of Members, who were intimately connected, no doubt, with the Irish people; but he could not find that that body of Members derived their inspiration from any public meeting whatever. There was no assembling of the masses crying for it; there had been no Petition in its favour; they had heard nothing, so far as he was aware, of that; and, therefore, he was justified in saying that there was no public demand for it. He doubted, indeed, if the Irish people generally knew more about the progress of this Bill than their Lordships did. If he understood the noble Viscount rightly, he was familiar with the opinion of the Irish people upon this subject, inasmuch as the noble Viscount had himself been the President of an Association for the very purpose for which this Bill had been brought in. Now, as he understood that Society, it was simply an Association for rifle-firing, and not for regimental purposes. He thought the noble Viscount had attributed an undue importance to the fact that the recommendation for the establishment of a Volunteer Corps in any particular place was to be made by the Lord Lieutenant, and not through the Lieutenants of the county.

He held that to be a mistake, and held that opinion for this reason. What they wanted to teach in Ireland was that a sense of responsibility, fairly and fearlessly carried out, should rest upon the Lieutenants of the counties. He thought the advantage which the noble Viscount seemed to see with regard to this point was perfectly illusory. He would ask where the knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant was to be got from to enable him to form a Corps in a particular district? If it was obtained from the usual source—namely, the reports of the Constabulary, he thought it would be a mistake. With regard to further observations of the noble Viscount, he would add that he was perfectly aware of the value of "the Previous Question." He had adopted that course because he did not desire to wound the susceptibilities of those to whom he had to refer as lightly as possible. "The Previous Question" gave time for consideration. And here, by the way, he might inquire whether his noble Friend had considered that there was barely time in this Session of Parliament to carry the measure through. Again, if disposed to be hypercritical, he might inquire what provision had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for paying for the staff, formation, and arms of this Force? He believed the Irish Volunteer would be true to his last breath to his oath of allegiance, and to his duty as he understood it. On that point there could be no doubt. He would ask them, however, to descend from their high position to the daily walks of Irish life. What did they find there? They found, he grieved to say, that there was a greater separation and estrangement between the professors of different religious faiths than he had in 40 years ever known. He was afraid that when Volunteers were distributed throughout the country some spark would ignite a flame, from which a conflagration would ensue which would show itself in a dangerous way. As to the danger to the Crown, the only danger to it would be on the English side of the Channel. They had seen many invasions, and knew how utterly worthless they were. Great as was the knowledge of his noble Friend, he did not know the whole of Ireland, and least of all did he know those parts of Ireland where the tides met. They knew well in the North what the dan-

gers were, and he had made it his business to inquire into the matter. A distinguished man, whose name had only to be mentioned to be respected, had eloquently described the state of affairs, and had said that Ireland was now more loyal than it ever was before, that many of the worst symptoms had disappeared, and that the people had been fairly treated. But they had complaints against the repeal of the Party Procession Act, and demands for more stringent legislation. In the streets of Belfast there had been conflicts which the magistrates had been unable to prevent. Unless, therefore, the provisions of this Bill for the establishment of Irish Volunteers were carefully considered, it could not be contemplated without some reasonable apprehension. Much as they might wish to see an Irish Volunteer Force established in the interests of the Crown, they could not but entertain doubts whether the measure before Parliament was a prudent one. There was no necessity for the measure, which was, at the best, of a tentative and a doubtful character. Therefore, at all events, they ought to leave it alone. To play with edged tools was proverbially dangerous. For Ireland, at least, they had had enough of playing with legislation. He begged to move the Previous Question.

LORD INCHQUIN said, that he should ask their Lordships to agree to the Amendment. He was quite certain that there was no noble Lord in the House, and certainly no Irishman, who would not, if he could honestly, accept this proposal. He was most anxious to see a Volunteer Force established in Ireland; but up to this time, and for a long period past, it had been thought and felt in this country, and felt throughout the greater part of Ireland, that it would be most dangerous to establish a Force of this kind in Ireland. What they had, therefore, really to consider was this—Had the circumstances of Ireland so altered that the force of the arguments used hitherto was no longer valid? Had the circumstances of Ireland so changed as to leave them without fear with regard to the establishment of a Volunteer Force in Ireland? He had always considered it almost an insult that they had not a Volunteer Force in Ireland—Irishmen like himself regarded it as most annoying that they could not be

*Lord Waverley*

trusted with such a Force. Nevertheless, when it came to the practical question whether such a Force should be established or not, their Lordships ought to carefully and most seriously consider the step they were asked to take. The main argument he intended to put before them against the Bill was that in Ireland they had at the present moment in force the Peace Preservation Act. That was an Act of the most repressive character, and one which the Government had thought it absolutely necessary to pass; and it did really appear to him most incongruous to pass a measure such as that before them, which was totally opposed to the reason of the Peace Preservation Act. When that Act had expired—which it would do in another year—the Government, if they thought the circumstances of the country justified it, might come forward and say—"We no longer consider it necessary to have a special Act for the preservation of the peace in Ireland, and therefore we think you may safely pass a measure such as this;" and might then propose a Bill on their own responsibility—for, certainly, a measure of this kind ought not to be left in the hands of a private Member. He had another argument against the Bill, and it was this—It appeared to him to be almost an absolute impossibility to have a Volunteer Force without giving the custody of the arms, more or less, into the hands of the Volunteers. He certainly had no wish to be an alarmist; but, living as he did in the West of Ireland, he thought that would be most injudicious. He did not care what oaths were administered unto the men into whose hands the arms were placed—it would be injudicious to leave them in their custody. It was not the individual Volunteer who would do the mischief; but it was certain that his arms would be stolen from him—he could not be responsible for their safe custody if they were carried home at night. If they were not carried home at night, how were they going to make due provision for their custody? In the case of a Volunteer in the country the drill must be in some central place, and every night the men would have to put their arms under sufficient protection. If the arms were left in the hands of the Volunteers individually, it would be tantamount to telling the disloyal and disaffected where they might supply them-



selves with rifles—in fact, they would be stolen. As far as the drilling was concerned, he had no objection whatever. So far as his own individual feeling was concerned, he would just as soon be shot at by a good marksman at 500 yards as by a man with a blunderbuss at 10. If the Bill was passed there would be a certain sort of feeling amongst people that the marksmen might practise at the running deer, and, perhaps, shoot the wrong animal. He admitted that in parts of Ireland there was very little crime; but the magistrates of Westmeath were actually asking for increased powers to repress agrarian crime, although they had but just before been relieved from the Peace Preservation Act. He maintained it would be most illogical to propose to put arms into the hands of a population whom they were at the same moment compelled to put under the repressive action of the Peace Preservation Act.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that the noble Lord who spoke last had not given any substantial reason why they should not pass the Bill. The noble Lord had pointed out that it would be inconsistent to place arms in the hands of the Irish people, seeing that some districts of the country were proclaimed. But the noble Lord seemed to forget that the working of the measure would be entirely in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, and that he would not sanction the formation of a Volunteer Corps in any district that was proclaimed. There would, in his opinion, be no more difficulty in calling in the arms in Ireland than in England, or in Scotland, seeing that they would only be placed in the hands of well-disposed persons; and, for his part, he did not apprehend the least danger that the arms would be used for any improper purpose whatever. Of course, there might be some provision made in the Bill to secure the proper custody of the arms; but that was a mere detail. There might be possibilities of danger; but he thought those possibilities did not outweigh the advantage which would attend on the establishment of the Force. He had intended to explain the reasons why he should vote for the second reading of the Bill; but the noble Viscount who moved the second reading had spoken so much better than he could, and he so entirely agreed with what the noble Viscount

had said, that it was necessary to relieve Ireland from the stigma and disgrace of knowing that she was not sufficiently trusted to be allowed to have a Volunteer Corps, that he felt there was no necessity for travelling over the same ground a second time.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, after the best consideration he could give to this Bill he was unable to give it his support. He objected to it, both in form and substance. But he chiefly desired to direct attention to the fact that there seemed very little real desire that the measure should become law. In the first place, it had been allowed to lie for three weeks on the Table of the House before being brought forward for the second reading—and this at a period of the Session when delay was a great inconvenience, and then it fell into the hands of the noble Viscount opposite, who, in this case, seemed to be a refuge for the destitute, for he believed several noble Lords had refused to have anything to do with it. The apparent object of the measure was to increase the Auxiliary Forces of the Crown—of course, with a corresponding increase of the Army Estimates—but, if so, it ought to have been introduced under the direct responsibility of the Government, and not left in the hands of a private Member, however respectable he might be, and however eminent the position he might formerly have held. What authority had they for this measure? Was the Lord Lieutenant there to say that the Bill had his approval? No; he was far better employed, attending agricultural meetings. Were there any Reports from the Government officials—from the Chief of the Constabulary, from the Judges, from the Commander of the Forces in Ireland—in favour of the Bill? The only approval he found was that of the Attorney General for Ireland in “another place,” who said that the Bill could scarcely be acted upon. At all events, it would produce very little effect. In 1863, after what was termed “The Volunteer Movement” had been in existence for six years, and the Government were satisfied that it was a useful one, the Government of the day, under Lord Palmerston, introduced a Bill for the regulation of the Force, and it was then proposed to extend its operation to Ireland. But both Lord Palmerston and the Marquess of Hartington refused to

include Ireland in the measure, on the Report of the then Commander of the Forces, that the country was not in a fit state to allow arms to be placed in the hands of the people, and that the operation of the Act could not be extended to that country without great danger. He could not help thinking that the same reasons still existed; and, therefore, while not in the least degree wishing to impute the slightest disloyalty to the Irish people at large, he thought the Motion of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Waveney) was the best mode of meeting the Motion for the second reading, for the very reason that it expressed no distrust of the people. At the same time, no one could be ignorant of the fact that there were at elections, and at certain anniversaries, scenes of great disturbance. Even up to a very recent period the Reports of the magistracy to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland were not very encouraging and if Volunteers were allowed in one county and not in another they might depend upon it that there would be a great cry for equality, which it would be extremely difficult to satisfy, and which might tend to serious disturbances. As to the operation of the proclaiming Act, he had lived all his life in a proclaimed county, and very little inconvenience was felt; but he must be allowed to express great doubt as to whether, should Volunteer Corps be formed in districts not now proclaimed, but which might hereafter have to be so, they would be very easily disbanded; while he was quite certain that the Government, under such circumstances, would have the greatest difficulty in getting back their arms.

EARL SPENCER assured their Lordships no one could be more reluctant than he would be to support any measure which was at all likely to endanger the safety of the Empire or to lead to difficulty in Ireland. He knew Ireland too well not to attempt any dangerous experiment; but, notwithstanding all that had been said against this Bill, he must say he thought it his duty to give it his support. The noble Earl who had just sat down had referred to the fact that Ireland had been deliberately excluded from the operation of the English Volunteer Act; but, while he did not question the propriety of the decision of Lord Palmerston and the Marquess of Hartington, he was bound to

say that no sufficient reason had been stated, either in 1863, or on the present occasion, why the Volunteer movement should not be extended to Ireland as well as to England and Scotland. He wished to call their Lordships' attention to the present condition of Ireland; and he wanted to know whether there were to be found in the present circumstances of that country any real reason why they should be longer excluded from the operation of the Act of 1863? The Volunteer movement had benefited this country in a political, military, and social point of view. Why should the United Kingdom be deprived of the addition to its military resources which would be given if Ireland were permitted to raise Volunteers; or why should Ireland be deprived of the benefit which the other portions of the United Kingdom derived from the establishment of that body? The Irish were essentially military in their predilections, and he was afraid they too often showed if they could not get military discipline in a regular, they would seek it in an irregular, manner. The Regular Army had most excellent Irish soldiers, and no one would wish to deprive Her Majesty of their services; and he would say, in the presence of so many distinguished Generals, that the Irish regiments compared with any other in the Service. The Militia regiments of Ireland would vie with those of England or Scotland, not only for the precision with which they moved and paraded, but also for good conduct and order. He admitted there were some difficulties in the way; but he thought they could be overcome. He admitted that there were certain districts where the people were easily excited; but as he believed that the respectable body of the population were those who would fill the Volunteer ranks the formation of such a Force would go a long way to check rowdyism. It was said that the raising of Volunteers would give occasion to disturbances in the North of Ireland. During the unfortunate riots which broke out in Belfast in 1873, and which kept part of that town in disorder for several weeks, the conduct of the Antrim Militia was most exemplary. During that time the position of the regiment was necessarily much discussed in Dublin. The regiment, however, maintained the most excellent order, not only under training,

*The Earl of Longford*

but even when they were dismissed to their homes before the riots were concluded, though many of them must have been connected by blood and sympathy with the rioters. In Ireland one of the great difficulties was to get the loyal and order-loving element to come forward, while the rowdy and disorderly portion of the population was only too ready to come to the front. People in this country were too apt to think that the whole population of Ireland were of the latter class. Noble Lords had given testimony to the loyal character of the Irish people, and he was convinced that large numbers of loyal men were to be found in every part of the community. Any movement which would induce the order-loving portion of the people to overshadow the rowdy element ought to be encouraged. He need not refer to that excellent body, the Royal Irish Constabulary; but he would call attention to the fact that that Force was drawn from a class more likely to be disorderly and disloyal than the class from which the Volunteers would come. The Royal Irish Constabulary were placed in circumstances of the greatest temptation; they lived in twos and threes in barracks, and in the midst of the population, and scattered all over the country, and yet no one could speak too highly of the way in which, under all circumstances, they fulfilled their duty. If the argument on the score of disloyalty applied to the Volunteers, it applied with at least equal force to the Constabulary. The Government ought to express an opinion on this Bill. In his opinion, it ought to be a Government measure. The Government could speak with absolute certainty upon all the points to which he had referred; and he (Earl Spencer) wished to subordinate his own views to those of the Government, because no outsider could possibly speak with the same certainty of the state of the country. The Government must be responsible for the working of the Bill if it became law, for the formation of the regiments, the appointment of officers—adjutants, colonels, and staff. He would ask the Government, therefore, whether they had well considered the Bill; and if they declared they saw no difficulty or danger in carrying it out their Lordships ought to give it a second reading. If, on the other hand, the Government declared that they did not see

their way to carry out the measure, with due regard to the safety of the Empire and the peace and order of Ireland, though his predilections were in favour of having Volunteers in Ireland, he would vote with them.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE asked what would be the use of having Volunteers if, at the moment any tension arose, they would have to be disbanded? The question of changing the condition of the people of Ireland, as this proposal would do, was a very serious one. If 40,000 or 50,000 persons came forward in Ireland and asked for arms, were they to get them? It would be very easy to distribute arms, but not very easy to get them back if they desired to do so. He had recently been in a country—Roumelia—where arms were being distributed very freely; but he doubted very much whether the authorities would be very successful in recovering them. When the Bill was before the House of Commons the Attorney General for Ireland said it was desirable it should go into Committee, and be examined very thoroughly, with a view to the introduction of Amendments. He supposed since that time some inquiries had been made, and he wished Her Majesty's Government would tell the House now the result of their inquiries. Were the Head of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Commander of the Forces in Ireland in favour of the Bill? Their opinion would have a great effect on his mind. As at present advised, he could not support the Bill, because he did not think the condition of Ireland had changed so much since 1863 as would justify their Lordships in passing the measure.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that as a direct appeal had been made to Her Majesty's Government by the noble Earl who spoke last but one (Earl Spencer), to state their opinion on this Bill, he thought it might be expected that he should address a few observations to their Lordships. Their Lordships, no doubt, were aware that the Bill was by no means a Government Bill. It was not even a Bill under the protection of the Government. The history of the measure was briefly this—It was brought in by a private Member in the other House of Parliament; and it had, during its passage through that House, been so altered, in accordance with the sugges-

tion of the Law Officer of the Crown in Ireland, that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it was now divested of those objectionable features which it at first appeared to possess. The action under the Bill would be entirely in the hands of the Government. The Lord Lieutenant was to have the first appointment of the officers; he was to have the entire control as to where Volunteer Corps should be formed; he was to have the power of disbanding the Volunteers, if that course was necessary; and also the power of suspending the Corps in any part of Ireland where he might think it expedient to do so. The Bill had been so re-cast that, in its present form, it was almost a literal transcript of the English Act, which had been found to work so well and to provide such complete safeguards for order and the due conduct of Volunteer Corps, that it was felt by Her Majesty's Government that there could be no danger or difficulty in allowing it to be extended to Ireland. It was a very different thing for the Government to bring in a Bill at this time, and to avoid expressing an adverse opinion on a Bill of this kind. In the state of Public Business which existed in "another place," it might not have been altogether convenient for the Government to burden themselves with the passing of a measure which might, in their hands, have provoked some amount of opposition. But, at the same time, it would be a very grave responsibility for the Government to express the opinion that the Irish nation was not fit to be trusted with arms. That, indeed, was not their opinion; nor was it, as far as he gathered, even the opinion of those who had opposed the measure in their Lordships' House. Almost all the noble Lords who had spoken had said that their only fear was that the discussions in regard to religious and political subjects in Ireland were such that the possession of arms would lead to their use in times of excitement; but not one of them had expressed any fear that the persons who, under this Bill, would be intrusted with arms, would use them for disloyal purposes. Then, the only thing they had to do was to be careful that those arms were placed in the hands of the well-affected portion of the population. And it surely could not be wise to keep up a distinction of that kind between Ireland and the rest of the Kingdom, when they had it in their power to select the

persons in whose hands arms should be placed, and when they felt perfect confidence that those to whom they would be intrusted would not be the disaffected—who were already surreptitiously armed—but the friends of law and order. There were, no doubt, points in the Bill which, if it went into Committee, would require attention. Probably, it would be advisable to provide that no county which had been proclaimed within a certain time—say two or three years—should have a Volunteer Corps. He also thought that the clause which provided for the due custody of arms ought to be made somewhat more stringent and extended. But they must remember that, whether or not those alterations were made, the Lord Lieutenant would, under the Bill, have the full control of the regulations under which the Volunteer Corps would exist. His noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Donoughmore) said perhaps 20,000 men would be enrolled under the measure. But, from all the information which had reached him, it was not supposed by those who had brought in the Bill, and who were responsible for it, that anything beyond a small nucleus of a Volunteer Force would be formed.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE explained that what he said was that 30,000 or 40,000 might offer themselves for enrolment.

VISCOUNT BURY regarded that as a very sanguine estimate indeed. A very considerable expense would be incurred by those who enrolled themselves under the Bill; and, therefore, it was reasonable to infer that it was the well-to-do part of the population who would enter those Corps. Noble Lords had adverted in terms of the highest praise to the loyalty exhibited, under all circumstances, by the Irish Militia and the Royal Irish Constabulary. He quite agreed in the praise which had been bestowed upon those admirable Forces; and he begged to point out that the persons who enrolled themselves in the Volunteer Corps would be of higher social standing than those who enlisted in the Militia and the Royal Irish Constabulary. He quite agreed with those noble Lords who had expressed their opinion that the habits of discipline, of good order, and of obedience to authority, to be acquired by volunteering, might have a beneficial effect throughout the country. If this measure should pass the

*Viscount Bury*

second reading, and should a Committee on it be appointed, he should propose such alterations as might, in his opinion, render the measure a valuable one.

EARL FORTESCUE said, that as he was connected by property with Ireland, and was at one time able to spend more time there than he could now, he wished to make a remark or two. In the first place, he wanted to know why, when Ireland had been excluded for so many years from the operation of the Volunteer Act, a Bill should be introduced to include her at that moment? When, so recently, parts of Ireland had been proclaimed; when, in the present Session, they had had accounts of persecution and outrage, endured by Protestants in the West of Ireland, from members of a Church which, only when it was not the most powerful, talked of liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; and when only in yesterday's paper they read an account of a meeting of the magistrates of the county of Westmeath to consider the subject of the undetected crimes referred to in the charge of the Lord Chief Baron to the Grand Jury, it seemed to him that the advocates of this Bill ought to make out a good case for its adoption and to show that it would not operate mischievously in a country so situated as Ireland was. It had been urged that the power given to the Lord Lieutenant would afford security against any danger resulting from this measure; but he (Earl Fortescue) preferred legislative security to the discretion of any Lords Lieutenant, recent, present, or prospective, or to the discretion of the Cabinets under whom those Lords Lieutenant had to act—especially if any extraordinary electioneering pressure were brought to bear on them. Thoughtful men looked, like himself, with much anxiety to the future, seeing the want of firmness of purpose in the Government, as strikingly evinced with regard to the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill which had so long occupied the other House; while the conduct of the Leaders of the Opposition with regard to that same measure, proved conclusively that the Government enjoyed no monopoly of vacillation. The fact was the Government had lost, but the Opposition had not gained the confidence of the country.

LORD DENMAN observed, that the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord Waverley) was not intended to show any

distrust of the Irish people, but merely to express the opinion of the House that this proposal to establish Volunteer Corps in Ireland was premature, and he thought that most of their Lordships, and even the Government itself, were agreed that this was not the most happy time to introduce a measure of this kind. They would find that it would be much better to wait a little longer before passing such a measure, although he most earnestly hoped that the association between England and Ireland would grow closer and closer; but, at the present time, he thought their Lordships would do well to pass to the Previous Question, and bring forward this measure on a more favourable occasion.

LORD STRATHNAIRN: My Lords, I cannot coincide with my noble Friend (Earl Spencer) in the opinion which he has expressed on this subject, although I admire the frankness with which the opinion was expressed from beginning to end. It is my duty to say that my experience of the Militia of Ireland is different from that of my noble Friend. Neither can I concur in the observations of my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State. Does the Under Secretary of State propose to give us a system of limitation and restriction in Ireland, while professing to put the United Kingdom on an equality? I do not see we can give this privilege to Ireland, and accompany it with limitations; were we to do so, the Irish would charge us with taking back with one hand what we give with the other. That was really the gist of the speech of the noble Viscount. I shall give my decided vote against the Bill, which appears to have been thrown like an apple of discord into our ranks. I am the last man to give a vote in this case which would seem to imply a want of confidence in the Irish. I have always considered them my countrymen, and I have always voted for any Liberal measure to put them on equal principles with us; but, to vote that arms should be placed in their hands and then limit them, and so distrust them, is to subject them to all kinds of vexation, and, I think, my Lords, is opposed to all prudence and statesmanship.

Then, a Question being stated thereupon, the Previous Question was put, "Whether the said Question shall be now put?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 16; Not-Contents 39: Majority 23.

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*Resolved in the Negative.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 7th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, Class IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; ARMY ESTIMATES; CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, Class I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS; Class II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS (Supplementary); Class IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; Class V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.

*Resolutions* [July 28 and August 1] further considered and agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—*Resolutions* [August 6] reported.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1877-8—considered in Committee—*Resolutions* [August 6] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—First Reading—Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) \* [289].

Select Committee—Report—Lough Erne and River (Continuance) [No. 347].

Committee—Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) [204]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [268]; Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) (*re-comm.*) [282]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices [78-288].

Considered as amended—Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) [143].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing [262], and passed.

Third Reading—Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment \* [128]; Bills of Sale (Ireland) \* [273]; Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice) \* [269], and passed.

Withdrawn—Linen and Hempen Manufactures (Ireland) \* [202]; Debtors Act (1869) Amendment \* [116]; Bankruptcy Law Amendment (*re-comm.*) \* [264]; Courts of Justice Building Act (1866) Amendment \* [156]; Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment \* [269].

# PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## PRIVATE BILLS.—STANDING ORDERS

MR. J. G. TALBOT moved to add, at the end of Standing Order No. 13—

(Notice to Owners and Lessees of Railways, Tramways, or Canals crossed, affected, or interfered with by proposed Tramway.)

"On or before the 15th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited."

The Select Committee of the House of Lords on Tramways had recently made a Report which contained the following recommendation:—

"Notices ought also to be served on Railway Companies in all cases in which it is proposed to cross their lines upon the level, or to lay Tramways over any of their bridges; and the attention of the Board of Trade ought also to be called to such cases, in order that they may be especially reported upon by the Inspectors of the Board."

It appeared that in one case, in regard to the Midland Railway Company, the Company received no intimation that their line was to be crossed by a Tramway until they were actually informed that their lines were to be cut for the purpose. Mr. Allport, the Manager of the Midland Railway Company, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords, said—

"It may have been an oversight; but last Session without any notice, or without the cognizance of the solicitor of the Midland Railway Company, a Tramway Company obtained power to construct a Tramway across the main line of the Midland Railway, and on the level between Gloucester and Bristol."

The Tramway was the Gloucester Tramway, authorized by a Provisional Order. It was considered only reasonable, to guard against such surprises in future, that notice should be required to be given; and he, therefore, begged to move this addition to the Standing Order.

*Motion agreed to.*

### QUESTIONS.

#### ARMY (IRELAND)—AUXILIARY FORCES —THE MILITIA—SERGEANTS OF THE FIRST CLASS.—QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the first class staff sergeants of the Irish Militia receive the same fuel and light allowance as the first class staff sergeants of English and Scotch Militia regiments; and, if not, if he would explain to the House why?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, I have to state, in answer to the hon. Member, that I am not aware of there being any difference whatever between the first-class Staff sergeants of the Irish Militia and those of English and Scotch Militia; but if the hon. Member will give me any particular case in which such a difference exists, I will inquire into it.

#### ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS ACT, 1875.—QUESTION.

MR. FAWCETT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he intends to introduce the Bill for the amendment of "The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1875?"

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he was sorry that the Bill introduced on the previous day for the amendment of the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1875, had not been printed; but he hoped it would be in the hands of hon. Members in a few hours.

#### ARMY—THE VETERINARY WARRANT OF 1878.—QUESTION.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state the number of Veterinary Surgeons dis-qualified as regards eligibility for promotion to the first-class grade by the operation of the Veterinary Warrant of 1878, and the reason why those Veterinary Surgeons who have completed the twelve years' qualifying service still remain unpromoted; and, whether certain Letters and Documents complaining of and urging a reconsideration of the Warrant, which were received at the War Office prior to the commencement of the present Session, have yet been referred to him; and, if so, whether he has arrived at any decision on the subject?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, he was not at present prepared to give the numbers referred to in the first part of the Question; but if the hon. and gallant Gentleman would repeat that part of the Question at a future date, he would endeavour to supply them. With regard to the reconsideration of the Warrant, there were certain calculations which would have to be made before he could give a decision on the matter, and owing to pressure of Business, the actuary had not been able to furnish him with the results of those calculations up to the present time.

#### GRANTS FOR FISHERY PIERS (IRELAND).—QUESTION.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, considering the distress that exists in Ireland, and the urgency of some of the applications for works under the Fishery Piers Acts, the Government will favourably consider and soon decide on the list of applications specially recommended by the Commissioners of Public Works for immediate execution, without waiting for the completion of Ardglass Harbour?

**SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON:** Sir, I quite admit the importance of the subject which the hon. Member has brought before me in the Question he has put. I am at present in communication with the Board of Works about one or two applications for grants for harbours; but my difficulty at present is that no provision has been made for these works in the Estimates. However, that is a difficulty I shall endeavour to overcome, if I find from the Correspondence with the Board of Works that I am able to carry out the object of its recommendations.

**MINES REGULATION ACT, 1872—BLANTYRE COLLIERY EXPLOSION.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. MACDONALD** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If the inquiry that has been, or is now being, made into the cause or causes of the recent explosion at the Blantyre Collieries, near Hamilton, is to be of purely a private character, such as are common in Scotland; and, as such, to be seen only by Government officials; and, whether he will present to the House a summary of the result of the inquiry, when completed?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** Sir, as the inquiry by the Procurator Fiscal is solely directed to the question whether criminal proceedings should be taken against any person or not, and does not necessarily touch any important question as to the administration of the pit, I have determined that it had better be conducted in private. After that inquiry, I will send down Mr. Dickinson to make a further investigation as to the administration of the colliery.

**AFGHANISTAN—HEALTH OF THE MILITARY FORCES—THE 10TH HUSSARS.**

**QUESTIONS.**

**SIR ARTHUR HAYTER** asked the Secretary of State for War, What truth there is in the following statement of the "*Lancet*," copied into the "*Army and Navy Gazette*" of the 26th ult. respecting the return march of the 10th Hussars beyond the Indus, viz.:—

"The 10th Hussars, who, it will be remembered, lost fifty men in crossing the Cabul River at night some four months ago, have again been unfortunate, and head the list of cholera casual-

ties—at Fort Ballei, the second march from Gundamak, they reported fifteen deaths from cholera; fourteen more fatal cases occurred at Dakka, and six at Bosawul;"

whether, while suffering from cholera, the 10th Hussars were hurried on by forced marches to reach the Indus, before the bridge broke down on the 22nd of June; whether any order for forced marches was given while the regiment was suffering from cholera, either by the Viceroy or his military advisers; and, whether such order would under the circumstances be approved by him?

**COLONEL STANLEY:** Sir, I have very little information on this subject. The only official information I can trace is a letter from the officer commanding the 10th Hussars, in which he states that unusually large drafts were required, and that recruiting would have to be carried on vigorously; and, in connection with that, reference is made to the regiment having passed through a country where a good deal of cholera has prevailed. That is the only reference I can find. I have no means of knowing whether the facts stated in the Question are correct; and as to the latter part of the Question, whether an order for forced marches would have been approved by me, that is a matter on which I must suspend my judgment, as it would very much depend on the circumstances of the case.

**SIR ARTHUR HAYTER** asked, Whether the Secretary of State for War would grant a Return of the strength of all the regiments at the time of their advance on Ali Musjid, and at the time of their falling back to get beyond the Indus—a return which would of course include the casualties in the 10th Hussars; and, whether he would inquire of the Viceroy why the regiment was hurried on when suffering from cholera?

**MR. E. STANHOPE:** Sir, I believe the real reason why the regiment was hurried forward was, because it was attacked with cholera, and because it was desirable to move it as quickly as possible out of the district where cholera prevailed, and that it had no reference to the breaking down of the bridge, which could not have been anticipated.

**SIR ARTHUR HAYTER:** Were there forced marches?

**MR. E. STANHOPE:** I am afraid I cannot answer that Question.



## RAILWAYS—CONTINUOUS BRAKES.

## QUESTION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, seeing he has made a Parliamentary Paper of the North Eastern Railway Engineer's Report on the Westinghouse Brake, he will ask the Caledonian Railway Company to get a Report from their Engineer on the Steel-McInnes brake, and make that a Parliamentary Paper also?

MR. J. G. TALBOT: Sir, a copy of the Report to which the hon. Gentleman refers, which has been sent to us by Mr. Harrison, the Engineer of the North Eastern Railway Company, was presented to the House on the Motion of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay); but the President of the Board of Trade has repeatedly stated that we decline to give any opinion as to the relative merits of competing brakes. With regard to Papers on the subject of continuous brakes, my noble Friend (Viscount Sandon) has stated that as this controversy excites so much interest, in Parliament, he thinks it right to lay upon the Table any Papers of interest concerning the various brakes which are sent to the Board of Trade, which hon. Members may wish to have made public in this way; but we must entirely decline to ask particular railway companies for reports as to particular forms of brake.

## BRITISH BURMAH—SALE OF OPIUM.

## QUESTION.

MR. RICHARD asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he has received a copy of a petition presented by natives of British Burmah to the Chief Commissioner of that Province, the prayer of which was that the sale of opium in Burmah might be entirely prohibited, and that an extra tax be put upon the land to make up the loss of revenue; whether he has received from the Chief Commissioner a Report of the results by an inquiry which the Chief Commissioner had instituted as to the effects of the sale of opium in Burmah; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House these and other documents relating to the sale of Government opium in British Burmah?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the only answer I can give to the Question of the hon. Member is that we have received no Petition on the subject.

## THE INDIA OFFICE—BEER TASTERS.

## QUESTION.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that it is proposed to abolish the office of Beer-taster at the India Office; and, if so, whether any compensation will be given to those who have filled the office during the last ten years, and have effected great economies?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the examiners of malt liquor have hitherto been appointed from year to year. It is now proposed to adopt a less costly; but it is thought equally efficient, system of examination, and it will, therefore, not be necessary to renew these appointments. Upon the question of compensation I can express no opinion; but I have no doubt that any application would receive careful consideration from the Secretary of State in Council.

## PRISONS (ENGLAND) ACT—TRANSFER OF PRISONERS—QUESTIONS.

MR. H. B. SHERIDAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, under section twenty-four, or any other section of the Prisons Act, debtors, unconvicted persons, and non-criminal prisoners, can be sent out of their own county for confinement in the prison of another county?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Yes, Sir; otherwise the clause of the Act would be practically inoperative. Great care is taken, however, that the persons alluded to should not be sent any great distance, so that they may not be caused much inconvenience in returning.

MR. H. B. SHERIDAN said, that Section 26 of the Act seemed to contemplate that the prisoners should be confined in their own county?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, the matter had been very carefully considered, and he was advised that there was no doubt about the matter.

## SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES—REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION.—QUESTION.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment, Whether he has yet considered the Report of the Royal Commission on the Scottish Universities; and, whether he proposes to bring in a Bill next Session to carry out their recommendations?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Yes, Sir, this question has undergone careful consideration. Her Majesty's Government cannot pledge themselves to bring in a Bill next Session, and all I can say is this, that the subject will not be lost sight of.

#### INLAND REVENUE—OFFICE OF DISTRIBUTOR OF STAMPS, GREENOCK.

##### QUESTIONS.

SIR WILLIAM CUNINGHAME asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been directed to the circumstances under which the office of distributor of Stamps at Greenock is to be transferred to the Excise; whether those employed in that office are to be discharged without notice; whether interim appointments are not usually made in such cases in order to give those in the office time to find other employment; and, whether he will not be so good as to direct that there should be some delay in this case, seeing that some of those employed have served many years?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the transfer is taking place in consequence of the death of the late distributor, and is in accordance with the practice which has been followed for the last 10 or 12 years. The clerks employed by the late distributor were in his, not in the public, service, and their connection with the business of stamp distribution ceases because of his ceasing to be distributor. Interim appointments are sometimes made in these cases; but only when the interests of the service require such appointments, and not merely "to give those in the office time to find other employment." In the present case, the collector of Inland Revenue is ready to take over the business at once, and as considerable economy will result, I should not be justified in delaying the transfer.

SIR WILLIAM CUNINGHAME: Will the employés be discharged without any notice at all?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: They are not employés of the Government. The employé of the Govern-

ment up to this time has been the distributor. He is dead. Those persons are connected with the office as his servants, and on his death they ceased to be in connection in reality with the office.

#### NEW ZEALAND—THE MAORIES.

##### QUESTION.

MR. P. J. SMYTH asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he is in a position to make a communication to the House respecting the state of the relations between the settlers and the Maories in the northern island of New Zealand; and, if it is true that preparations are being made to "settle at once and for ever the native difficulty" in accordance with the ideas of these settlers?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I have heard nothing from Sir Hercules Robinson on this subject, and should, therefore, infer that the New Zealand Government do not consider there is anything very serious in the state of affairs; and as the latest news from New Zealand with regard to it which has appeared in the Press is six weeks old, I should hope that any fears of a disturbance which may have existed have by this time subsided.

#### CYPRUS—REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—QUESTIONS.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the accounts promised with regard to Cyprus will include a statement of the actual receipts during the past twelve months, and the actual expenditure for the same period?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, the way the matter stands is this—The Estimates with regard to the revenue and expenditure of the Island for the year 1879-80 have already been presented to the House, and are now in the hands of hon. Members. The Estimates for 1878-9 will be in the hands of hon. Members this afternoon, and accompanied by a Memorandum of the late Financial Commission of Cyprus. The hon. and learned Member asks me whether we will present the actual expenditure and revenue for the last 12 months. My answer is, that the actual expenditure and revenue for the Island

*Mr. Lyon Playfair*

of Cyprus up to the end of the financial year 1878-9 has not yet been received by Her Majesty's Government. We have heard quite lately that these accounts are nearly finished in Cyprus, and Colonel Biddulph informs me that he hopes his financial officer will be able to send them home in a very short time, and we have also been told by Colonel Biddulph that there is every reason to believe that the actual revenue and expenditure of the Island up to the end of 1879 will bear out the Estimate which is in the hands of hon. Members now.

**MR. CHILDERS:** Sir, I should like to put a Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which I have given him private Notice. In the Paper which has been circulated, we find the revenue of Cyprus estimated at £177,000, and the expenditure at £174,000; but there is also an item of £34,000 to be spent on buildings, repairs, and moles during the year 1879-80, and the interest on the money borrowed for those works is given as part of the expenditure at the rate of £1,200 a-year. I wish to know from whom that money will be borrowed, and, if from the Exchequer, whether he proposes to bring in a Bill to enable the Treasury to make such a loan? I wish to ask, also, whether any considerable part of that expenditure has already been incurred?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I cannot answer the last Question now; but I can say that there is no intention whatever to make any advance from the Exchequer. The Government of Cyprus will make their own arrangements for borrowing whatever sum is required.

#### LUNACY ACTS—WADSLEY LUNATIC ASYLUM.—QUESTION.

**MR. MUNDELLA** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners on the death of a lunatic in Wadsley Asylum will be presented and distributed?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** Sir, the Lunacy Commissioners appointed to make this inquiry have, I am told, returned to London; but up to the present moment no Report has been made to me, nor have they sent a Report to the Lunacy Commissioners. I presume that

it will come into my hands before long, and when it does, of course, it will be presented.

#### THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—RICHMOND PARK.—QUESTION.

**DR. KENEALY** asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is true that the game of cricket is absolutely prohibited in Richmond Park, which is kept up at the expense of the public; and, if so, whether he will kindly state by whose command this restriction is imposed; whether it is true that salaries ranging from £300 a-year, paid to the Duke of Cambridge's gamekeepers, and pheasants eggs purchased at one shilling a-piece, and other considerable incidental expenses for the private and Royal preserves in the park, are all charged to the public; and, whether the gamekeepers are pensioned off with considerable annuities at the public charge; and, if so, whether he can hold out any prospect of reducing these expenses under the present depressed condition of the Country?

**MR. GERARD NOEL:** Sir, the game of cricket has always been prohibited in Richmond Park, and it is so stated in the Rules of the Park, under the Act of 1872; but it is allowed in Petersham Park and on Richmond Green. Salaries ranging from £300 a-year are paid to the gamekeepers, as appears in the Estimates. No pheasants' eggs are paid for at the public expense, although £150 is charged for feeding the game and watching, of which the House is fully aware, as attention has frequently been called to this by the hon. Member for Chelsea. The gamekeepers, like all other servants of the Crown, are pensioned, according to their length of service, when they have to retire or are superannuated. Notwithstanding the depressed condition of the country, I fear it will be impossible to reduce the salaries or pensions of the gamekeepers in Richmond Park.

#### THE COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.—QUESTION.

**MR. JOHN BRIGHT:** Sir, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which I have not given him Notice, but which I daresay he will have no diffi-

culty in answering. It is, Whether the names of the Commissioners on Agricultural Distress can now be stated to the House, or whether there is any probability of our knowing the names before the rising of the House? There is great anxiety in the country to obtain information upon this subject.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, the anxiety of the right hon. Gentleman with respect to this subject is fully shared by Her Majesty's Government. There has been a great deal of difficulty experienced in arranging the Commission. It is now nearly completed, and as soon as it is, the names will be submitted to Parliament.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

##### QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked, What would be the Business taken on Saturday and on Monday; and, when the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill would be proceeded with?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the Government were anxious to proceed with the Bill as soon as possible; but they were obliged to take the Public Works Loans Bill first. That would stand as the First Order on Saturday, and the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill would be taken as soon as conveniently might be.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he rose to make an appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, to put himself in Order, he would conclude with a Motion if necessary. He wanted to call attention to the state of the Order Paper. There were no less than 36 Orders of the Day—Government Orders—down for that night, and almost the whole of them were in reference to matters which were still contested. Certainly, it was a serious inconvenience to many hon. Members of that House, that they should be brought down there lest any of those Bills should be brought on, as to the passing of which there could be no longer the slightest chance in the present Session. He did think it was not too much to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to clear the Paper a little, in order that some of them might be able to leave earlier than they would be able to do otherwise. Of those 36 Bills, four of them had not even reached the second

reading. They knew that, from time to time, the Government was bringing in new Bills, and Bills of considerable importance, which they hoped to be able to pass the present Session. For instance, there was an Amendment to the Artizans' Dwellings Bill, which was really very important, and which required consideration. Now, he did not say anything as to the Bills which were waiting in Committee; but he would say a word or two about one Bill which was awaiting its second reading, and that was the Public Works Loans Bill, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced he would take as the First Order on Saturday next. He begged to point out to the House that this was a Bill of the most important character. It affected something like 60 Acts of Parliament—materially affected them; for, in some cases, it amounted to a practical repeal of legislation. The proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were hotly contested, and he asked if it was possible that a Bill of that kind could be passed at this late period of the Session? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken a most unusual course. He had attached the contentious clauses of the Bill to an ordinary Money Bill, and to the latter part there was not the slightest objection whatever. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that he must get his money; but there was not the slightest objection to him getting his money, provided he removed the objectionable clauses. Now, he was quite sure that, even if it were possible that a Bill of this kind could be carried this Session, it was not right to the House that it should be passed. It was a subject of the greatest possible importance, which ought to have been brought on earlier in the Session, and if it had been brought on earlier in the Session, and the House were in favour of it, of course he should be prepared to accept the decision of the majority; but he was not prepared to accept the decision of a majority now, at the present period of the Session, upon a matter which affected, really to a great extent, the whole of our local government. The appeal he wanted to make was, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might relieve the Order Paper of some of those 36 Orders, and particularly with regard to this Public Works Loans Bill, considering the lateness of

*Mr. John Bright*

the Session. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might abandon the clauses to which he had referred, leaving the whole matter for consideration, when it could be fully discussed in another Session. If the Bill were taken on Saturday, it appeared to him that opposition to the limits of obstruction would be perfectly justifiable. He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in seconding the Motion, said, they had had the "massacre of the innocents" for the year, and what was asked for now was the massacre of the guilty—those Bills which had no chance of passing. There were eight or ten legal Bills on the Paper, some of which had not even reached the stage of a second reading. He called particular attention to the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill, which the Government had suddenly brought forward, and intended to renew for three years, in order to tide over the General Election before dealing with the question. He considered such a proposition simply monstrous. Any important measure passed now in a House of 60 Members, at the fag-end of the Session, would not command the respect of the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. Chamberlain.)*

SIR JULIANGOLDSMID complained of the delay in the presentation of Papers on Egyptian affairs. This delay he attributed to the difficulties the Government thought they might be placed in by the questions that would be founded upon the documents he referred to. He appealed to the Government to give some opportunity for discussing Egyptian affairs, and the deposition of the Khedive, observing that they would otherwise be considered to have deliberately shirked discussion because they could give no satisfactory explanation of their conduct. It was quite time that the constant interference of Her Majesty's Government in the affairs of small and weak countries should be put a stop to. If the question was not brought forward and properly discussed before the Session was closed, the Government would have disregarded the pledge which they themselves had previously given on the subject. The matter had been treated much too

lightly by the Government. [*Cries of "Agreed!"*] He was glad to find that observation carried conviction even to the prejudiced minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He also pointed out that there were several Bills which might be conveniently removed from the Notice Paper.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY said, that the Public Works Loans Bill could not possibly be passed in its entirety in the few remaining days of the Session. At the same time, it was absolutely necessary that the money part of the Bill should be passed this Session, to enable the Commissioners to fulfil the engagements into which they had entered. He advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to limit the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill to its two first clauses, which were really the only part of it that was asked for, and there would then be no objection to its passing on that side of the House.

MR. MUNDELLA urged the withdrawal of the Bankruptcy Bill, and trusted that the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill would only be passed in its simplest form. This period of the Session was not the time to legislate in a crude and inconsiderate manner on such an important subject as Bankruptcy.

MR. HEYGATE declared that if the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill were limited to the two first clauses, as suggested by the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Thomson Hankey), it would not be sufficient to give the relief that was required, and would not, in fact, meet one-half of the case. The great majority of unlimited joint-stock banks were not in a position to avail themselves of any Act to limit their liability, by reason of the fact that too large a proportion of their capital was called up, and enough uncalled capital was not left to afford a sufficient security to their depositors. Consequently, some such clauses as those contained in the Government Bill, for providing reserved liability were absolutely indispensable. He earnestly hoped the Government would adhere to their proposals as far as those points were concerned.

SIR HENRY JAMES thought it would be dangerous to pass, in regard to Bankruptcy Law, what he might describe as an explaining Bill this Session, with a promise of a consolidating Bill

in next Session. Such an Act as he had referred to would be simply an unsettling, rather than an explaining Act. As the Bill now stood, there were no less than nine pages of Amendments to it, some of them of the most important character; and as the Long Vacation had commenced, it could not be expected that the legal Members would remain in the House to discuss it.

MR. ANDERSON thought the House had not been fairly treated with regard to the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill. That hon. Members took a very great interest in that measure was shown by the fact that there were four or five pages of Amendments on the Paper, and they were asked to shelve the question entirely for three years. He thought that was not a right course to take with the House. They had been promised that Bill over and over again, and now, at the end of the Session, Members were asked to give up their opposition to it. He himself was asked by the Government to take off his block, in order that this important Bill might be brought on at any hour, and rushed through the House, not in its present form, but as a Continuation Bill for three years, thus shelving the question of any amendment of the present law by the present Parliament. He thought that was going too far. The answer he gave was, that he would be very happy to take off the block if the Government would continue the Bill only for one year, and promise them a Bill again next year. He thought the House might be content with that arrangement, seeing that within a reasonable time it would have a chance of discussing this important matter.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that he was not at all surprised at the complaints made by hon. Members who had addressed the House of the state of Business which the Order Book represented. On the contrary, he was convinced that these complaints were well founded. By far the greater part of the Bills introduced at the commencement of the Session were about to be thrust out at the end of it; while a complete uncertainty reigned as to which of their measures Her Majesty's Government would now press upon an exhausted House at the end of a weary Session. He hoped that the House would allow him to represent, but with

all possible respect for the House itself, that unless measures were adopted to secure time for the due consideration of important measures early in each Session, and during the body of the Session, it was impossible that these measures should be considered by full Houses, while the energy of hon. Members were unexhausted. Experience had proved that there was no insurmountable difficulty in attaining that object, but much depended on the manner in which the House was led; and after what had occurred during the present and the two last Sessions, to which he would not further refer, it was manifest that, unless adequate measures were adopted for securing regularity and a reasonable expedition in the proceedings of the House, the House would always, at the close of each Session, when exhausted, find itself in the state of incumbrance and uncertainty which at present prevailed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER admitted that the block of Business this year was unusually great, and he was anxious, as far as possible, to diminish the pressure upon the time of the House. At the same time, he thought there was great force in the remark of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), that if the time of the House in the early part of the Session was taken up in lengthened discussions, it was really impossible to get on with the Business as rapidly as they could wish; and when they were met by two practices which now prevailed—one of putting a block against every Bill, so as to prevent its being brought on at a late hour, and the other of asking for pledges that particular Bills should be brought on as a First Order on some day or other—it was impossible to avoid the difficulty in which they now found themselves. There were a great many Bills on the Paper which had marks against them, which, if persevered in, would render it impossible to proceed with them; but, as regarded some of them, he thought that hon. Members might be disposed to remove their objections, when they might pass—such, for instance, as the Chartered Banks (Colonial) Bill, as to which he did not feel at all sure, when it was understood there would be some strong objection to it; but, with regard to other measures, he thought the Government must come to a

*Sir Henry James*

conclusion, especially as to the Bankruptcy Bill. They regretted exceedingly that that Bill, which was prepared with great care by the hon. and learned Attorney General, could not, owing to the pressure of other Business, be brought on at a time when it could be fully and satisfactorily discussed; but after what had fallen from the hon. Member for Sheffield, who took the subject up in a practical way, and who spoke in the interests of the mercantile community, he could not but acknowledge that it was desirable and necessary to lay the Bill aside. There might be one or two other Bills in the same connection which, perhaps, might also go, but he would rather not name them at present. With regard to the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill, it was, no doubt, promised last year that it should not be continued again, and that the annual continuance Bill should be brought forward this year, early in the Session, in a shape which would be more or less complete. This Bill had been brought forward, and it had been on the Notice Paper. There did not seem to be, certainly, the same reasons for pressing it forward as some hon. Gentlemen had suspected; but the Government was anxious that this should have been passed in the course of this Session. However, they found themselves so late in the Session that it was impossible to expect a full discussion of the important questions raised by the Bill. As the measure must be continued in some shape or other, he would propose to re-commit the Bill *pro forma*, and cut it down, making it simply a continuance Bill. It would be proposed, however, to make it a continuance Bill for a single year, and it would be proposed to make a change in the law to this effect—that the trial of Election Petitions shall be before two Judges, instead of one. That change, he believed, might be made if they continued the Bill only for a single year. He thought there need be no delay in getting through the Bill as it would now be submitted to the House. As to other Bills, he should carefully go through the Order Book and see the Bills he could take off. He was very anxious to proceed with the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill, and he thought it was desired by the mercantile community. His hon. Friend the Member for

Peterborough (Mr. Hankey) suggested that the Bill should be cut down to the first two clauses. When the Bill got into Committee, it would be seen whether that course was thought satisfactory or not; he considered, from what had reached him, there would be two opinions on that question. He believed that, when they got into Committee, it would be found that the difficulties were not nearly so great as was supposed. Then there was the Public Works Loans Bill; and with regard to what had been said on that subject, he must say he did not think the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) was the Member of that House who had a special and particular right to make an appeal. The Bill was one of very great importance. It dealt with a matter to which he had, more than a year ago, called attention in a Budget speech. A question of considerable financial importance was involved, and it was a question on which the House ought to have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion. With regard to the fact that the Bill stood on the Paper so late in the Session, he must remind the House what had happened with regard to it. At the request of the hon. Member for Birmingham, he gave a promise, early in the Session, that the Bill should not be brought forward except as the first Order of the Day. A small technical error happened in the way the Bill was originally delivered. He never had the slightest hint that there was such an error as would impede the progress of the Bill, although that fact was perfectly well known to the hon. Member for Birmingham at an early period.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, it was perfectly well known to him that there was an irregularity in the Bill; but it was not known to him that it was not also known to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Then he was supposed to have allowed that Bill to remain on the Order Book for several months, knowing well that there was this irregularity in it, knowing, at the same time, that whenever the Bill came on, the hon. Member for Birmingham would be able to take advantage of it. The Bill was brought forward as the First Order of the Day on Wednesday fortnight, for the purpose of

fair discussion, and the irregularity was immediately pleaded, and he was obliged to put the Bill off. In these circumstances, he felt bound, in point of honour, not to break the pledge given earlier in the Session—that a Bill of this importance, which really would not take a very long time to discuss, should be brought forward. He was now asked to drop it. All he could say was—"I won't." He was exceedingly sorry to take any course that would be inconvenient to the House; but this was a matter in which personal honour was concerned, and it would be absolutely necessary to take some steps by which the judgment of the House would be taken on this Bill. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid), he hoped there would be an opportunity found for the discussion of Egyptian questions. The hon. Baronet was in error in supposing that the Papers had been deliberately kept back. They were now nearly ready; indeed, he was surprised they had not been delivered already; and he hoped there would be time for a discussion of a question which the Government were most anxious to have discussed.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER thought that, considering all the difficulties of the case, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had treated the House very fairly; but he entirely agreed with the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), that this would be a lesson to them in future Sessions, to consider at the beginning how more effectively to carry on the Business. They had questions of this kind raised at the close of every Session; but he never knew an occasion when there was so much reason for them as now. He was glad to hear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the Bankruptcy Bill could not be proceeded with and that the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill would not pass without an important addition. The Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill, he quite agreed, they would have to consider; and as to the National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill, he thought it was evident that would give rise to a good deal of discussion. As to the Public Works Loans Bill, on which, on Saturday next, the Chancellor of the Exchequer must expect some discussion, he wished to say he was not aware of the irregularity until the day

it was mentioned by the hon. Member for Birmingham. He was rather surprised that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not aware of the irregularity.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he wished to explain. What happened was this. When the Bill was brought in, he accidentally gave a wrong copy into the office. It was not sent to the Treasury, as usual, to be revised before being distributed; but as soon as he was aware that it was a wrong copy, he sent one of the officers of the Treasury down to the House to know what was the right course, and the officers of the House sent word that if he gave another copy in that would do. He took that course, and he took for granted that this correct copy would take the place of the one delivered by mistake two days before. He never heard a word on the subject again until the hon. Member for Birmingham raised an objection.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, no one thought of charging the Chancellor of the Exchequer with irregularity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had lightened the Order Book of two important measures, and the House could not expect him to do more on so short a notice. He appealed to him whether, between that day and to-morrow, he could inform the House what other Business he intended to take.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, referring to the Great Seal Bill, said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General knew perfectly well the terms on which he was ready to take off the Paper the Notice he had given, and if the hon. and learned Gentleman would only communicate to him that he agreed to those terms, the only objection he had to the Bill would be removed. Some remarks had been made as to the difficulty the House had got into in consequence of the little progress made with Public Business this Session. He thought there was a great deal of exaggeration on that subject. People out-of-doors were in the habit of saying that the House had done very little this Session, when they had really done a good deal. The Army Discipline and Regulation Bill was equivalent to three or four considerable Government measures. He had some means of knowing something about that Bill before



the commencement of this Session, and he always thought it would take a great deal of time. The number of days that Bill was in Committee did not exceed, or even equal, the number of days occupied in the consideration of the Ballot Bill, which probably had only a third as many clauses as the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill. He did not wish an impression to go forth that the House of Commons was less capable, than at any former period, of performing the functions that devolved upon them.

MR. RAMSAY was understood to express regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not acceded to the appeal of the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Hankey) in regard to the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill. He also explained that his reason for putting down a Notice of opposition to the Chartered Banks (Colonial) Bill was that, not understanding fully the position of these banks, he could not assent to its principle. He disapproved the conduct of the Government with regard to it. It was only introduced on Saturday last, and it was read a second time on Tuesday morning, before the Bill was circulated. That was not a proper way to deal with a measure affecting important principles, of which the House had no cognizance. There was in the Bill nothing to show to the House what its principles were, and what the powers and privileges were which it proposed to grant and continue to the Colonial Chartered Banks. He deprecated such a mode of introducing an important Bill as disrespectful to the House, and calculated to make the public feel that the Public Business was not properly attended to. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to withdraw the Bill. He wished also to refer to the Scotch Poor Law Bill. This measure was introduced for the purpose of providing for Scotland an increased grant in aid of the cost of providing for the medical relief of the poor. The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that it was not at all necessary that a Bill should pass through the House to effect the object desired. He offered the suggestion to the Government that the Board of Supervision should be given the sums deemed necessary to put Scotland on a footing with England and Ireland, subject to the condition that it

must be distributed according to rules to be laid down by the Government.

MR. PLUNKET said, with reference to the Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill, that he had, in consideration for the convenience of hon. Members, made up his mind to withdraw the Bill before the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The real object of the Bill was to give redress to the poorer clergy who were wholly deprived of their incumbencies by the operation of the Church Act of 1869, though that Act did not contemplate such a result. Therefore, the Bill did not propose in any degree to challenge the principles of that Act. At this late period of the Session he was determined to move that the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be discharged; but he hoped that next Session the Government would aid him in passing the Bill at as early a period as possible.

MR. RYLANDS said, that with respect to the Public Works Loans Bill, he might be permitted to say that he exceedingly regretted that the course he and his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had pursued should have given the Chancellor of the Exchequer any annoyance. It was certainly not his, or his hon. Friend's wish that the right hon. Gentleman should have experienced any annoyance. He thought, however, it only right to remind the right hon. Gentleman that a year ago, when the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) brought forward his Hypothec Bill, and before the second reading substituted an amended Bill in precisely the same way as had been done in the present instance, objection was immediately taken to the second reading by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary and the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he took objection upon the second reading.

MR. RYLANDS said, that the Home Secretary acted regarding the Hypothec Bill just as he and his hon. Friend had done respecting the Public Works Loans Bill. They, however, did not wish to have any unpleasant feeling in the matter, and regretted very much to learn that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should imagine that he had any ground of complaint against them. At the present time they would be quite willing to

allow the right hon. Gentleman to take the second reading of the Bill as a matter of form, if they were to understand that in Committee those portions of the Bill which were of a contestable nature should not be pressed at this late period of the Session, because although it was perfectly true that the Bill was introduced early in the Session, the right hon. Gentleman had never had an opportunity of placing it on the Paper in a position in which it could fairly be discussed. Therefore, they were entitled to say that if, in the expiring moments of the Session, a Bill was introduced involving matter of that kind, they would be justified in using every endeavour in their power to prevent the Bill passing. In reference to the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill, distinct pledges were given last year by the Government to the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea. Those pledges had not been redeemed; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that they should be allowed to continue the Bill for another year with slight alteration, the Government undertaking that next year they would deal with the question. He was in a position to say that the hon. Baronet agreed with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, providing that there would be a repetition so to speak of the pledge given last year. He gathered that the right hon. Gentleman was willing that that should be so; but in order that it might appear in the records of their proceedings, he would ask the Home Secretary, inasmuch as the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not, according to the rules of debate, speak again, to rise in his place and assure them that the Government would feel themselves under the obligation of dealing with the question early next Session.

MR. COURTNEY felt convinced that if the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill were extended to England, it would add largely to the expense of the trials and would diminish the efficiency of the Courts. It would be very difficult to spare two Judges in England, but it would not be difficult to provide them in Ireland. He noticed that the Report on the University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill was set down for the First Order to-morrow; but he thought it should not be so taken until after the Bill had been reprinted.

*Mr. Rylands*

MR. D. O'CONOR said, the recommendation of the Committee applied equally to England.

MR. J. LOWTHER, said that there never had been any understanding that the University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill should be taken as the First Order. Supply must be concluded before the Bill could be taken. If Supply were closed that evening, the Report of Supply would be taken to-morrow, and then the Bill in question would come on. With reference to the Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill, the hon. Member (Mr. Plunket) had exercised a wise discretion in proposing to discharge the Order for the Second Reading. The subject was, no doubt, of great importance, but the Government did not feel bound to deal with it, as the Bill was intended to redress a grievance for which they were not responsible.

MR. MELDON said, it would be impossible for the House to take the University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill to-morrow, because it had not yet been reprinted.

MR. J. LOWTHER hoped the reprinted Bill would be in the hands of hon. Members in time to allow of its being taken at the Evening Sitting.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in response to the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already signified that it was the intention of the Government to bring forward the subject of corrupt practices early next Session, and he did not know that any further pledge could be given. Although he was aware that the discussion which had taken place was quite natural, he must admit having been astonished at the minute details which had been spoken of by hon. Members, and as almost every Bill in the Order Book had been discussed, he hoped the House would be allowed to proceed with the Business.

MR. SHAW-LEFEVRE asked for a clear understanding with regard to the Public Works Loans Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that after he had made his statement upon the subject of the Bill on Saturday, it was possible hon. Members would not see much difficulty in the way of its passing.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

## PUBLIC RECORDS (IRELAND).

## QUESTION.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether, considering that the Rolls and Records of England and Scotland have been to a large extent already calendered, and many of them printed, the Government will resume the work on the Irish Public Records, which has been suspended for over ten years?

MR. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said, that no provision had been made in the Estimates of the current year to cover the expenditure which had been incurred by the work; he would, however, before the preparation of the next Estimates, consult his Colleagues of the Treasury on the subject.

## WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS).

## QUESTION.

MR. MORLEY (for Sir JOHN LUBBOCK) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If his attention has been called to the insufficiency of the supply of water to the poor, and especially to the occupiers of artisans' and labourers' dwellings in the East London Water Company's district; and, if he will cause an inquiry to be instituted with respect thereto, and also to the powers vested in the East London Water Company, by which it declines to deliver water at a greater height than forty feet, with a view to remedial measures being adopted?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, he had made inquiry into the subject, and had been informed that it was not the fact that any general complaint had been made by or on behalf of the poor people at the East End of London, with regard to an insufficient supply of water. Complaints had been made from time to time; but there had been none recently, so far as he was aware. A complaint had recently been made by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, that certain buildings which they had adapted for the poorer classes were not adequately supplied with water. The Water Company contended that the supply was actually in excess of the Parliamentary obligations under which they lay; and they also alleged that the Dwellings Company had declined to make arrangements suitable for the re-

ception of the water. However that might be, certain it was that the East London Water Company were not bound to furnish water to a higher level than 40 feet.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ROYAL CONSTABULARY, IRELAND—  
CASE OF MR. JOHN CROKER.

## RESOLUTION.

DR. O'LEARY rose to call attention to the case of Mr. John Croker, and to move—

"That the punishment inflicted on Mr. John Croker, late Sub-Inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary, by reduction in rank in 1867, and subsequent dismissal from that force for offences of which he declared himself to be innocent, without first affording him an opportunity of proving his innocence before an independent tribunal, was not just, and in the opinion of this House such an opportunity ought now to be given."

The facts of the case, he said, were well known to the Irish public. Sub-Inspector Croker, without notice or inquiry, had been dismissed from the first and the second class upon an alleged infringement of the rules of the force, notwithstanding that he offered to prove that he did not violate any rule, and was uniformly refused a hearing. It was notorious, and he (Dr. O'Leary) held it was perfectly true, that one of the very first causes which led to the affair was the promotion of officers over the heads of sub-inspectors, he being left behind. He found that the Inspector General had been in the habit of borrowing money from the officers, and it was those officers who secured promotion. That excited the ire of Inspector Brownrigg, which was further increased by Sub-Inspector Croker having had occasion to report that the son of Inspector Brownrigg, being on duty at Bray, at a time when an officer had fled from duty. That was another black mark against Sub-Inspector Croker. Hence, when the next Inspector General came into power, Mr. Croker still continued to protest by letter against the

injustice he had suffered, and Inspector General Wood became so annoyed that he declared he would dismiss him altogether, and accordingly, subsequently, he was dismissed out of private pique. Colonel Wood refused to sign the necessary certificate of efficiency, and so the unfortunate man was deprived of the usual allowance, and had since been endeavouring in vain to obtain redress. That was the second time the matter had been brought before the House. The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Bruen), in May, 1876, introduced the matter, and was at the time opposed strongly by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland. At a later stage of the debate, the Solicitor General for Ireland said he could not accept the Motion, because it implied a Vote of Censure upon Colonel Wood, a distinguished public servant, and he further said that since the Chief Secretary had spoken, matters had come to his knowledge with which he had not been acquainted before, and that if the Motion were withdrawn such an inquiry should be instituted as would be satisfactory to all parties. Upon that assurance the hon. Member for Carlow withdrew his Motion. An inquiry had been held in Dublin Castle. That inquiry did not fulfil the promise given in the House of Commons by the Solicitor General for Ireland. It was necessary to obtain a screen for the authorities, and, accordingly, a false issue was raised. The whole inquiry in Dublin was confined to the issue as to whether Mr. Hamilton sent a draft Report to the Treasury, while the merits of the case were not entered into at all. The Report of Mr. Hamilton, it appeared, was lost in the Treasury, so that no answer to the man's appeal for justice was made. The conduct of the inquiry was not made in compliance with the promise given to the hon. Member for Carlow, to the effect that there should be a full inquiry upon the subject. The Commissioner found that Mr. Croker did make the application to the Treasury, and that the document had been lost, and he also certified that there was evidence that Mr. Hamilton had made a draft Report. He further stated that it could not be considered that the paper produced was a correct copy of the draft Report sent in by Mr. Hamilton to the Treasury, of which there was no trace, either in the private papers of Mr. Hamilton, or at the Treas-

*Dr. O'Leary*

ury. Thus it was plain that there was no foundation for the excuse which the Government set up as a reason for denying justice to this unfortunate man, and under the circumstances he appealed to the Government to extend merciful consideration to him, and would conclude by moving the Motion set down in his name upon the Paper.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY did not think that the Chief Secretary had been rightly informed in the matter. The real question was, whether the fresh inquiry having miscarried, Mr. Croker was not now entitled to another, which would carry out the promise given by the Government to the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Bruen). The facts were that Mr. Croker was reduced from the first to the second class of inspectors without an inquiry, and that because he insisted upon inquiry, he was dismissed. Let them look at what took place when this subject last came before the House. It was then admitted that, in the first instance, the information on which the Government acted was inaccurate. If that were so, could the present Chief Secretary rely on the information which he now received from the Constabulary authorities? On the previous occasion, it was urged, as against the veracity of Mr. Croker, that no draft Report of Mr. Hamilton, as he alleged, really existed; but it was now admitted, as the result of the inquiry in Dublin, that there was evidence that such a draft Report did exist. But this was a by-issue, and what was asked was that it should be disregarded, and that there should be an inquiry into the real merits of the case. He begged to second the Motion.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the punishment inflicted on Mr. John Croker, late Sub-Inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary, by reduction in rank in 1867, and subsequent dismissal from that force for offences of which he declared himself to be innocent, without first affording him an opportunity of proving his innocence before an independent tribunal, was not just; and, in the opinion of this House, such an opportunity ought now to be given,"—(*Dr. O'Leary*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he regretted that he could not consent to re-open this case. Let the House see its history. There were several reports made against Mr. Croker by successive Inspectors General, by Sir Duncan Macgregor and Sir H. Brownrigg, and as the result of an inquiry which took place, it was proved that his financial position was, through his own fault, not what it ought to have been. It was also shown that he had violated the regulations of the Service in various respects. When, in 1868, Colonel Wood recommended his dismissal on the ground of a long series of offences, it was laid before the then Chief Secretary, who assented to his dismissal. On the faith of a document circulated by Mr. Croker, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Bruen) brought the matter before the House two years ago. The then Solicitor General promised that there should be a new inquiry. It was said that this promise had not been carried out; but that he denied, the duty of making the inquiry having been deputed to a Queen's Counsel. Mr. Croker appeared before him by counsel. In the course of the proceedings a document was produced which was said to be a Report by the late Mr. Hamilton, the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury; but it was impossible to believe that such a document as that was could, even as a rough draft, have proceeded from a gentleman of the long official experience and the education of the late Mr. Hamilton. The Commissioner reported that, looking to the internal evidence afforded by the document, he was not satisfied that it was a genuine document. That being the case, and having regard to the previous offences alleged against Mr. Croker, the Government were of opinion that there was no cause for further inquiry, and that it was impossible to reinstate Mr. Croker.

MR. MELDON denied that there had been a full inquiry into the facts of the case before Mr. De Moleyns, for that gentleman was restricted from going into the merits until he had ascertained whether the alleged draft Report of Mr. Hamilton was a genuine document. That document Mr. De Moleyns did not report to be a forgery. With respect to the merits of the case, the question as to Mr. Hamilton's Report was not brought before the House in 1876. Mr. Croker,

after 30 years' service, was reduced from the rank of inspector to that of sub-inspector on one ground, and one ground only—namely, that he had broken one of the rules of the Constabulary Force in taking a house outside his district with a larger quantity of land about it than three acres. Upon that he was reduced. He had taken a house with seven acres attached to it. His reduction in rank was obtained, he would not say by fraud; but it was obtained indubitably and admittedly by suppression. In the Constabulary Force promotions were made and judgments formed on the conduct of officers with reference to the number of favourable or unfavourable records in each particular case. At the time that his superior asked to have Captain Croker's sentence of reduction approved by the Lord Lieutenant he had 14 favourable records, and only six of them were brought to the notice of the Lord Lieutenant. Captain Croker was, it appeared, transferred to the town of Carlow. There he could not get a suitable residence adjoining the police barracks; but there was a house near the barracks, though outside his district, but according to the rules of the force he could not take it. Besides, that house had seven acres attached to it, and that, again, was another objection. Accordingly, he went to Dublin to consult the Inspector General, and, calling at his office, he was told that the Inspector General was engaged, but that his Secretary would see him. The Secretary conducted the communications, and said there would not be much difficulty in getting permission for Captain Croker to take the house required. The Secretary, closing the interview, said Captain Croker had the Inspector General's permission to take the house with the seven acres of land. These were the admitted facts; and, accordingly, Captain Croker entered into possession of the house and the seven acres, and lived there for some time. Some informer, not knowing that Colonel Wood had given his permission, complained to the Inspector General, who, forgetting the permission he gave, reduced Captain Croker from the rank of inspector to that of sub-inspector. The Lord Lieutenant's sanction to the reduction was obtained upon an *ex parte* statement in which there was a suppression of favourable records. Captain Croker,

feeling very indignant, wrote a hot letter to the Inspector General, which letter was declared insubordinate. The dismissal of Captain Croker was then decided upon; and the Lord Lieutenant, when applied to to confirm the dismissal, refused to do so until the Inspector General gave a positive undertaking that he would never oppose Captain Croker getting a retiring allowance or compensation. On this second occasion the Lord Lieutenant's assent was obtained by the Inspector General stating that he would not oppose the granting of a retiring allowance to Captain Croker. Thereupon, without the inquiry to which he was entitled, Captain Croker was dismissed the force. He was, no doubt, much dissatisfied by having the authorities against him, and protesting his innocence, was willing to take compensation. Captain Croker appealed to Lord Mayo, and he recommended the matter to the Treasury. The Treasury, when asked for the retiring allowance, pointed to the section of the Act requiring that the Inspector General should give a certificate of good conduct. Colonel Wood in this matter actually broke the promise he gave to the Lord Lieutenant, and said he would not give any certificate of the kind. When charged with this afterwards he tried to escape by a quibble, saying that he never promised to give a certificate; that he merely promised he would not oppose the granting of the retiring allowance. In consequence of the withholding of the certificate the compensation was not granted. Then Captain Croker made an appeal to the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), who directed Mr. Hamilton to go and make an inquiry. Lord Mayo wished the retiring allowance to be granted. Mr. Hamilton made a draft Report, which he sent to Captain Croker for his approval, and surely he would never have done so if it had been against that gentleman. But the draft Report and other documents in the case had been lost at the Treasury. In 1876 the facts were brought before the House by the hon. Member for Carlisle (Mr. Bruen), who never referred to Mr. Hamilton's Report. Then the Solicitor General of the day stated that an inquiry would be instituted which would be satisfactory to all parties. Up to that moment no human being had spoken of an inquiry into Mr.

Hamilton's Report, and it was idle to say that that was what was contemplated. What was asked for then, and what they asked for now, was a full inquiry into all the facts of the case.

DR. O'LEARY asked permission of the House to withdraw the Amendment.

Question put, and agreed to.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," proposed.

#### INDIA—THE MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH — APPLICATION FOR INCREASE OF ALLOWANCE.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

MR. FAWCETT, who had given Notice of the following Motion:—

"That, considering the present financial condition of India, and the promises that have been made to reduce the expenditure of that country, this House is of opinion that the application which has been recently made to the Secretary of State for India in Council by Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, for an increase of the allowance which he annually receives from the revenues of India, ought not to be granted."

said that, in reply to a Question put by him to the Under Secretary, he was informed that an application had been made for an increased allowance, and that it had been referred to the Government of India. That he regarded as a very unusual proceeding, considering that the Secretary of State and his Council were primarily responsible for the expenditure of the Revenues of India. He had also asked the Under Secretary of State for any Papers referring to the application to be produced; and if the hon. Gentleman was now prepared to grant that request, and to undertake that the increase should not be acceded to before Parliament had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the case, he would not pursue the subject further. No answer, however, being forthcoming from the Ministers present, he must lay before the House some considerations which seemed to him to offer most cogent reasons why the application should not be assented to. Some years ago a Treaty was entered into, by which an allowance of not less than four lacs, and not more than five lacs of rupees, was made to the Maharajah. Applications had frequently been made for an increase of the allowance. The subject had been frequently considered by previous Governments, and they were of opinion

Mr. Meldon

there was no reason why the allowance should be increased. If there was no reason 10 or 15 years ago for an increase, was there anything in the present financial condition of India to justify an increase of the allowance? £13,000 had been advanced to the Maharajah in order to extricate him from pecuniary difficulties, which, by extravagance, he had brought upon himself. The Government, as trustees of the monies of the people of India, had no right to spend their money for such a purpose. A Report on the estate had been made by Colonel West, who had shown that if the Maharajah gave up his passion for excessive game preserving his financial position might be restored without any additional grant of money. If, then, they spent the money of the people of India in spite of that Report, they would only be encouraging wasteful extravagance. The Under Secretary of State ought to be the very last man to sanction any proceeding that would cause the unnecessary sacrifice of a single shilling of Indian money; for when the abolition of the Indian Museum had been discussed it had been urged, perhaps with some force, that a saving of £9,000 would be effected. If, however, £9,000 was regarded as so important a sum, how much more serious was the amount applied for by the Maharajah? The Government would find, if they granted the application, that they had indefinitely increased the difficulties in the way of a policy of economy. He might probably be told that so rigid an economist as Sir John Strachey was not likely to yield to the Maharajah's request; but, possibly, the influence that had made some of the Council of the Secretary of State falter might also be brought to bear upon him. To accede to this application for an increased grant would put into the mouth of every person whose salary the Government might propose to reduce the argument that they were taking money from the poor, and giving money to one who had influential friends to support his claims. He regretted that the Forms of the House did not admit of his moving his Resolution; but if the application for an increased grant was acceded to, he should not allow a single day to elapse next Session without moving for a Committee to inquire into the whole circumstances connected with this matter. He

hoped, however, that the Government would take such a course as would make it unnecessary for him to re-open the subject.

MR. E. STANHOPE had no reason to complain of the observations of the hon. Member for Hackney; but it was well for the House to understand the position in which the question stood. The Home Government had instituted an inquiry into the affairs of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, and had referred certain questions arising out of that inquiry to the consideration of the Government of India. Within the last few days they had received a despatch from India, giving the views of the Indian Government upon the position of the Maharajah; but the despatch had not yet been submitted to the Secretary of State in Council. Within a few weeks the subject would be fully gone into. The House had been often told by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) that, by Act of Parliament, the control of the finances of India was, in the long run, vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council. That was a body who, having all the facts before them, were competent to form an opinion; but the Motion, as placed upon the Paper, would put the House in the place of the Secretary of State in Council. The hon. Member seemed to assume that there was an intention to give an increased allowance out of the Indian Revenues to the Maharajah; but he was at a loss to imagine what ground he had for that assumption. Until the Report received from India had been carefully gone into, there was no right to assume anything of the kind; and when the hon. Member alluded to influences brought to bear upon the India Office he (Mr. E. Stanhope) must say that there was no more independent body, able and anxious to do their duty, than that which had control of the finances of India. As to the advance of £13,000 without security, as the hon. Member said, it should be borne in mind that the Government had the best of all security in the fact that they were the paymasters. These advances were made pending the settlement of affairs, and there was ample security for repayment in the terms of settlement. It was true that the Secretary of State had thought it right to obtain a Report upon the Maharajah's

estate. It should be remembered that they were not solely dealing with the Maharajah personally. There were obligations from India due to the Maharajah, and when he spoke of a final settlement he hoped to establish such a state of affairs as would prevent the necessity of any further applications from the Maharajah, and would place his children in that position which, looking to all the circumstances of the case, they ought to occupy. To do that it might be necessary to lay a Bill before Parliament. He could not say that that would be so; but, possibly, it might be necessary to introduce a Private Bill on the subject, but he could not speak with certainty until he knew the decision at which the Secretary of State in Council had arrived. The most careful consideration would be given to the whole question, and all that could be urged in India or England would have every attention, and he hoped now the House might be allowed to leave a difficult and delicate subject.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION—FLOGGING IN PRISONS.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. PARNELL, in calling attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the working of the Penal Servitude Acts, and to the rules for the management of county and borough prisons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, said, he had purposed, if the Forms of the House had permitted, to move—

“That, in the opinion of this House, no sufficient necessity exists for the continuance of flogging for the punishment of prison offences.”

He was not quite sure whether the punishment was much resorted to in borough prisons; but in convict prisons it was very extensively inflicted. Flogging, he might add, was first introduced in the Irish convict prisons by the Penal Servitude Act of 1856; and he saw no good reason why, as a variety of other punishments might be put in force, it should be continued. He referred to the case of a prisoner named Murphy, who had been knocked down by a warder. When five men who had seen the assault made some exclamation they were marched off to punishment, which consisted of three dozen lashes of the cat, 28 days' bread and water, and the wearing of cross irons and chains night and

day. He called that a case of horrible brutality, and a disgrace to the Government. The punishment of flogging was resorted to for the most frivolous offences, chiefly in consequence of the want of independent inspection. He asked the Home Secretary if he meant materially to reduce the punishment of flogging in the prisons under his control, restricting its infliction to cases of assault on warders, and only after careful investigation. Military men ought not to be employed as Governors of prisons, or as warders. Those brought up in the military school were not the men for reforming our criminal population. He strongly disapproved the power given to gaolers and Governors of inflicting upon prisoners the punishment of close confinement with bread and water in the prisoner's own cell. The Chairman of the Visiting Justices of Middlesex complained of this power. Another matter was this—the Irish Prisons Act of 1877 required that a Return should be made every year of the punishments inflicted and the offences for which they had been inflicted. They had no Return from the Irish prisons which complied with the requirements of the Act; for though there was a Return of the number of punishments there was none as to their nature, or as to the offences for which they had been imposed. The hon. Gentleman then referred to the case of Patrick Grimes, who had died in Armagh gaol, and said that the Chief Secretary had thrown a slur on the verdict that had been returned by saying that the jury was largely composed of prisoners in the gaol. [MR. J. LOWTHER: Half-and-half.] That long interned prisoners should be put on a jury was open to objection, as they might be under the influence of the prison authorities; but it would be useful, he thought, to have prisoners undergoing short sentences acting on such juries. It would be also better if the authorities showed greater regard for the verdicts of juries. A representation on the case of Patrick Grimes had been drawn up by 12 jurors, citizens of Armagh, among whom was the foreman of the jury; but the only answer that had been received from the Castle was an acknowledgment that the statement had been received. The dietary in all the Irish prisons was entirely insufficient.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, the hon. Member had a great objection to

*Mr. E. Stanhope*



corporal punishment in all its shapes and forms; and, therefore, it was quite natural that he should raise the question. For his own part, however, he was not prepared to give up that punishment, which was very useful, and had not been carried to excess. His own opinion was that, in the long run, a man was more likely to be improved by a punishment being sharper and shorter than if it were of a prolonged kind. As to the way in which corporal punishment had been inflicted in convict prisons, the hon. Member seemed to think that punishment had been excessively employed even of late years. The facts, however, did not bear out that opinion. The number of whippings inflicted in convict prisons in 1877-8 was only 39, as compared with 92 in 1871-2, and 81 in 1872-3. The Returns, in fact, showed that since 1871 there had been a gradual and progressive decrease in the amount of corporal punishment inflicted in their convict prisons. The whole question had been examined by the Penal Servitude Commissioners, who were gentlemen most competent to deal with such a matter, and not at all likely to recommend undue rigour or harshness in the treatment of prisoners. In their Report the Commissioners said that corporal punishment was inflicted only for grave offences; that the evidence they had received showed that in many cases it produced a salutary effect; and that they saw no reason for thinking that it was inflicted more frequently than was necessary for the maintenance of proper authority over the worst-conducted class of convicts. With regard to local prisons, the gaoler had no power of flogging, and no prisoner could be flogged, except for the more serious kind of prison offences. If a criminal had been guilty of repeated offences in prison, or of an offence which the gaoler was not empowered to punish, then the Visiting Justices might, after inquiry upon oath, order him to be punished by personal correction. He had not yet received the figures with respect to corporal punishment in local gaols during the last year, but before Parliament separated he hoped to obtain them; but the Reports relating to the old local prisons showed that in very few of the smaller prisons was flogging resorted to at all. It was confined, principally, to the large prisons. He had ordered a careful investigation to be made of all

the cases in which corporal punishment seemed to be more largely used than in other prisons, with a view to prevent any mischief or abuse arising in those gaols; for no one was more anxious than he was that this punishment should be employed as seldom as possible with a due regard to discipline. With respect to the instrument used for corporal punishment, he had had long conversations, before the recent debates occurred, with the Director of Convict Prisons and the Chairman of the Prisons Commission, and he had come to the conclusion some time ago that if there were no knots on the "cat" used in the Navy there should be none on the "cat" used in prisons; but he made up his mind to introduce no alteration until the Commission reported. The Commission had reported, but they did not touch this part of the subject; and he saw no reason now why he and the Director of the Convict Prisons should not now act on the conclusions at which he had arrived. The Report referred to would be laid upon the Table before the end of the Session. The prison at Spike Island had been condemned, and the prisoners would be removed elsewhere as soon as a suitable place for their reception had been determined upon. In conclusion, he could assure the House that every endeavour would be made to secure that the prisoners should be properly treated and discipline fully carried out. On the one hand, prisoners must not be allowed to say that any unfairness had been practised towards them; and, on the other hand, care must be taken that when they left prison, whether as reformed characters or not, they would go away with the feeling that the gaol was not a desirable place to which to return.

MR. A. MOORE said, that there had been one gratifying feature in the speech of the Home Secretary—namely, that in future a cat-o'-nine-tails without knots was to be used. He (Mr. A. Moore) had not been able, during the recent discussion on the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill, to support the proposal for the total abolition of flogging; but when the various specimens of cats were exhibited in the Library of the House he was horrified at the fearful character of those weapons. There were certain other matters affecting prison discipline which he hoped would also receive attention from the right hon. Gentleman. In England a prisoner was allowed to ap-

peal to the authorities; but the Prison Commissioners, referring to Irish prisons, reported that a certain Captain Barlow never allowed a prisoner to appeal. Now, who was this Captain Barlow? Was he the Captain Barlow who had recently been placed on the Irish Prisons Board? He should be glad to have a distinct answer from the Government on that point. Then he found in the mouth of the Governor of Chatham Prison the astounding statement that "under no conceivable circumstances" would he accept the word of a prisoner against that of a warder. That was a point to which he would also direct the attention of the Home Secretary. Another was the regulations relating to the putting of a prisoner on bread and water. In Ireland this could not be done twice by a Governor without the consent of the superior authority; but in England a Governor might sentence a prisoner repeatedly to three days' bread and water, allowing only an interval of a day between each infliction of the punishment, and it had sometimes been the case that prisoners had been subjected to a bread-and-water diet for what was, practically, a term of 60 or 70 days. It would be well, he thought, to have a distinct understanding as to how far a Governor's powers in this direction extended. Then there ought to be some understanding as to whether prisoners should be handcuffed in front or behind. He protested against the mixing of prisoners of all kinds indiscriminately, and pressed upon the Government the necessity of providing for the classification of prisoners, and for some outside, unpaid, independent inspection of prisons. Did the Home Secretary propose to remedy the state of things of which he complained? With regard to the present system, he felt that nothing could be better calculated to turn out a continual supply of criminals.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, it was a very unfortunate circumstance that the Report of the Penal Servitude Commission was not in the hands of hon. Members when they had now to discuss the subject. However, he would not complain of that, because, no doubt, the labours of the Commission had been excessive. He had heard with satisfaction the careful and conciliatory statements made by the Home Secretary. In the early Sessions of the present Parliament it had been all but impossible to make any impression on the Treasury

Bench on the subject of prison discipline; but now incredulity was about to yield to facts. A number of recommendations were made on the subject of prison reform, and he joined with other hon. Members in appealing to the Government as to whether they intended, during the Recess, to prepare what he might call a Prison Reform Bill, for the purpose of carrying out their recommendations. What they desired was the classification of prisoners, accompanied by independent inspection. It ought, for instance, to be impossible to make prisoners for treason-felony associate with common criminals. He had been advised by the Home Secretary to bring in a Bill to repeal certain portions of the Treason-Felony Acts; but, perhaps, it would be better if the Chief Secretary for Ireland found time to do so. They were justified in demanding that the regulations which would apply to *habeas corpus* prisoners should be specified, and that they should be treated similarly to prisoners awaiting trial. If the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. A. Moore) did not repeat his Question at Question time, he should himself ask what steps the Government proposed to take to give effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners on that important subject. His strong conviction was that no measure on this subject could be satisfactory that did not provide for an independent medical inspection.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, of course, the Report of the Commission would receive the anxious consideration of the Irish Government. In reference to what had been said as to the absence of flogging in Irish prisons, other than convict prisons, he only wished to add that in prisons corporal punishment was only inflicted in cases especially inquired into by the Board of Commissioners, and such cases of punishment were exceedingly few. With respect to the case of the death of a prisoner named Grimes, which had been referred to, he explained that the jury empanelled by the Coroner consisted of six convicted persons suffering sentence in Armagh Gaol, and six other persons; and at that inquest the evidence of the medical officer went to show that the death was in no way due to the treatment of the deceased in prison, and that probably confinement in prison had little to do with the death. The diet adopted was that recommended by a Royal Commission which inquired

*Mr. A. Moore*

into the subject, and which had been adopted by the Home Office for the English prisons. The only portion of the verdict of the jury which would present cause for further inquiry was the reference to the diet; but that would not apply, because the deceased convict was not, from the state of his health, put upon that dietary.

#### GRAND JURIES, IRELAND.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. O'DONNELL, in rising to call attention to the recent resolutions of Grand Juries in Ireland on the state of public security, contended that the only danger to peace and order in Ireland could be effectually prevented by a just recognition on the part of the classes from which Irish grand jurors were drawn that the tenant cultivators of the soil ought not to bear an unfair share of the consequences of agricultural loss and depression. Certain Grand Juries in Ireland, such as those of Mayo and Westmeath—especially the former—had passed resolutions implying that there was a dangerous and groundless agitation in Ireland on this subject, which threatened the peace and order of the country. But the agitation was very far from being "groundless." The present agricultural distress and crisis in Ireland was of a very severe description, and the people were suffering, in addition, from a pressure of high rents. The people all over Ireland, under the direction of their clergy, were passing resolutions, not in favour of the abolition of rent, but for the reduction of rent to a reasonable degree. At Dungarvan an immense meeting was held, at which resolutions were passed laying stress on the existing pressure, and calling for the reduction of rent. The tenants were ready to recognize kindness wherever it was shown, and one of the resolutions at the Dungarvan meeting thanked those landlords in the County Waterford who had reduced their rents to enable their tenants to tide over the present severe season. He asked them not to be frightened by the alarmist resolutions passed by a number of landlord Grand Juries; but would call their attention to a letter from Miss Agnes Eyre, Eyre Castle, County Galway, in which she spoke of the destitution as universal, remarking that whereas in most

other rural districts there were various other industrial callings, over a very large area in Ireland there was no industry but the raising of a few crops. It was all very well for capitalist newspapers and the cultured and well-paid correspondents in Dublin of London papers to send over here the heated expressions of some poor peasants, which were then taken as the calm and settled view of the whole class. But he asked the Government to go behind Dublin correspondents and the declarations of landlord Grand Juries and look at the condition of the population of Ireland with eyes not of Liberals or Conservatives, but with the eyes of men, and men of the world. If they did that they would find reason to be very cautious and very gentle in their treatment of the poor peasantry of Ireland during the present distress. Some years ago, Mr. Charles Ormsby Blake wrote to the papers saying that his poor tenants had been dragged out of their beds and obliged by men whom they did not know to swear in the dark that they would pay no rent, and this, Mr. Blake stated, was the cause of dissatisfaction upon his estate. But a meeting of the tenants was held, and each asked who had been pulled out of his bed, and none was to be found who had been so treated. But there were, perhaps, causes of dissatisfaction on the estate. One man whose farm was valued at £12 paid a rack-rent of £18; another, the Government valuation of whose farm was £10, paid £17 15s., and another paid a rack-rent of £22 10s. on a Government valuation of £15 5s., while he found £13 paid for a farm the Government valuation of which was £12 10s. These excessive rents the tenants said were imposed some few years ago. James Hossian, whose farm was valued for the Government at £12, paid £15; but now he paid £26 13s. 6d., and the majority of the tenants paid in the same proportion. He asked the Government, as humane men and fellow-men, to consider these facts. The tenantry of Ireland were not now able to pay the full rent they paid a few years ago, and that was their complaint now. If it were only to supply recruits to the British Army the Irish tenantry were useful; and he asked the Executive not to quarter military and police in poor districts, which would only make the present heavy burden severer still.

The mass of the priests, the hereditary defenders of order and peace, and the mass of the tenants were pleading for kindness and consideration, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would give them cause to remember with gratitude his tenure of Office. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate, in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of saying what the Government were prepared to do.

MR. BIGGAR seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," again proposed.

MR. GRAY hoped the Government would do something before the utter hopelessness among the peasantry of Ireland would lead to its natural result of desperation. Since 1847 there never had been such widespread and general distress. This distress had been brought about by causes utterly beyond the control of the cultivators of the soil. When they looked around and saw no relief, and no attempt upon the part of the Government to bring about relief, they were naturally induced to despair of any Constitutional relief. Now, it must be remembered, when dealing with the declarations of the Grand Juries, that they were dealing with by no means representative bodies. Grand jurors were not representative; they were mere nominees; and it had been recognized by the Government that the Grand Juries of Ireland were not public bodies which deserved to be continued. These were under sentence of extinction. A Bill had been introduced to re-model them. Therefore, their opinion, at any time not worth much, must now be taken as quite worthless. They were bodies which would now be non-existent in their present shape but for the pressure of Business before the House. The Boards of Guardians were representative bodies throughout the country; and they had, in many instances, called public attention to the necessity of dealing with the present distress, and of considering the extravagant rents now charged the peasantry of Ireland. He had also to point

*Mr. O'Donnell*

out that the tenants of Ireland, in the present condition of affairs, were more defenceless by reason of the operation of the Land Act than they otherwise would have been. Whatever the intention of the Land Act, the scheme, which was most complicated, was not one suitable to the Irish people, and was not what they had asked for. They had asked for a simpler plan. They asked for fixity of tenure at fair rents, which they defined to be a rent varying with the varying value of produce. Such men as John Stuart Mill had agreed to regard rent as a share of the surplus profits of the soil; they considered the true economical theory to be that a rent should vary according to the value of what the soil produced. The Government, in framing the Land Act, did not take that view. They took the view that it would be sufficient to inflict a penalty for a wrong done, instead of prohibiting the wrong of eviction. It was evident the framer of the Act never contemplated the possibility of a large reduction in value of land consequent upon a reduction in the value of its produce. The tenant who, under the ordinary working of the laws of supply and demand, would have received from his landlord a reduction of rent proportionate to the reduction of prices—and every landlord would have admitted the propriety of such reduction—found new difficulty under the operation of the Land Act. Landlords where there were a large number of small holdings thought it better to lose one or two years' rent, and clear the land of the incumbrance of small tenants, who could not contract themselves out of their rights under the Land Act and consolidate their holdings into farms of £100 value. The tenants who held the larger farms could contract themselves out of these rights. This Act, passed for the benefit of the tenant, was really destructive of the class of small tenants—the class, indeed, for whose benefit it was devised. That was the reason why the tenantry of Ireland should be treated with exceptional consideration. The Irish tenantry were placed in their present position by a law not passed in compliance with their demands—they recognized its usefulness in protecting tenants' improvements, but did not think the other clauses worth much. The provisions of the Land Act were altogether the scheme of the Government of the

day, and not the proposal of the tenants. In the condition of affairs which had arisen the small tenants would be destroyed as a class if the depreciation of the value of produce continued, and there was not the slightest sign that it would not continue. In that case there would be wholesale evictions in Ireland for non-payment of rent. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had been asked a question as to the condition of Ireland, and he had answered it in a manner more curt than satisfactory, that if the reduction were pointed to the Government had no intention of dealing with the matter. If a like question had been put by the hon. Member for Mid-Lincolnshire with reference to England, would he have received such an answer? He knew that not only had the answer of the right hon. Gentleman given the greatest dissatisfaction in Ireland, but that it had induced a feeling that Government had not merely no consideration for the position in which the tenants were placed, but that they considered it a fit subject for jibe and jeer. That was not the way in which the Government should treat great questions of that kind. In a very short time, if things did not change, there would be in Ireland a repetition of the calamities of 1847 and 1848, when 1,000,000 of people were lost to the country through famine and diseases resulting from starvation. Did Parliament, in view of that, contemplate doing nothing? They were entitled to ask Government, at any rate, not to treat this state of things with a jeer which was unworthy of them. They asked the Government to realize their responsibility as statesmen, and to say something which would inspire some glimmer of hope in the hearts of thousands of people who were on the verge of starvation—something to encourage them to take Constitutional action, and not rush to un-Constitutional measures to redress the grievances they felt so keenly. The condition of affairs in Ireland was so grave as to call for the most earnest attention of the Government to the duty of devising some means for the relief of the starving tenantry. There had been an arrangement for a Commission to consider agricultural depression; but no satisfactory assurance that the condition of Ireland would be duly considered. It would not be much to ask that this Commission should sit in Ire-

land, and in Ireland investigate the condition of affairs there. It had been acknowledged that the Commission sitting in England could not ascertain the facts with regard to Ireland. Surely there could be no difficulty in the Commission sitting in one or two centres in Ireland and taking evidence. He hoped the Government would give an intimation that this proposal would be favourably considered. If the Government were desirous to preserve the peace of the country, and to prevent the people taking action that would be regretted, some assurance should be given that this great subject would not be overlooked.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I shall avail myself of the opportunity irregularly afforded to me to say that the hon. Member for Tipperary seems to have misunderstood me in referring to some remarks that I made as a sneer at Irish distress and the difficulties of Irish tenants. I meant nothing of the kind. My remarks were in reply to a Question calling for certain legislative action. If I had answered in the hackneyed style that the matter was under consideration, or something of that kind, I would have been charged with giving some countenance to suggestions of a kind not entitled to countenance. I thought the House and the country ought to be informed that if there were such ideas abroad it was not for us to foster them by any vague hopes. As to the Commission on the depression of agriculture, Ireland will be fully represented upon it, and the fullest inquiry will be made into the circumstances of Irish agriculture.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER hoped they were not to infer from the silence of the Chief Secretary on the point that the Government would act on the extravagant recommendations of Mr. Justice Harrison and the Grand Jury which he addressed. He twitted the right hon. Gentleman with having used the word "Communism" in reference to proposals as to Irish land, just as he would have used the word "Darwinism" if it had expressed something equally unpopular. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman, when he became better acquainted with the educated mind of Ireland, would be ashamed of the description he had given of the demands of the Irish tenants.

# ARMY—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF OFFICERS.—OBSERVATIONS.

GENERAL SHUTE, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—

“To call attention to the hardship experienced by those officers who were obliged by the regulations of the Army to pay certain named sums for the purchase of their Commissions, and are now forced, or are liable to be forced, into retirement, under the Warrant of the 13th of August 1877, who might be granted the right to bequeath in favour of their widow, children, or others, the amount which, in strict accordance with the Queen's Regulations, they have actually so expended; and to move, That it is expedient that the Secretary of State for War should consider whether such amount might be paid by the Treasury, within six months of the officer's decease, to his executors, or, in case of an officer's death intestate, then a similar amount might be paid to his administrators,”

and which Resolution he was prevented by the Forms of the House from dividing on, said, it was the taxpayer who suffered by the high-handed manner in which the abolition of Purchase was forced on the Army; but the officers suffered now by the almost equally high-handed manner in which the forced-retirement scheme became law. He said that, by hurrying the Warrant of August 13, 1877, through the House during the last few hours of a most wearisome Session, the few hon. Members then remaining in London were led into committing a breach of faith. A British Parliament, he remarked, would never knowingly sanction a breach of faith. But what did they sanction? Why, after subjecting officers to six years of stagnation, from the postponement of a promised promotion Warrant, they then allowed one to be pressed through the House without time for debate, which inflicted on these very Purchase officers who had become old for their rank, by this forced stagnation, a system of compulsory retirement, not adopted for the benefit of the Army, but to procure a flow of promotion, at the professional expense of the officers, which should, in common honesty, be paid for out of the Exchequer. He (General Shute) pointed out that certain officers had been required, by the Orders of the Army, to pay certain regulation sums for certain steps of promotion which they should be entitled to hold so long as they showed themselves to be good and efficient officers. If they could not pay those sums they were liable to be passed over

by their juniors. Many a poor man, he observed, had scraped together these sums, at the risk of leaving his widow and children penniless, rather than forfeit promotion; but by adopting this system of compulsory retirement this contract with these Purchase officers had been ruthlessly broken. He (General Shute) therefore asked that, from the date that this breach of faith came into force, the slight and not costly compensation suggested in his Resolution should also have effect. He (General Shute) said that he thus asked for no money compensation to be paid during the lives of officers thus unfairly treated. He said nothing about extra money. He asked for nothing where steps had been obtained without purchase. He asked only that the Regulation money actually paid out of the patrimony might be left to, or be inherited by, the families of Purchase officers, with all of whom, since August 13, 1877, the Government had virtually broken their contract. This boon, he said, would be only just as well as generous. It would not be a permanent charge on the Exchequer. It would considerably decrease from year to year. It would not be costly even from the first, and it would relieve many most distressing cases. His plea, he (General Shute) said, was for the orphan and the widow, and specially deserved the support of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, he was ready to admit, had behaved very liberally to the Army when they abolished Purchase at a cost of upwards of £22,000,000, and who, he believed, had they remained in power, would have acted up to their promise that the officers should not be in a worse position after than before that abolition, but that the country would be prepared to pay the same amount to secure a flow of promotion that had been hitherto paid by the officers themselves. He said that, though so late in the Session, it had been specially necessary for him to move this Resolution, in consequence of the War Department having refused to return the Purchase money or grant a pension to the widows of sundry officers slaughtered at Isandlana. By these deaths the country now benefited, and not, as formerly, the brother officers and friends of the officers killed; and, in this instance, the country was more responsible for their lives than he should like publicly to explain. He (General Shute)

said that, in this remark, he did not mean any reflection on Lord Chelmsford, who, on the contrary, he had always considered to have been very ill-used, and of whose crowning victory he was most proud and most pleased to hear. He said that, though late, nevertheless, it became now his duty to read to the House two or three of the many cases of widowed sufferers that had been brought to his notice. He then, first, read the War Office Correspondence with the widow of the late Captain Degacher, 24th Foot, killed at Isandlana, which, he said, showed that she was not thought entitled to have either her late husband's Purchase money or pension of £80 a-year for self and £16 for her child, because, having £480 a-year, she came under the head of "Wealthy circumstances." Next, he read the Correspondence regarding the case of the late Captain Younghusband, 24th Regiment, also considered in "Wealthy circumstances." And, finally, he read the case of the mother of Lieutenant Porteus, 24th Regiment, also killed at Isandlana, which, he said, showed that this poor widowed mother had five children, three of them entirely dependent on her, and that her small income had been reduced to only £300 a-year by her having advanced the Purchase money for her son, trusting to his being ultimately able to repay her; but she was now officially informed that this was to go into the pockets of the public. He (General Shute) added that he would now only thank the House for their attention, and express a hope that the Government would meet his views, which he would again press, if necessary, next Session, when he hoped to be able to divide on the subject.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE hoped the appeal of the hon. and gallant Member would be generously responded to by the Secretary of State for War. The Purchase officers were placed by the Warrant he referred to in a worse position than before the abolition of Purchase. The subject was one which deserved the careful attention of the Government. It was one, too, on which as many as 2,000 officers in 1873 petitioned the late Government.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME: I am equally anxious with any right hon. or hon. Gentleman to proceed with the Business on the Paper; but, as a Pur-

chase officer, I think it due to the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton (General Shute) that I should not sit silent; and I desire to express to him my acknowledgments for his having once again brought before Parliament the "grievances of Purchase officers." Whatever the result of this discussion may be, we, at all events, can have nothing to complain of as to the manner in which the hon. and gallant General has stated our case. If the result be favourable, we may congratulate ourselves and him on the success of his advocacy; if otherwise, no fault can attach to him as the advocate. I do not, however, wish to detain the House on the general question, which has been treated so fully by my hon. and gallant Friend; but I will address myself more particularly to a point alluded to in the Amendment, which does not concern my own individual case, but which is, to my mind, the great hardship of the new system—I mean the "compulsory retirement" of officers who have purchased their commissions. I know that this term is not literally correct, because the Warrant simply states that the officers in question shall not be promoted after so many years' service. But it will at once be seen that this is practically the same thing, because it is not likely that officers of such standing will remain in the Service without the prospect of promotion, allowing others to go over their heads. Perhaps I can best explain how matters are by giving one or two instances where the Warrant will press with undue severity. And for this purpose I need not go further than my own regiment. As I have said, the obnoxious provision cannot apply to me; but the officer who stands next to me in the Army List, and who purchased his troop before 1871, must, unless unforeseen contingencies occur, be precluded from promotion, because the 25 years' rule reaches him, and he will have exceeded that period by two years when his turn for promotion comes. Then, another officer, further down in the list of captains, will also be shut out from promotion, the 20 years' rule taking effect with him, he having purchased up to the rank of captain, which he attained after 1871. To take another phase of the subject; by way of example, there are at this moment two Cavalry regiments, whose lieutenant colonels are not interfered

with by the Warrant, and cannot be compelled to retire, on completion of five years in command. I do not complain of this, because I am one of those who are of opinion that if a regiment has a good commanding officer the longer he stays the better. But the mere fact of these colonels remaining keeps the subordinate officers down and debars several of them, under this Warrant, from expecting promotion. Let me remind the House what purchase really meant with regard to promotion. It meant that, when a vacancy occurred in any rank otherwise than by death, the senior of the next rank was appointed to it, subject to two provisions—(1) that he was fit, and (2) that he paid for it. What says this Warrant? It says that an officer, whether fit for promotion or not, is to be passed over, because he has served a certain number of years. Now, I would ask hon. Members, is this fair play, or can it be shown to be in any way conducive to the efficiency of the Service? The officer was compelled, as the hon. and gallant General has well put it, to pay a certain price for his commission, in the full assurance that he would be promoted in his turn, subject to his being reported fit. Hence the new Regulation is nothing short of a breach of faith. The only really fair remedy for this state of things is to refund at once to Purchase officers the money they have lent to the State, and then all officers are placed on equal terms; but the proposal of the hon. and gallant General is a compromise which would be acceptable to the officers, and cause no outlay to the country. My hon. and gallant Friend has already alluded to the pecuniary benefit derived by the State from the deaths of officers. I will not go into that, but, in passing, remark it might be interesting to have a Return, showing to what extent the debt for the Zulu War has been lessened by the death of Purchase officers. Of course, the reply is always ready—the reply first started by Lord Cardwell—that there was no desire to place us Purchase officers in a worse position than before. Certainly, he and his successors have taken care that we shall not be in a better one. But I maintain we are in a worse position, through the almost total stoppage of promotion, there being in these days little inducement for the Purchase or

non-Purchase officer to leave the Service till he is, as it is colloquially termed, “kicked out.” In the old days, a captain, *e.g.*, who foresaw a wait of several years before he could obtain a step, and knew that then he must, in all probability, pay heavily for it, was often induced to go, especially if he were a married man. Now, there is every inducement to stay till the last moment, steps being obtained free, and pensions given on retirement, after certain periods. What can be the consequence, but an absolute block to promotion? I regret that, owing to the Forms of the House, no expression of opinion can be taken on the Amendment under discussion; but I do trust that my right hon. and gallant Friend, or whoever speaks from the Front Bench, will, when he rises, give us some hope that measures will be taken to give effect to the very fair and moderate proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK expressed himself in favour of the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton. Although an advocate of the abolition of Purchase, he thought it was unworthy of the great country which had swallowed the camel of £22,000,000 in the abolition of the Purchase system to strain at the small gnat which the proposition of the hon. and gallant Gentleman represented. The system introduced by Lord Cardwell had not been productive of results, and if the House had known as much about the operation of the present system as the figures that would hereafter be laid before them would show they would have been reluctant to pass the Act for the abolition of Purchase. Instead of the country having derived any benefit at all from the abolition of the past system and the substitution of the present one, the operation of the present system had been worse for the country, worse for the individual, and productive of no benefit whatever. The proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton was a very small one, and he trusted it would receive favourable consideration from the Government. If it were not, it would be brought forward again one day in a very forcible form. One effect of the present system had been to cause languor and want of zeal on the part of some of those officers who had been 17, 18, or 20 years in the Service, and who had the prospect of being compelled, under the

*Captain Milne-Home*



operation of the present system, to leave the Service at a time when they were thoroughly attached to it, and which it was more than possible they would adorn. He thought it was scarcely worthy of this country to deal with its officers in such a manner, and he trusted the Government would give the subject their most serious consideration.

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY thought his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Brighton (General Shute), in his temperate speech, had not much difficulty in establishing the fact that there was a considerable amount of hardship caused by the Regulations to which he had called the attention of the House. There were, however, some facts which he had mentioned which did not come quite within the scope of his Resolution. As to pensions, there was an old Regulation which provided that, when officer died and left a widow she should have a pension; but that if, fortunately, she happened to be in affluent circumstances, she should not receive the pension to which she would otherwise be entitled. Now, that had been always the rule of the Service, and he did not see how it was to be set aside. But to come to the point to which his hon. and gallant Friend particularly referred, he would observe that when purchase was abolished the Secretary of State laid down the rule that an officer should, in consequence, be no worse off, but that neither should he be better off; and in all the discussions on the question in that House Lord Cardwell had never departed from that proposition, which had been inherited by the present Government from their Predecessors in Office. A bargain having been made, there was, he thought, considerable reason in the argument that a bargain should be adhered to. There was one point which he trusted would be borne in mind, and that was, that when they spoke of Purchase being abolished they did not state all the facts of the case. Officers, on leaving the Service, were still enabled to retire by the sale of their commissions, and where there was a seller there must be a purchaser. The difference was that where it used to be a junior officer who bought the commission it was now the State. As to the fact that officers of a certain age were compelled to retire from the Service, he need scarcely point out that the recommendation to that

effect had been made by a Commission composed of officers of the highest standing, because they found it to be absolutely necessary for the good of the Service that a flow of promotion should go on. But it should not be forgotten that when an officer was compelled to retire he received a retiring allowance better than that which he would have derived from the sale of his commission. It would be impossible to hold out hopes that a change in the system could be made, and he was authorized by the Secretary of State for War to oppose the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, the bargain spoken of was between the two sides of the House, and the officers were the sufferers. Great injustice was done to them through the working of the system being unequal. He hoped the complaints made would receive the attention of the Secretary of State for War.

#### THE GERMAN LEGION OF 1855 — THE CASE OF MAJOR DE DOLISE.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

MAJOR O'GORMAN, in calling attention to the case of Major de Dolise, said, that when the German Legion was raised, in 1855, this gentleman received employment in it. He served in Asia Minor and in the Crimea; and when the war was over he was sent home with his regiment, a portion of which was sent to the Cape of Good Hope to form a regiment there. Major de Dolise was not sent out, but was kept at home in order to settle the accounts and pay off the men who remained behind. For that purpose he was intrusted with a large sum of money, which he disbursed, and he received the thanks of the authorities for performing that duty to their entire satisfaction. Having paid off his regiment, he expected immediate employment either at the Cape or elsewhere; but he was informed by Lord Panmure, then Secretary of State for War, that his services would be no longer required. Major de Dolise had repeatedly asked for employment, but in vain. Had he proceeded, in the first instance, to the Cape he might have obtained employment; but he was kept at home as the most trustworthy officer to whom this large sum of money could be intrusted. The sum which he received on his dis-

charge was paid to all the officers as was originally stipulated when they joined. It was submitted on all hands that Major de Dolise was one of the best, if not the very best, officer in the German Legion. The hon. and gallant Gentleman then read testimonials which had been given to Major de Dolise—from Sir Henry Storks and Major General Cameron among others—and concluded by expressing a hope that the House would agree with him that this officer was entitled to the consideration of the War Office. Twenty-three years had passed since Major de Dolise served this country, and no notice whatever had been taken of the grievance of which he complained.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that the House, as a rule, was not fond of what might be regarded as personal questions; but no one could take exception to this case being brought forward, still less to the clear and moderate manner in which the hon. and gallant Gentleman had stated it. Though it would be his duty to show cause why the request made could not be complied with, he very much sympathized with the hon. and gallant Gentleman in the case he had taken up. Major de Dolise was a captain in the Austrian Service; in 1855 he joined the German Legion, and in 1856 that Legion was disbanded. Having discharged his duties with ability and zeal, Major de Dolise was retained for a short time to pay off the men and adjust the accounts of that branch of the Service. These duties he performed with an ability which was recognized at the time. Major de Dolise was very anxious for further employment; but the Act of Parliament under which the Legion was raised distinctly laid down that the officers should have no claim to half-pay, and provided the remuneration which could actually be received. The Correspondence with Major de Dolise was of a very voluminous character. Having looked personally through those Papers, he was bound to say that he saw no clause in their regulations which would enable them to deal with this case in any manner that would meet Major de Dolise's expectations. Some of Major de Dolise's brother officers owed their chance of getting back into the Service to the fact that shortly after the disbandment of the German Legion the Indian Mutiny broke out, and a large number of men at the

Cape then volunteered for service in India and formed a considerable portion of the regiment in the East Indian Service now represented by the 109th Regiment of the Line. Some of those officers and men were, he believed, serving to this day; and it was due, perhaps, to the chapter of accidents that Major de Dolise did not get the same chance of service. He had, however, received the gratuity, and so forth, and was dealt with in the same manner as the other officers of the Legion; and the gravamen of his complaint really was, not that he had been badly treated, but that he did not receive the same consideration which, through accidental circumstances, fell to some of his comrades. Then, as to whether compensation should be given to Major de Dolise, the matter had been under the consideration of different authorities at the War Office for a long time. Major de Dolise had, first of all, applied to be recommended to the Turkish Government for employment; but there were difficulties in the way of that being done, and he afterwards tried to get into various other Services. Then he appealed in language which it would perhaps have been well not to have addressed to the authorities for other employment. General Peel took exception to this, and, being pressed, said he had no claim for employment, and declined any further correspondence. The succeeding Secretaries of State for War took the same view of the matter. Sir Henry Storks, on perusing the Papers while at the War Office, appeared also to have come to the same decision, although with regret, and was unable to recommend that the question should be re-opened. In conclusion, he trusted that he had not said anything to wound the feelings of an officer who thought, rightly or wrongly, that he had a just grievance against the Government; but the contract, if it might be so called, had been strictly performed on both sides in this case, and after careful consideration of the whole subject he was unable to hold out the hope that anything further could be done in regard to it.

#### EGYPT—OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID had no wish to prevent Supply being taken, but was obliged to refer to the Notice standing in his name, which related to the interference of Her Ma-

*Major O'Gorman*

jeesty's Government in the internal affairs of Egypt. He would take the opportunity of saying that in respect of that Motion the Government had behaved exceedingly ill. He had a list of 11 other Members who wished to make observations upon the question, and that fact was a perfectly good test as to the feeling of the House. They had been very anxious that a discussion should take place since the 26th June, when the noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington) asked the Government whether they would afford an opportunity for the consideration of this matter. They had been put off from time to time with excuses which had prevented that consideration of the extraordinary action of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. He was reminded by an hon. Member from Ireland that had he followed his example there would have been no difficulty in obtaining an opportunity for discussion. He believed there was much truth in the opinion that the Government generally gave convenient days to hon. Members who made themselves disagreeable, in order to get rid of their opposition. Never having made himself disagreeable to the Government, no day had been given him, and notwithstanding the professions of the Government, he believed there was no intention or desire that this question of their conduct with reference to Egypt should be discussed at all. His reason for holding this opinion was that the Government knew their conduct in Egypt had been perfectly indefensible; and if he ever had an opportunity of pointing out the circumstances of their interference there, he would be able to show that they had placed this country in a very awkward position by acting in a way which had promoted stock-jobbing, and reduced the influence of England in the East. Consequently, he was not surprised that the Government had put difficulties in the way of performing their promise. On one occasion, about a week ago, when he had asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer what opportunity would be given for the discussion of this subject, the right hon. Gentleman said he could find one for himself if he liked. It was known full well that the Government now took every night to themselves, and that it was impossible to get an opportunity to venti-

late a subject unless the Government chose to provide it. He ventured to point out that the hon. Member for Hackney desired to discuss the question of water supply in London; but without depreciating for a moment the importance of that question, he could see no practical result that could come from it this Session. But with regard to the discussion which he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) desired to raise, if it were put off until next Session a number of things might occur, and the Government would say—and say it with some sense—that it related to things which had occurred long ago, that the interest with regard to it had passed away, and that it was useless to ask them to discuss the matter. Now, that took place with regard to those events in which the Government had been mixed up; and, consequently, he thought they had considerable ground of complaint that the Government had shown a desire to shirk discussion in the present instance. He believed that they had done so because they felt they would have great difficulty in explaining their conduct in reference to Egyptian affairs, and in dealing with the loss of influence to this country which their conduct had brought about. Had he acted like some of his hon. Friends from Ireland, an opportunity would have been given him long ago to bring forward his Motion. The course pursued in this matter was certainly no encouragement to those who had assisted the Chancellor of the Exchequer in getting on with the Business of the House. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had really pledged the reputation of the Government in this affair, he thought he should appoint Tuesday morning, or part of Monday, for the discussion. If it were put off to a later day, it would, in his opinion, be a proof that the Government did not want the question to be discussed. He emphatically protested against that course.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE rose to support the appeal of the hon. Member for Rochester for a discussion upon this subject. There had been an understanding with the Government that the hon. Member should have an opportunity for discussion; but it did not amount to a definite arrangement. However, looking at the statement of the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, and the great importance of the subject, he thought it was one that ought to have been considered at a much earlier time. He regretted to say that in this matter of Egypt the House appeared to him to have been, unintentionally, no doubt, deceived by the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now, the Government, although they had presented certain Papers to the House bearing upon this question, had kept back others. On the 13th March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that Mr. Rivers Wilson went out to Egypt and entered the service of the Khedive. He had been shortly afterwards dismissed by the Khedive; and, on the 24th April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Khedive had done what he had a full right to do by the dismissal of that officer from his employ. That statement had been accepted by the House and by the country. All that time, however, there had been in existence a despatch, dated 3rd of March, which had not been presented to the House, and which contained the following clause:—

“The Members of the Council are to have the right conjointly to put an absolute veto on all measures which they disapprove.”

That despatch was sent out and handed to the Government of Egypt, and five days later the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that Mr. Rivers Wilson went out to the Khedive as an officer in his employ with power of dismissal. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) asked whether the country were not completely deceived with regard to the policy pursued by the Government in Egypt, and whether, as it seemed to him there should be, an opportunity ought not to be given for discussing this matter?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL had at one time taken an active interest in this question, which he had more than once brought before the House; and upon the last occasion the tone of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was such as to give him the greatest confidence in the action of Her Majesty's Government. He believed that they were endeavouring to do the right thing; although, perhaps, they had gone a little further than their own judgment and good sense might have suggested. He thought, upon that occasion, that they were in a

difficult position, with regard to France, and should not be troubled unnecessarily. But as the question now raised was of serious importance, with regard to the past and future, he was compelled to join in this appeal to Her Majesty's Government to give hon. Members an opportunity of discussing it before the Session came to an end.

MR. E. JENKINS said, of course, he need not say that he did not altogether agree with his hon. Friend who had raised this question, with regard to his judgment of the policy of Her Majesty's Government; but there could be no doubt that, as the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea had stated, the effect of the statements which had been made in that House was that they had formed a wrong impression of what Her Majesty's Government had done with reference to affairs in Egypt. It must be felt by the House and the country that it was not unreasonable to expect that Her Majesty's Government, which had been allowed to work its wicked or righteous will in Egypt without interference on the part of the House, should now make some explanation of their policy. The country had been put in a curious position with regard to Europe, and if anyone read the public journals of Europe it would be seen that there was the gravest anxiety abroad with regard to the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The hon. Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid) had very properly pointed out that the effect of this silence on the part of the Government had been seriously to act upon the stock markets in Europe, in which the stocks of Egypt had gone up and down spasmodically, because no one had known to what their policy might lead. He asked that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should afford an opportunity of discussing this subject, and hoped that the Secretary to the Foreign Office would be able to place more Papers relating thereto in the hands of hon. Members in the course of a few hours.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there were circumstances in connection with the treatment accorded to Mr. Rivers Wilson—he believed, owing to his still being in the employ of the Government—which were eminently worthy of discussion. Mr. Rivers Wilson had not received the support of the British Consul in Egypt. It was a matter of

*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*

notoriety that not only did the Consul not support him, but that he used his influence to a great extent in opposition to that gentleman. Then, again, at the most critical moment, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced to the world that the Khedive had a perfect right to dismiss him. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had not spoken with Mr. Rivers Wilson upon the subject; but he was informed that the announcement was telegraphed within a few hours to many persons throughout Egypt, and had contributed, no doubt, greatly to the fall of that gentleman. He thought the question was seriously deserving of the attention of the House, and that time ought to be given for the discussion of the subject.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I can only repeat what I have stated before—namely, that there is no disposition on the part of the Government to evade discussion on Egyptian affairs. I am perfectly ready, and I am quite willing, to enter into a discussion of that question. So far as I am concerned, I have not the least objection to do what is in my power to assist hon. Gentlemen by allowing time for the discussion of this subject. But I must really point out that the explanation of our not having appointed a time for this purpose is that we have a great deal of Business to do, and that it is very difficult for us to find time for everything we are asked to discuss. We are continually interrupted in our endeavours to get through our Business by questions raised by hon. Gentlemen, who have, of course, a perfect right to raise them. But as we get on in the Session we have a great deal of Business before us, and when we are pressed to find time for this question and for that, we are really obliged to say we cannot undertake to fix beforehand on what day a particular Motion can be brought forward. When I was asked by the hon. Baronet that an opportunity should be afforded for discussing the affairs of Egypt, I suggested to him that an opportunity might be found on a stage of the Appropriation Bill. I am told that the noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington) wanted to use that occasion for bringing forward a question with regard to Afghanistan. If that is so, why could not the hon. Baronet settle with

the noble Lord who should have precedence? It seems to me perfectly possible for the arrangement to be made by which some opportunity might be availed of for bringing forward this matter. I can only say that, so far as the Government are concerned, we should be very glad to have an opportunity of considering this subject. It was just now remarked that it is very awkward to discuss these circumstances while negotiations are going on. The hon. Member for Reading has just now made some observations which, I think, elucidate the sort of difficulty we are in. A question was raised in this House as to the position of Mr. Rivers Wilson in Egypt. I answered that question, as I was bound to do, by speaking the truth, saying that Mr. Rivers Wilson was allowed to take service under the Khedive, that he was not in the employ of the English Government, and that it was at the option of the Khedive to dismiss him. That was the statement which I volunteered, and it was a statement which I felt myself obliged to make in consequence of being challenged as to the position taken by England with reference to the affairs of Egypt. What was the consequence? It was immediately telegraphed out to Egypt, and produced such and such consequences, while we, having been obliged to make the statements, are now told that we are causing mischief. I can fully believe, as has been stated by the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), that he has not been in communication with Mr. Rivers Wilson, who, I am quite sure, would have given him a different account of this matter. Nobody can have a higher opinion of the conduct of that gentleman than we have had. We felt that, in all he did in Egypt, he was acting with the best possible motive, and with the desire to do his duty in the difficult position in which he had placed himself. I do not think that Mr. Rivers Wilson can feel that there is any unwillingness on the part of the Government to acknowledge the excellence of the work performed. With regard to the question of the affairs of Egypt, I can only hope we shall be able, in the course of next week, to find an opportunity for the discussion which the hon. Baronet proposes; but I do not feel myself, at the present moment, able to fix a day, in consequence of the great diffi-

culty we have with regard to our own Business.

THE O'CONOR DON wished to call the attention of the House to a statement which he understood was made on Saturday last, by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, with regard to a matter intimately connected with Supply. He had learnt that the right hon. Gentleman had intimated that it was the intention of the Government to increase the salaries of the National School teachers in Ireland from the 1st of January next. That change was one of the very greatest importance, and could not, in his opinion, be made without previously being submitted to the judgment of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman intimated that this increase would be in the form of salary and the payment by results; and as he (the O'Conor Don) believed nothing during the last 20 years had been debated in Ireland more than payment by results, he did not think it fitting that the statement should go forth that the House was pledged to this proposal, because they might be told next year that, as it had not been objected to, it would not be fair to object to it then. If there was any intention on the part of the Government to make this important change, it ought to have been submitted in the first place to Parliament, and that it should not be made next year by proposing what were called Supplementary Estimates to be sanctioned by the House.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out to the hon. Member for Roscommon that he was not discussing an Order of the Day.

THE O'CONOR DON was alluding to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, which was connected with Supply. The right hon. Gentleman had said it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose an Estimate this year, but that the increased salaries would appear in the Supplementary Estimate of next Session. If the matter was allowed to remain in that way, they would be told next year that the House was pledged to this change. He must, however, express his intention to oppose it.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY did not think that his hon. Friend who had just spoken could be regarded as the exponent of the views of Irish Members

upon that subject. For his own part, he was delighted to hear that there was an intention to raise the salaries of those wretchedly-paid individuals—the school teachers. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had no objection to their salaries being supplemented by results.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR had been exceedingly annoyed that such an important announcement should be made without the House having an opportunity of discussing it. In England, a great deal of the teachers' remuneration came from private sources; but in Ireland it came from the Treasury. If there was any increase in the salaries of school teachers, he hoped it would be done in the manner best calculated to promote the interests of education; and he thought that those interests were in this matter, at all events, represented by the hon. Member for Roscommon. It was a serious thing that they should be pledged to a broad line that might be detrimental to the interests of education in Ireland.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

#### SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

#### CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) £15,606, to complete the sum for Universities, &c., in Scotland, *agreed to*.

(2.) £5,034, Queen's University, Ireland, *agreed to*.

(3.) £12,994, Queen's Colleges, Ireland, *agreed to*.

#### ARMY ESTIMATES.

(4.) £1,330,000, Manufacture and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, *agreed to*.

(5.) £853,300, Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, &c., *agreed to*.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £165,800, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Establishments for Military Education, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1890."

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

**MAJOR O'BEIRNE** said, that by the Return published this year the number of Catholic boys in the Royal Hibernian Military School was 169, and the number of Protestant boys 196. He complained that nearly all the staff of the College were Protestants, only five out of the 29 posts in the establishment being held by Catholics, while out of the 25 monitors only six were Catholics. In the minor posts, however, like those of servants, the Catholics were fairly proportioned; but the offices of commandant and secretary had always been held by Protestants. He wanted some assurance that this system should be changed, and begged, therefore, to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £9,460.

**Motion made, and Question proposed,**

"That a sum, not exceeding £156,340, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Establishments for Military Education, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

—(*Major O'Beirne.*)

**COLONEL STANLEY** had had great difficulty in hearing the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member. He gathered that he referred to the disproportion which, in his opinion, existed between the Protestant and Roman Catholic officers in the establishment; and, he believed, he also referred to something in the nature of a promise as to the proportion which should exist. He confessed that, until the hon. and gallant Member had said so, he was not aware that any such promise had been given. Nothing would be deprecated by him more than that a hard-and-fast line should be laid down by marking religious distinction in the Military Service. He understood that all formed a portion of one Service, and that there was no line of demarcation between Protestants and Catholics; and that in these matters they had to consider what was beneficial to the Service generally. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman could point out to him any case in which the education of the boys had directly suffered by the appointment of officers of different denominations, such a case should undoubtedly receive his most earnest attention. He was not aware that any ground of complaint existed of the kind referred to. He hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not press his Motion.

**COLONEL COLTHURST** said, that previous to 1872 there was much reason to be dissatisfied, both with regard to the number of Roman Catholic boys who were admitted to the Royal Hibernian School and the way in which the duties devolving on the Governors of the school were discharged. In consequence, however, of a statement which had been made in that House by the late Member for Longford on the subject, he was bound to acknowledge that the state of things in the school had been very much improved since that time. The objectionable rule which limited the admission of Roman Catholic boys to the number of one-third of the pupils had been abrogated, and a new Board of Governors had been appointed who did not even know to what religion the applicants for admission to the school belonged. But as regarded the officials of the school there still remained just ground for the complaint that they were not selected in due proportion from members of the Roman Catholic faith. He should not wish to ask that any of the present officials should be dismissed; but seeing that in the course of the natural working of the present system three-fourths of the boys in the school would be Roman Catholics, he did not think it was right that all the good appointments connected with it should be in the hands of Protestants; and he, therefore, hoped that as vacancies occurred among the superior officers the Government would take into their consideration the desirability of giving Roman Catholics a preference in filling up those vacancies, if only the applicants were competent to the performance of the duties which they would have to discharge. It appeared to him, also, that the position of the Roman Catholic chaplain of the school was unsatisfactory, inasmuch as he was not allowed the same salary, and had not the same official standing as the Protestant chaplain. But while he thought there were defects in the present system which called for a remedy, he hoped his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Leitrim (*Major O'Beirne*) would not think it necessary to press his Amendment to a Division, seeing that the affairs of the school were now better administered than used to be the case.

**MR. CALLAN** drew attention to the management of the Royal Military Asy-

lum and Normal School, and urged upon the Government the propriety of increasing the salary of the Roman Catholic chaplain connected with it, who only received at present £38 a-year, although more than one-sixth of the boys belonged to the Roman Catholic religion.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he would inquire into the matter, but that no definite complaints on the subject had, up to the present moment, been brought to his notice.

MR. PARNELL said, the Royal Hibernian Military School was formerly very exclusive in the sense that the advantages which it conferred were confined almost entirely to Protestant children. It had, however, of late years been open, to a certain extent, to Roman Catholics. He found by a Return which he held in his hand that the number of children now in the school was 398, and that of that number 198 were Protestants, 169 Roman Catholics, and 31 Presbyterians and members of other religious denominations. He also found that the right of admission to the school was reserved to a Committee of the Governing Body, which consisted of 13 Protestants, four Roman Catholics, and one Presbyterian. Now, it seemed to him somewhat extraordinary that, seeing the proportion of Irishmen in the Army was 10 Roman Catholics to one Protestant, there should be so many more Protestants than Roman Catholics in the Governing Body of a school to which Roman Catholic children were eligible. The Irish soldiers being almost entirely Roman Catholics, how, he should like to know, had it come to pass that such an unwise selection had been made of the Governors of the school? Everyone who knew Ireland was well aware that it was perfectly impossible that the religion of a candidate for any office in that country should remain unknown. It was the first thing into which inquiry was made; and, of course, the religion of the parents of those boys who presented themselves for admission into the Royal Hibernian School was well known to the Committee of Governors before their claims were considered. He did not mean to say that the question of religion was discussed, or that it was openly made the ground on which an application was granted or refused; but that it secretly had an effect upon the

decision which was arrived at he had no doubt. Indeed, the question of religion entered into every form of election in Ireland, including even the election of Poor Law Guardians; and it was utterly impossible to believe that, constituted as the Governing Body of the Royal Hibernian School was, their selection of candidates for admission to it could be altogether unbiassed.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that if the hon. Gentleman who just sat down had been in the House when the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) had addressed the Committee, he would find that the criticisms in which he had indulged had been by anticipation completely answered, for that hon. and gallant Member had stated that whatever might have been the grounds of complaint formerly as to the admission of Roman Catholic boys to the Hibernian School there were now no reasons for supposing that the election of candidates was not conducted upon a principle which was entirely fair.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, the hon. Member for Meath might take his word for it that since 1872, when a new Board of Governors was established, no partiality was shown to candidates on the score of religion, although he was ready to admit that great cause for dissatisfaction previously existed. At present, there was nothing like unfairness in the action of the Governing Body towards Roman Catholics as compared with members of the Protestant religion.

MR. A. MOORE could not help thinking that it would be satisfactory if the answer to the criticisms of the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Parnell) came from the Treasury Bench instead of being given by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst). There had been no reply made on the part of the Government to the allegation that the Roman Catholics had not their fair share of power and authority in connection with the Institution in question, and he should feel it to be his duty to move that the Chairman do report Progress unless a thorough and impartial inquiry into the subject were promised.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE pointed out that the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) and himself were quite in accord as to the undue proportion of Protestants as compared with

*Mr. Callan*



Roman Catholics on the staff of the School. Out of 29 on that staff, five only were Roman Catholics, which was not a fair proportion, he maintained, inasmuch as the relative proportion of the boys in the School was 198 Protestants to 168 Roman Catholics. Seeing that the staff was composed almost entirely of Protestants, he did not think what had been said by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork about the School was calculated to convey to the Committee an accurate idea of the real state of affairs.

COLONEL COLTHURST replied, that he had said nothing about the teaching staff of the School, which, he admitted, required alteration.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he was not aware that there were any complaints with regard to the management of the School until that evening. If any promise had been made on behalf of the Government, he should, of course, consider himself bound by it, and any complaints which were laid before him would be inquired into; but he could not undertake, without good cause shown, to dismiss particular officials in order to replace them by others.

MR. PARNELL said, that if the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) was satisfied that there was no unfairness in the proportion between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant boys in the School, he, too, ought to be satisfied. The whole case seemed to show how extremely moderate the demands of the Roman Catholics were, seeing that, in a Roman Catholic country, in which the vast majority of the soldiers, and, consequently, of soldiers' orphans, were Roman Catholics, they were satisfied that in an Institution like the Royal Hibernian Academy half the children admitted should be Protestants, and only half members of their own religion. The fact was, however, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland had always shown great moderation in their demands. Had he been a Roman Catholic he did not think he would have been quite so moderate.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 17; Noes 114: Majority 97. — (Div. List, No. 213.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £232,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Administration of the Army, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1880."

LORD ELCHO said, the amount appeared to be a very large one for the performance of the duties of the War Office. He found that there were now 505 clerks employed in connection with the Office, and 64 military clerks; and he should like to know from his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War whether any steps were being taken to employ a greater number of the latter class of clerks? He (Lord Elcho) was a Member of a Committee which sat three Sessions ago, who recommended that, whenever it was possible, military clerks should be employed in the Office, which was, he believed, the only military Department of the kind in any State in Europe in which the work was done almost entirely by civilians, for the Committee had laid before them the evidence of Prussian and French military men to show that in those countries those who had been in the Army were largely engaged in the capacity of clerks in the Administrative Departments. He did not, however, on the present occasion, propose to enter further into the question beyond asking what steps had been taken to increase the number of military clerks in the War Office? He wished also to say that he had intended to move a reduction in Vote 13—that for the manufacture and repair of warlike stores—although, at that late hour of the night, he should not, of course, have pressed his Motion to a Division. The Vote, however, had been passed without his knowing that it had been put from the Chair, and as the question which he desired to raise was a somewhat technical one he would not enter into it upon the present occasion. But he wished to give Notice that, as, in his opinion, his noble Friend the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Lord Eustace Cecil), who was responsible for the manufacture of the arms served out to the Army, was making a great mistake as to the weapon thus supplied—was, to use a familiar illustration, buying small beer for the price for which he might get good ale—and that it

would greatly add to the efficiency of the Army if the weapon now in use were given up—he would, if the Vote were brought forward in its present form next year, and that he had the honour of a seat in that House, move, not the reduction of the Vote, but the omission from the Estimates of the sum of £1,500, which was, he believed, the amount of his noble Friend's salary.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he did not propose that evening to raise so important a question as that which was involved in a Motion for the reduction of the salary of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, because it appeared to him that it would be somewhat of an impertinence to do so without previous Notice. He wished, however, to give Notice that early next Session he would raise the whole question of the organization of the Ordnance Staff, with special reference to the manner in which the Office of Commander-in-Chief was conducted in this country. He knew that there was great dissatisfaction among the officers of the Army in connection with the subject; and while he was desirous of abstaining from any invidious reflection of any sort on the present Royal tenant of that Office, whose bravery and zealous discharge of his duties demanded the respect not only of that House, but of the whole country, still, he thought the efficiency of the Army required that the attention of Parliament should first be directed to that particular spot in its administration. He begged now to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £4,000, not because he wished seriously to raise the question on the present occasion, but in order to inform the House that it was his intention to bring it forward for thorough discussion next Session.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £228,700, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Administration of the Army, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1880."—(*Mr. Edward Jenkins.*)

COLONEL STANLEY said, that, although some addition had been made to the number of military clerks employed in the War Office, that fact must not be regarded as implying the slightest derogation of the manner in which the civilian clerks had performed the duties which they had to discharge. He had,

*Lord Elcho*

he might add, laid down a rule that in certain cases the duties to be fulfilled should be intrusted only to men who had served in the Army; but he was afraid that scarcely as much could be done in that direction as his noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) desired. His noble Friend would excuse him if he did not at that hour of the night follow him in what he had said as to the manufacture of the rifles now served out to the Army; while, in reply to the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins), he would point out that the question which he desired to raise, and to which he had called the attention of the House, was not one which could be conveniently dealt with on the present occasion. It was, however, he was prepared to admit, an important question; but he would now merely observe, with regard to it, that it was a great convenience that the occupant of the Office of Commander-in-Chief should be quite free to go about to inspect the Army, and that a Minister whose time was fully occupied in that House would not be likely to have many spare hours for the purpose.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN begged to move *pro forma* that the Chairman report Progress, so that he might put himself in Order in asking a question as to the course of Public Business. There was a rumour that the Government had changed their intention with regard to the Business which they proposed to take to-morrow and on Saturday; and he had been informed that they meant to take the Report of Supply, if the Committee got through Supply that night, at 9 o'clock to-morrow night, and the Irish University Bill on Saturday instead of the Public Works Loan Bill, which had been previously fixed for that day. He should like to know whether the rumour to which he referred was correct?

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHE-

QUER said, that if the Committee got through Supply that night, as he hoped they would, he proposed to take the Report of Supply at 9 o'clock to-morrow night; but no change had been made in the order of Business, which, as had

been stated, it was proposed to take on Saturday.

MR. DILLWYN asked when the Irish University Bill would be proceeded with?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: On Monday.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

MR. CALLAN said, that although he was not going to make a Motion for the reduction of the Vote, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the smallness of the salary which was given to the Roman Catholic chaplain at Chelsea Hospital. That salary amounted to only £25 a-year, and he believed he was correct in stating that there was a greater number of Roman Catholics in Chelsea Hospital than of Protestants in the hospital at Kilmainham, where an allowance of £300 a-year was made to the chaplain. He should also like to point out that the Roman Catholic pensioners at Chelsea Hospital, who were old and infirm men, were obliged to trudge, no matter how severe the weather might be, a long way from the hospital to the Roman Catholic church which they attended; and a room, he contended, ought to be set apart in the hospital for Roman Catholic service, so that they might no longer be subjected to so great an inconvenience. He hoped, under these circumstances, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would give the Committee an assurance that the matter would be inquired into during the autumn, and that, if the facts were as he had stated, a remedy for the present state of things would be provided.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he certainly would have the matter inquired into, and expressed a wish to know whether the hon. Gentleman, in the remarks which he had made, spoke from his own personal knowledge?

MR. CALLAN said, that he happened to have entered into conversation with one of the Roman Catholic pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, who, on learning that he, too, was a Roman Catholic, had opened his mind freely to him; and had made statements to him which subsequent inquiry tended to corroborate.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he would take care to find out exactly how the matter stood.

MR. BIGGAR could not regard the answer of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman as being at all satisfactory. The salary of the Roman Catholic chaplain ought, he thought, to be at once increased.

THE CHAIRMAN inquired if the hon. Member for Cavan moved to reduce the Vote, or an item in the Vote?

MR. BIGGAR said, that he moved to reduce the item for the chaplain at Chelsea Hospital by the sum of £200.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £400, for the Salary of the Chaplain of Chelsea Hospital, be reduced by £200."—(Mr. Biggar.)

MR. CALLAN said, that it was a gratifying fact that no such Motion had been made in the House for a number of years, and he trusted that his hon. Friend would not proceed with his Motion. It was the first time that the attention of the authorities had been drawn to this matter. The salary of the Roman Catholic chaplain had only been paid for a few years, and it was the first time the Vote had been discussed, and that attention had been drawn to the discrepancy between the salaries of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant chaplains. After the assurance that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had given upon the subject, he did not think that they ought to say anything more respecting it. If nothing were done in the matter during the ensuing year, it could be brought forward next Session. He would appeal to the hon. Member for Cavan not to press his Motion.

MR. BIGGAR did not think that the reply of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was so satisfactory that he should be justified in withdrawing his Motion. He wished to raise a protest against the discrepancy between the salaries of the Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE begged to point out to the hon. Member for Cavan that it would be in accordance with the feelings of the Committee if he would withdraw his Motion. There were many hon. Members in that part of the House who agreed with him that the Protestant and Catholic ministers ought to be placed upon the same footing, and that there should be no distinction drawn in any respect; if they paid salaries to ministers at all, then both salaries should be alike. The hon. Member moved to reduce the salary of the chaplain at Chelsea; but he thought that that would be an unfair course to take. If the hon. Member pressed his Motion he should certainly vote against it.

MR. BIGGAR did not see why, if they could not level up, they should not level down.

COLONEL STANLEY thought it would be better that they should take a Division upon the matter. He was not prepared to admit that there was any injustice existing. There certainly was a great discrepancy in the salaries, no doubt; but he was not prepared to admit that it was an injustice. He did not know how long the chaplain at Chelsea had held his appointment, nor what were the reasons for giving him the salary which he received. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Biggar) could scarcely wish him to reduce the salary until he had inquired into the subject; and he certainly thought that it would be unfair to reduce the salary of the present holder of the office. But as attention had been drawn to the subject it should be inquired into.

MR. CALLAN said, that after the misleading and unsatisfactory explanation by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War he should be compelled to vote, unwillingly, with the hon. Member for Cavan. It would be better that a clear understanding should be arrived at before they proceeded to vote. He was acquainted with the facts as to Kilmainham Hospital, and was prepared to substantiate the accuracy of what he had stated. There was a Protestant chaplain at that Hospital belonging to the late State Church, who was paid £300 a-year to attend to the religious wants of the Protestant pensioners at Kilmainham; but a much larger sum was paid to that functionary than was paid to the Catholic chaplain attached to Chelsea, who had to attend

to a much larger number of pensioners. At present, the Catholic chaplain at Chelsea was not paid one-tenth of what the Protestant chaplain at Kilmainham was paid, for attending a very much smaller number of pensioners. He did not think the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War could maintain that there was no injustice in paying the Protestant chaplain at Kilmainham £300, and, at the same time, paying the Roman Catholic chaplain at Chelsea £25, for attending a less number of pensioners. He thought that was an injustice that should not be tolerated, and he considered that they ought to have an assurance from the Government that it should be rectified.

COLONEL STANLEY did not say that there was no injustice; he simply said that he was not prepared to admit that there was any. There was a discrepancy between the salaries; but there might be a reason for it. His noble Friend who had preceded him in the Office which he had the honour to hold had directed that no appointment should be made by the Governor of Chelsea Hospital until the War Office had had an opportunity of considering what salary should be paid to the chaplain in future. He did not think that it would be fair to reduce the salary of the present holder of the chaplaincy at Chelsea Hospital. But whether there would be a case for reduction on a new appointment he was not prepared to say. With respect to the pay of the Roman Catholic chaplain, if there was any reason for increasing it, it should be done, and if there was a difficulty in the Roman Catholics at Chelsea obtaining the ministrations of their own religion he would see what could be done.

MR. CALLAN said, that with reference to Kilmainham Hospital, to satisfy the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, he might state that the Protestant chaplain received the same salary as the Catholic chaplain for doing one-third of the work. That might satisfy him that no injustice was done to the Protestant chaplain at Kilmainham. He was not complaining of the salary paid to the present chaplain there, for he was in favour of levelling up instead of levelling down. The exact number of pensioners at Kilmainham, he believed, was 200, of whom about 130 were Roman Catholics. The nearest Roman Catholic Church to Kil-

mainham was upwards of a mile and a-half distant from the Hospital, and Roman Catholic pensioners were obliged to walk that distance to attend the services of their religion. He would ask if the Government were prepared to allow the Roman Catholics at Kilmainham, who were in the majority, some accommodation for attending the services of their religion, instead of having to go a mile and a-half? He did not think that the hon. Member for Cavan would be justified in withdrawing his Amendment, unless some satisfactory assurance were given on the part of the Government.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that his noble Friend who had preceded him had given an assurance that an endeavour should be made to find a room in the barracks for the services of the Roman Catholic Church at Kilmainham. His impression was that that had been done. If the hon. Member for Dundalk would put a Question down on the Paper on this subject he would endeavour to answer it. The hospital at Kilmainham held from 200 to 240 pensioners.

MR. PARNELL did not understand whether the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War intended to abolish the chaplaincies at Chelsea and Kilmainham. If that were so, it would be fair that he should not appoint Roman Catholic chaplains. But if he did not intend to abolish the Protestant chaplaincies at Kilmainham and Chelsea, then he ought to appoint regular chaplains for the Roman Catholics. The Government declined to give any official recognition to any but the Protestant chaplains, and only gave what they called an allowance to the Roman Catholic clergymen. Unless there was a regular chaplain appointed for Roman Catholics at Kilmainham, where they were a majority of the pensioners, he did not see that there was any right to retain Protestant chaplains either for Kilmainham or Chelsea. He hoped the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would give a plain answer as to whether he intended to abolish the chaplaincies at Kilmainham and Chelsea; and if he did not, whether he would establish a regular Roman Catholic chaplain for Kilmainham, where the majority of the pensioners were Roman Catholics?

MR. MELDON said, that if the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cavan were pressed he could not vote

for it. In his opinion, the assurance of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was very satisfactory. They had not the facts of the case before them; they did not know whether the ecclesiastical authorities would consent to the appointment of a Roman Catholic chaplain. There was an impression that a place had been provided for the Roman Catholic services at Kilmainham Hospital; and he thought that it was very unsatisfactory that they should be called upon to vote upon the question without a full knowledge of the circumstances. It was exceedingly unsatisfactory for the hon. Member for Cavan to take up the Estimates, and finding a discrepancy to take up the time of the Committee in discussing the matter. It should be ascertained, first, whether, if the chaplain were appointed, the ecclesiastical authorities would be willing that he should accept the office; and, consequently, they ought to know whether the Government had had any representations made to them from the person whose cause was taken up by the hon. Member. It was unpleasant to be called upon to vote until the facts were fully before the House. Although he should like to see a Roman Catholic chaplain appointed, he could not vote for the Amendment.

MR. CALLAN said, that if the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) had been listening to the course of the debate, and not indulging in conversation, as he was at present, he would never have made the observations he had done. When he brought forward this question he did not consult either the Roman Catholic Bishops or the priests. He did not consider it his duty to do so, for he had not brought forward the question in the interests of the Bishops or the clergymen, but solely on behalf of the pensioners. He regretted to say that the Roman Catholic chaplains appointed under the present system were so appointed under the patronage of the English Bishop, and he did not think that that was right. He had brought forward the Motion on the request of eight or nine pensioners, who objected to having to go a mile and a-half to church to attend the ministrations of their religion, when the other pensioners were accommodated in the Hospital. The hon. and learned Member for Kildare might come forward as the champion

of the clergy and the Bishops; but he (Mr. Callan) had come forward solely as the champion of the pensioners. He thought that, as a practical injustice had been shown, it should be inquired into, and, if found to exist, should be rectified.

MR. BIGGAR, before asking leave to withdraw his Amendment, wished to make a short explanation. What he understood to be the promise of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was, that he would inquire into the grievance, and that he would see justice done. Upon that understanding, he begged to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

##### CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

###### (9.) £5,000, National Gallery Plans.

MR. DILLWYN inquired whether these plans were in the custody of the Government?

MR. GERARD NOEL said, the plans were now in the Office of Works.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, that a discussion with regard to the plans had been brought forward by him on a previous occasion. The plans of Mr. Barry for the National Gallery were selected and approved; but there was no undertaking with him that he should immediately build the whole of the new Galleries. The arrangement was that the Galleries should be built as required according to the plans selected. Mr. Barry had built a considerable portion of the new building, and he had received a commission in respect of that portion. There was no obligation, however, that there should be any payment for any other portion until and unless that other portion was built in like manner. He thought that they ought to have some explanation why, many years after these transactions, they should be called upon to pay Mr. Barry £5,000 in respect of further plans which he had really prepared of his own accord, and without instructions.

MR. GERARD NOEL remarked that, in 1868, Mr. Barry was appointed architect of the new National Gallery, and was

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directed to prepare plans for the building. Mr. Barry divided the work into four blocks. Block A was to cost £88,975; block B £103,625; block C £339,721; block D £105,975. In 1870, it was decided not to proceed with the building, but merely to enlarge and increase the galleries. The cost of block A was reduced to £83,000, which was then completed, the architect receiving a remuneration of £4,150, or 5 per cent on the revised estimate. In this was included £830, or 1 per cent, for a sketch plan of block A. Mr. Barry, according to instructions, also furnished the Government with sketch plans for the whole of the proposed National Gallery; but as there seemed to be no prospect of its being completed for some years it was thought only fair and just to Mr. Barry that he should be paid for these sketch plans, and this was the reason for the proposed Supplementary Vote.

*Vote agreed to.*

(10.) £10,000, Science and Art Museum, Dublin, *agreed to*.

##### CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

(11.) £30,000, Supplementary sum for The Mint, including Coinage, *agreed to*.

(12.) £11,966, Supplementary sum for Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN wished to know why the original estimate under this head had been largely exceeded?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON observed, that there had not been an increase in this Vote; but that no Vote had yet been taken upon that account, and the present Vote was in respect of the whole expenses.

MR. WHITWELL said, that a change had been made in the Vote, partly in consequence of the diminution of the protective inspection at the ports on this side of the Channel; although, in his opinion, the inspection could be much better done here than on the Irish side. The Government had given way in respect to allowing inspection to take place at the arriving ports; and the increase in the Vote was, therefore, in his opinion, justifiable, although an increased inspection had been made on the wrong side of the Channel.

*Vote agreed to.*

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND  
ART.

(13.) £6,280, for Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions.

MR. E. JENKINS said, it was perfectly obvious that the sum which had been set apart on account of this Exhibition would not be sufficient. The expense had been estimated at £10,000, and it was made up of items such as £200 for travelling expenses. The members of the Commission who would go to Sydney and Melbourne would certainly not pay their own expenses, and that sum would not nearly cover the cost. If they took the items there, it appeared to him that they were under-estimated. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury whether he could give any explanation as to why the expenses had been under-estimated? Subsistence and lodging allowance was put down at £180. If they might judge from the Paris Exhibition, persons who went about for Government charged as much as they possibly could for subsistence, and he did not think that the sum of £180 would cover that expense. Then, the telegraphing and passages would cost two or three times as much as they estimated. He should like some explanation as to the reason Government had not looked the matter fairly in the face, and had not put down the full amount?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the amount estimated for those expenses was £10,000; but they only proposed to allow in the figures for the current year £6,280. With regard to the item of telegrams, he might say that it did not include the amount which would be paid for telegraphic communication with the Colonies, for the Government did not think that that ought to be an Imperial charge, but that, as it affected the interests of the Colonies, it ought fairly to be paid by them. With regard to the travelling expenses, the amount at which it had been put down was that at which it had been estimated by the members of the Commission themselves. The whole Estimate had been prepared to meet what it was thought would be the probable expenses.

MR. RYLANDS wished to know whether the Government would, under any circumstances, grant a larger sum than £10,000?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that sum represented the part of the full amount that they believed would be required.

MR. E. JENKINS did not think that that explanation was satisfactory. In his opinion, the expenses would more likely amount to the sum of £25,000. He did not think the House was fairly dealt with, when the amounts that should be required were so under-estimated.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND  
OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.

(14.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £26,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for defraying the additional expenditure entailed upon the Government of Cyprus by the Augmentation of the Police Force, rendered necessary by the reduction of the Military Garrison of the Island."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was quite impossible to adequately discuss the question raised by that Vote at that hour of the night. He did not, therefore, intend to enter upon the principle of submitting the Vote to the House; but, at the same time, he would venture to appeal to the Government as to whether it would not be better to postpone the Vote until the beginning of next Session? It could not really be necessary to establish a military police force at Cyprus. It was clear that it would be desirable that they should have some further information before saddling the House with so large a charge as £26,000, which, if once incurred, would be very difficult, subsequently, to get rid of. There were indications that the Government itself was not unanimous as to the desirability of the Vote. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, at an earlier period of the Session, when the Vote was proposed to be taken upon the Army Estimates, had considered that it would be illegal, and everyone who heard the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night would see that he had great doubt as to the desirability of the Vote. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had never spoken one word in its favour. The Vote had been the subject of a good deal of discussion, and there was by no

means unanimity concerning it. He would suggest that, looking to the period of the Session, and the improbability of fairly discussing the matter at the present time, it would be alike fair to the House and the country to postpone taking the Vote on that occasion, and to leave it till next Session.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE wished to have some information with regard to the military exemption tax in Cyprus. The military exemption tax was imposed by the Turks upon those persons who did not serve in the Army; but there was now no compulsory military service in the Army at all. He wanted to know whether the Christians now had to pay the tax, while the Mahommedans were exempt from military service? With respect to the police, the very large sum of £26,000 was asked for by the Vote. He might say that there was also in the Island of Cyprus a military police, and Captain Scott Stevens, late Adjutant of the 42nd Highlanders, was in command of that force. Thus, they had in Cyprus three distinct bodies of police. There was the Army police, which cost £23,000; and there was the police, for which they were now asked to vote £26,000—altogether, £50,000 was spent in Cyprus upon police, and of that sum Cyprus was to pay less than half. He did not think there was any adequate necessity for the police charged for in the Vote. In the Estimate for the revenue expenditure of Cyprus, a small sum was put down for interest upon money borrowed for Public Works, and a Schedule was given of the Public Works required to be executed. There was no doubt that the works which were intended to be constructed during the next financial year would be done by means of forced labour. That institution was entirely repugnant to this country, and the Vote would be opposed until the system was brought to an end.

MR. MONK supported the appeal of the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) that the Government would withdraw the Vote until next Session. It was a Vote which required a great deal of consideration before it was passed, and at that hour of the night they could not adequately discuss the advisability of establishing a new police. It would be next to impossible to discuss the question on Report the next day. He did not think that there could be any

immediate necessity for the Vote; it was one of very doubtful expediency, and there were very grave doubts whether the Government itself was satisfied as to the advisability of taking it. He would, therefore, urge upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to press the Vote at that period of the Session.

MR. MUNDELLA ventured to make the same appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but on different grounds. The Vote they were then asked to pass was a military Vote which had been placed upon the Civil Service Estimates, and he might say that it was not the only one. A new practice had grown up of placing Votes upon the Civil Service Estimates which had never appeared upon them before. Several Votes for Military and Naval Services had that year been placed upon the Civil Service Estimates and not recharged as before to the Military and Naval Departments. The result was that the Civil Service Estimates were that year considerably swollen by the additions which had been placed upon them. He thought that was a departure from the usual practice which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be the last to defend or tolerate. On a former occasion he had asked why the practice that had always been followed had not been adhered to; but he had received no answer from the Treasury Bench. They contended that in the case of special Services they ought not to be placed on the Civil Service Estimates. The present was another case of a Vote for actual military purposes being placed upon the Civil Service Estimates. The practical effect was to deceive the country.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was sorry that he could not assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for Reading and postpone the Vote. If the hon. Gentleman wished to discuss the Vote he was quite prepared to enter into any discussion that might be thought desirable. But he understood the hon. Member to prefer to raise the discussion upon Report the next day. That being so, he would place Report upon the Paper as the First Order at 9 o'clock. He did not think he could undertake to enter into the questions raised by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) on that occasion; but he

*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*



thought a more convenient time might be found for discussing them.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE was willing to postpone the main discussion on the Vote until Report; but there were one or two matters upon which he wished to have a distinct understanding. There were two separate establishments of police at Cyprus—the British establishment and the Native establishment. Under the British establishment for 1878-9 there was an item for police of £11,000; under the head of Native establishments the pay of the zaptiehs for six months was stated at 500 piastres, or about £12,000. As that was only the cost for six months, it followed that the charge for a year would be £24,000 for the Native zaptiehs, besides £11,000 for the British establishment. Therefore, there was a charge for the police force alone in Cyprus of about £35,000. That really required explanation; and they ought also to know why they were then called upon to pay £26,000 for a fresh police force. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would give some explanation on that subject.

Mr. BOURKE could readily explain the matter to which the hon. Gentleman referred. He was not correct in saying that there were two police forces in Cyprus, as there was, in fact, only one. The police force that existed in Cyprus was that commanded by the gentleman whose name had been mentioned. Several times during the debates they had had upon the condition of Cyprus the hon. Member for Reading had mentioned that there were two kinds of police in Cyprus. That was not so; sometimes they were called zaptiehs, and sometimes police. The explanation was that they were originally called zaptiehs, and, since being organized, they had been called police. There was only one force, therefore, not two forces. With regard to the question of the hon. Member for Reading, he would explain that the first sum he had mentioned related to the re-organization of the police. A question had been raised by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) with regard to the military exemption tax. On the British occupation that was found to be a tax existing in the Island. It was thought unfair to place the tax only upon the Christians; and, therefore, it had been

placed also upon the Mahomedans. With respect to forced labour so much had been said with regard to the question that he would only say a word or two. They knew that there had been forced labour in past times; but that institution had only been put in force in one instance. What was called forced labour was not so, but was paid labour. In future there would be no forced labour in Cyprus.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the answer of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary with regard to the exemption tax was completely satisfactory; but in respect to the other matters his answer was not so satisfactory. He had no doubt that the hon. Gentleman made the statement as to there being only one kind of police in Cyprus in perfect good faith; but what he had said did not remove the impression that there were two kinds of police. There was the police commanded by Captain Scott Stevens, consisting partly of Europeans; but there was another force of police with entirely different head-quarters.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE could not reconcile the statements which had been made. He believed that there were two establishments—the British and the Native establishments—and £11,000 was the charge in respect of the British establishment. It would really appear from the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary that since the re-organization of the police there had been two bodies, one on the British establishment, and one on the Native establishment. He hoped that further inquiries would be made and the matter thoroughly explained before the discussion on the next day.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID thought it desirable that the Government should give some reasonable explanation for having placed the Vote for the Cyprus police on the Civil Service Estimates. He could suggest a reason for it, and that was that, in order to show a good balance-sheet for Cyprus, they had placed £26,000 upon the English Estimates. Therefore, they paid £26,000 for the enjoyment of having a good balance-sheet for Cyprus. At first, they knew that the Government did not intend to take it at all in its present form; and it was only because his hon. Friend the Member for Reading had found that the way in which they originally proposed

to take it was absolutely illegal that they had changed their tactics. They admitted that he was right by withdrawing the original Estimate.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 76; Noes 26: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 214.)

House resumed.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

GAME LAWS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND)  
BILL.—[BILL 143.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT objected most strongly to the Bill being considered at that time. As he understood, the Bill was to be made to apply to England as well as to Scotland. It certainly was bad enough to have one law for Scotland and another for England; but he thought that before a law which was intended for Scotland should be applied to England they ought to consider whether it was a right or a proper law. He did not think that, at that time in the morning, such an important matter should be considered. The Bill deserved very serious consideration, and as his attention had only recently been called to it he strongly objected to its being taken.

MR. MUNDELLA observed, that the Bill had been discussed again and again in that House, and he was surprised to hear the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex state that his attention had never been called to it. The question as to poaching was discussed upon the Scotch Bill; and it was stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary that the provisions of the Bill should also be extended to England. The Bill contained reasonable and merciful provisions, and he hoped it would be allowed to pass.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) said, that when the Bill was before the House on a previous occasion it had been agreed that the law in Scotland

and in England should be the same. The Bill proposed to give powers to a Judge who tried a case of night-poaching to inflict something less than imprisonment with hard labour in certain cases. The law with regard to poaching differed according as the offence was committed by night or by day, and the law with respect to night-poaching was very much more severe than in regard to day-poaching. When offences were committed between day and night, or between night and morning, it was very difficult for an ordinary man to know whether he was, in effect, offending against the law for night or day-poaching. It was provided by the Bill before the House that where a man was out alone, and not acting in concert with another poacher, and where he had no arms or net, then the Judge, in his discretion, might inflict a fine instead of sending the man to prison. In one case, which had been brought under the notice of the House by means of a Question, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had thought fit to discharge a man from prison, where he had been sent by a Judge, under the precise circumstances in which the Bill gave a Judge power to inflict a fine instead of imprisonment.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said, that a certain number of Amendments were to be inserted; but it was not certain how far they would go. He wished to ask the reason for the insertion of the Amendment—"Having in his possession any net."

MR. SPEAKER said, that the point raised by the hon. Member could not properly then be brought forward. The Question was that the Bill be now considered.

Motion agreed to.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN repeated his question with respect to the reason for inserting the words—"Or having in his possession any net."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) said, the case that led to the introduction of the Bill was the case of a farmer, who was not charged or suspected of any complicity with poachers, but only went out and set a snare to catch rabbits on his own grounds. The words were introduced for the purpose of distinguishing between the case which the Bill was intended to meet and the case

*Sir Julian Goldsmid*

of men acting in concert as wholesale plunderers.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT asked why England was included in the operation of the Bill?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) observed, that when the Bill came before the Committee Clause 1 ran thus—"This Act shall only apply to Scotland." After a discussion, it was agreed that it should be applied to England also, and one of the very first Amendments inserted in Committee on the Bill was a provision extending the operation of the Bill to England as well as to Scotland. That was the only explanation he could give.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT begged to move to leave out the word "England."

MR. ASSHETON CROSS wished to say one word with regard to the matter. The only question really was whether the clause could be made agreeable to a Bill already passed. The present Bill was made to apply to England, and the Amendment was for the purpose of making Clause 2 agree with the rest of the Bill. The question raised by the Bill was whether certain powers should be given to magistrates. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate had said that the powers were limited to cases where a man was *bona fide* believed not to be a poacher. Nothing would induce him (Mr. Assheton Cross) to ask the House to modify the law with respect to the habitual poacher. The Bill, in effect, gave the magistrates power, in cases where a man had, by a short interval, brought himself within the offence of night-poaching, to try the case as if it had happened just within the day. The law with respect to night and day-poaching very much resembled that of burglary and house-breaking. Burglary was a superior offence to house-breaking, and the essential in burglary was that the act had to be done by night. A man was not bound to be charged with burglary; but he might be charged with house-breaking, whether the offence was committed by night or by day. But in the case of night-poaching the matter was regulated by a hard-and-fast line, and it was not in the power of the magistrate to try the offence as of the lesser character; and this Bill was for the purpose of vesting such a discretion in the magistrate. He

might add that nothing was further from his intention than to limit the punishment upon the habitual poacher.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON remarked that it did not appear from the Schedule of the Bill that it was limited in the way which had been mentioned.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS replied that the Amendments were made in Committee.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, that there was no mention in the Bill as to going with nets to catch game.

MR. CALLAN remarked that it was rather refreshing to see hon. Members on the Government side of the House, who attacked obstruction, persistently obstructing the Public Business of the country at that hour of the morning. Hon. Members were opposing a measure brought forward by one of the Law Officers of the Government of which they were supporters. He thought that they should now allow the Business to go on.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) wished to state that the Bill was amended in Committee, and the discretion of the magistrates was limited to the one case he had stated—namely, where the person accused had been alone, and not in concert with any other person, and not armed, and not possessed of or using any net.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, that the explanation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate was that the Bill had been considerably amended; but they had not the Amendments there before them. It was not only hard, but also most unusual, to ask the House to consider a Bill without having the Amendments before it.

*Amendment negatived.*

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE  
(OFFICERS) BILL.—[*Lords.*]—[BILL 235.]

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought it would be better to get rid of this Bill. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury could not make any announcement with regard to the Bill, then, perhaps, he could do so the next

day. He thought that the Bill was one which could be well sacrificed.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON would be very sorry to see this Bill sacrificed. The Bill was to arrange the Offices now brought together in the Law Courts, and to provide for certain consolidations. It would effect considerable saving, and would arrange the Offices under a new system. If the Bill were not passed, he thought they must pass a Suspensory Act in order to preserve certain officers. If the hon. Baronet would look at the Act he would find that the Bill was quite necessary.

Committee deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS  
(MONEY) BILL.—[BILL 268.]

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. MONK said, that very great interest was taken in this Bill on the part of a considerable number of the rate-payers of the City of London, who had presented Petitions on the subject, and who desired to draw the attention of the House to the way in which their interests were dealt with. There was one clause to which he wished to draw special attention, and which ran as follows:—

"The Board may from time to time during the year ending the thirty-first day of December one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one expend . . . such money as they think fit. . . . The aggregate amount . . . shall not exceed one hundred thousand pounds."

The Petitioners complained that the effect of that clause, if passed, would be to authorize the Board to pay out of the rates the expenses that had been incurred in promoting certain Water Bills; and, further, to authorize the Board to pay the expenses they had incurred in the promotion of the Tower High Level Bridge Bill. Perhaps the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Truro (Sir James M<sup>c</sup>Garel-Hogg) would, in Committee, accept an Amendment providing that that clause should not allow the Metropolitan Board to apply any portion of that sum of £100,000 in payment of the expenses incurred in those matters. If that were done, he would have no objection to the House going into Committee.

*Sir Charles W. Dilke*

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON could assure his hon. Friend that that clause had nothing to do with the expenses which it might possibly cover; the clause really enabled the Board to continue to make grants already sanctioned. The improvements upon which an expenditure was sanctioned must be within the Metropolitan area, and the expenditure to which his hon. Friend had alluded was for effecting works outside the area. The Metropolitan Board could not make an expenditure for effecting works practically outside their jurisdiction.

MR. MONK said, that, after so satisfactory a reply, he would withdraw his objection to the Bill being considered in Committee.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 6, inclusive, agreed to.

Clause 7 (Power for Board to expend under 18 & 19 Vict. c. 120, s. 144, and 25 & 26 Vict. c. 102, s. 72).

MR. MONK moved, in page 3, line 2, after the word "respectively," to insert the words—

"Provided always, That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to authorise the payment by the Board of any expenses incurred in the preparation or promotion of any Bills which shall have been disallowed by the auditor."

If the Bill was not to authorize the payment by the Board of expenses incurred in the promotion of those Bills, he did not see that the insertion of that Provision would prejudice the action of the Board; but would only make it clear that they had no power to pay those expenses.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 2, after the word "respectively," to insert the words "Provided always, That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to authorise the payment by the Board of any expenses incurred in the preparation or promotion of any Bills which shall have been disallowed by the auditor."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he could not assent to the Amendment. The clause in no way sanctioned any payment in respect of those matters. Under these circum-

stances, the insertion of the Amendment would only practically tie the hands of Parliament. He thought that the Amendment was entirely unnecessary.

MR. E. JENKINS did not see why the Amendment should not be accepted. Everything that the Government wanted they got by the Bill, and there seemed to him no reason for not inserting the Amendment. It was clear that expenses, which had been disallowed by the auditor, ought not to be paid, and he thought that the insertion of a Proviso to that effect was very proper.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, that the present Bill had nothing to do with the other one.

MR. BARING said, that either the clause did not authorize the expenditure on the matters in question, in which case there could be no objection to the Proviso, or it did authorize the payment of those matters, and then there was still more reason for the Proviso being inserted.

MR. MUNDELLA was sorry to say that at that moment the Corporation of Sheffield had expended £11,000, which they were liable to pay out of their own pockets. That was in consequence of some selfish ratepayers going to the Court of Queen's Bench. The Corporation had really only done its duty to the ratepayers in protecting them against the acts of the Water Companies, and yet they had had to pay the expenses so incurred out of their own pockets. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had now permitted that to be done in the case of London which had not been allowed in the case of Sheffield.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON thought that no more unfortunate instance could have been adduced with regard to this question than that of Sheffield. The hon. Member for Sheffield had held out what had taken place in that case as the selfish act on the part of the ratepayers. But the case had also been considered as a selfish disregard by the Corporation of the opinion of the ratepayers. It was the most unfortunate instance that could have been adduced on the present occasion. He did not think that, by quoting that instance, his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield had done anything to get rid of the incubus that weighed upon the hon. Member who objected to the insertion of the Amendment on that occasion.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 15; Noes 53: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 215.)

House resumed.

Bill reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

POOR LAW AMENDMENT (No. 2) (*re-committed*) BILL—[BILL 282.]

(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Sclater-Booth.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Salt.*)

MR. KNIGHT hoped that the Bill might not be proceeded with, as it was a Bill containing many important provisions. It was a Bill granting money for various purposes to the Local Government Board—the Bill was money, money, money! There were some other things in the Bill which were very objectionable. The 7th clause gave power to alter the boundaries of parishes—parishes that had gone on as long as the British Constitution, and he thought might be allowed to go on one year longer. Clause 8 was a very mysterious clause, and he could not understand it; but he was assured by a great supporter of the Bill that it would enable the Guardians to take a large proportion of lunatics out of the hands of the Commissioners, and confine them in some workhouses or other large places. He was further told that that would very much diminish the cost of maintaining pauper lunatics. If that were really the object of the provision, and the Guardians would be enabled to make lunatic asylums of workhouses without being under the control of the Commissioners, he thought the power was indefensible. If money had to be spent in that way, there was great reason for not going on with the Bill without very much further consideration. In Clause 9 a power was given to the Local Government Board to alter Local Acts. He had not sufficient confidence in that Board to wish to give it power to alter Local Acts. Clause 10 was, again, taxation; power was taken to enable local taxation to be increased for certain purposes. In the next clause provision was made for borrowing money for purposes for which

it could not now be borrowed. The following clause provided that the money so borrowed should be repaid in 30 years. Then, in Clause 13, the managers of local Poor Law districts were given many powers which they did not possess at present. Then, Clause 14 was, again, a provision for money.

MR. SPEAKER said, that it was unusual for hon. Members to go through a Bill in detail on the Motion for going into Committee. It was the function of the Committee to proceed with a Bill clause by clause. The Question was that "I do now leave the Chair."

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow, at Two of the clock.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES BILL—[BILL 78.]

(Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General.)

#### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Bill considered in Committee, and reported; to be printed, as amended. [Bill 288.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed for Saturday."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that as this was the first Bill for Saturday he would like to know what other measures it was proposed to take then? With regard to Ways and Means, he had heard that it was not the intention of the Government to take the usual step of introducing the Resolution on which the Appropriation Bill was founded that night. The Government, by omitting to introduce the Resolution that night, would lengthen the Session by one day or longer. If the Resolution had been introduced that night into the House they might have risen by Friday.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that there were a great many measures, not only of importance, but of necessity—money Bills, and so forth. What they proposed to take as the First Order of the Day on Saturday was the Public Works Loan

Bill. What other Bills were put down would depend very much upon the position of Business. He might say that they did not intend to take a lengthened Sitting for Saturday; but that it would be much the same as the previous week.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID asked if the Government only intended sitting till 6 o'clock? They would have a lengthened Sitting on Friday, as well as that night, and he thought there ought to be some understanding as to the time at which they should rise on Saturday.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN remarked, that if his hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea proposed to divide the House upon the question he should vote with him. He objected to the Public Works Loans Bill being put down as the First Order for Saturday, as it was clear that the Government might very properly have taken the Bill one day earlier. He was very desirous of taking a Division upon the question as a protest against the treatment which had been shown them by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was clear that the right hon. Gentleman took a Sitting on Saturday as a sort of penal measure, because he felt aggrieved at the proceedings of certain hon. Members. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown an exhibition of feeling of a very unusual character, for he seemed to be very much aggrieved by the action of the hon. Member for Burnley in reference to the Public Works Loans Bill. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had any right to feel aggrieved by the action of his hon. Friend, for that action was the same which had been taken, not only in the present Parliament, but in many previous Sessions. If it were right for the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to introduce the Bill after the substitution of words, it was also right for his hon. Friend to object to the Bill being thus brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. And his hon. Friend was still more in the right, because the Bill was brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, if anyone did, ought to know the Orders and Rules of the House. If he understood the denial of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to mean that he was not aware of the

*Mr. Knight*

substitution of important clauses in the Bill, and he did not know that it involved the necessity of the Bill being brought in a second time, then it showed a want of knowledge on the part of the right hon. Gentleman which was not to be expected in one who had been 14 years in the House. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had any right to feel aggrieved with the action that some of his hon. Friends had taken.

Mr. RAIKES wished to ask whether the hon. Member for Birmingham was in Order in referring to a debate which had taken place earlier?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the Question was, that the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill be fixed for Saturday next. The observations of the hon. Member were irregular in so far as he referred to the Public Works Loans Bill, which was not then before the House.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN did not understand the ruling to be that he was out of Order; at the same time, he did not intend to carry on a line of argument which might be irregular any further. He would only observe that, in his opinion, the Government had taken Saturday's Sitting very much on personal grounds, and he did not think they had any right to take that course.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Bill re-committed for Saturday.*

#### WAYS AND MEANS—COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee thereon be *deferred* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE inquired why the Appropriation Bill had not been brought in?

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON remarked that Supply had not yet been closed, and until they had closed it they could not bring in the Appropriation Bill. He might say that they proposed to bring it in the next day, when Supply was brought in.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE observed, that the Resolution was usually brought in on the night that Committee of Supply was closed.

Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID said, that the fact was that the Government had told them that they intended to close

Supply that night; and now that it was announced that they had no intention of doing so the House felt very much disappointed. By Supply not being closed that night the Government had extended the Session by a day, to which he individually did not object, but which did not suit the convenience of many hon. Members.

Mr. E. JENKINS wished to remark that hon. Members on the Opposition side did not altogether agree with their new leading men in the line which they were taking. As it was, they did not often agree with the occupants of the Front Opposition Bench, and it seemed to him that the present occupants of that Bench took no better line than the original one. So far as he was concerned, he was not anxious to have the Resolution introduced that night.

*Motion agreed to.*

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

#### LOCAL COURTS OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL [Lords]—[BILL 146.]

(Mr. James Lowther.)

#### COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee be *deferred* till *To-morrow*."

Mr. MUNDELLA remarked, that there was a strong opposition to this Bill throughout all parts of England, and he did not think that it should be taken at that period of the Session. He would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow the Order to be discharged.

Mr. CALLAN had understood the right hon. Gentleman to state that it was his intention to discharge the Order relating to the Bankruptcy Bill for England. Hon. Members for Ireland were under the impression that that statement included the present Bill. Representations had been made from various Associations and Chambers of Trade in Liverpool, Manchester, and other large towns against the Bill. They would not have time to discuss it adequately in the two or three nights that were left to them.

Mr. WHITWELL remarked, that the Bill would confer great advantages on large towns in Ireland. It would

give large towns like Belfast the advantages in bankruptcy that were now possessed by almost every moderate sized town in England.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that in respect of the Bankruptcy Bill for England he had not referred to the present Bill. In the reference he made he alluded to the Auditors Act Bill, and some other Bills, which he thought were connected with the Bankruptcy Law Amendment. He could not consent to discharge the Order for the Bill at present.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Committee deferred till To-morrow.*

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

[BILL 260.] SECOND READING.

*Order for Second Reading read.*

*Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday."*—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN objected to so important a Bill as this being taken on Saturday. He had only one other remark to add to what he had previously said. It was perfectly clear that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made up his mind to withdraw the objectionable clauses; but he should announce the fact, and so relieve hon. Members from the trouble of coming down on Saturday. He thought that that was as ingenious a way of obstructing the Business of the House as any other about which they had heard.

MR. RYLANDS hoped that, after what had occurred that evening, the right hon. Gentleman would make a statement to the effect that he would omit the clauses in the Bill to which they objected. If he would make that statement, then they would withdraw their opposition.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER declined to make any explanation at that time. At the same time, he did not desire to carry on any personal controversy with hon. Members. He could, however, assure the hon. Member for Birmingham that he did not propose to take a Sitting on Saturday, by way of a penal Sitting. It was

*Mr. Whitwell*

necessary for them to pass that Bill, in some form or other, and he proposed to announce to the House on Saturday his intentions with regard to it. He had not intimated his intention to withdraw those portions of the Bill to which the hon. Member for Burnley objected; but he should make a proposal which would, to a certain extent, modify some of the clauses of the Bill. He must, however, repudiate the idea that he intended to withdraw all the clauses to which the hon. Gentleman objected.

*Question put.*

The House divided:—Ayes 47; Noes 8: Majority 39.—(Div. List, No. 216.)

*Bill to be read a second time upon Saturday.*

#### SHIPPING CASUALTIES INVESTIGATIONS RE-HEARING BILL.

(*Viscount Sandon, Mr. J. G. Talbot.*)

[BILL 262.] CONSIDERATION.

*Order for Consideration, as amended, read.*

*Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."*—(*Viscount Sandon.*)

*Motion agreed to.*

*Bill, as amended, considered.*

*Amendment proposed, "That the Rules to be framed under the Act be laid upon the Table of the House."*—(*Viscount Sandon.*)

MR. BRISTOWE was glad that the noble Lord had introduced that Amendment. It was of great importance that those Rules should be laid upon the Table of the House. But he wished to direct the attention of the noble Lord particularly to two matters. Judgments that were to be delivered by the assessors ought to be put into writing. He thought that it would be for the convenience of the Board of Trade that that should be so. Assessors were provided at considerable expenditure, and it would be of great advantage that their judgments should be put into writing. He hoped that provision would be made for the assessors to be appointed by some arrangement in the nature of a rota from a list provided by the Home Secretary. If that were done it would be a great improvement, and would give very great satisfaction.



VISCOUNT SANDON said, that he would bear in mind the matters the hon. and learned Member had referred to.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

**METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS  
(WATER EXPENSES) BILL.**

(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir Charles W. Dilke,  
Mr. Rodwell.*)

[BILL 204.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg.*)

MR. MONK: This is rather an unusual hour—3.55 A.M.—to ask that you do leave the Chair. Now, as the House is aware, I have put down an Amendment against going into Committee upon this Bill, and I did that because my hon. and gallant Friend brought on the Bill at half-past 2 o'clock, at a time when it was utterly impossible for it to be discussed. However, I took off that Amendment, so that my hon. and gallant Friend might bring on the Bill at a reasonable hour, for he was quite as anxious as I was that it should be discussed at an hour when the ratepayers in the Metropolis might know something of the legislation taking place in this House. Four o'clock in the morning I do not think is an hour at which we ought to take the Bill. At the same time, if the House desires to go on with it, I am perfectly ready to go on; but I shall have to occupy the time of the House for some time before you leave the Chair. I will, however, make this proposal—that you should at once be allowed to leave the Chair without any discussion, and that then the Preamble of the Bill be postponed, and Progress be reported. If my hon. and gallant Friend agrees to that I will say no more.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I am quite agreeable to that.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preamble postponed.

House resumed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

**SUPPLY [28th July].**

Postponed Resolution further considered:—

"That a sum, not exceeding £111,661, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Expense of the Superintendence of Prisons, and of the Maintenance of Prisoners in Prisons in Ireland, and of the Registration of Habitual Criminals."

Resolution agreed to.

**SUPPLY [1st August].**

Postponed Resolution considered:—

"That a sum, not exceeding £7,985, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Martial Law, &c. which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880."

Resolution agreed to.

**WAYS AND MEANS.**

**EXCHEQUER BILLS AND BONDS (NO. 2)**

**BILL.**

Resolutions [August 1] reported, and agreed to.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Resolutions which, upon the 1st day of August, were reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, That they do make provision therein, pursuant to the Resolutions now reported and agreed to.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 289.]

**POST OFFICE—PENINSULAR AND  
ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COM-  
PANY'S CONTRACT.—RESOLUTION.**

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Contract dated the 7th day of February 1879, entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the conveyance of the Mails between this Country and India and China, be approved."—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

Debate adjourned till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

House adjourned at Four o'clock  
in the morning.

**HOUSE OF LORDS,**

*Friday, 8th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment\* (177); Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice)\* (178); Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing\* (179).

*Committee—Report—Knightsbridge and other Crown Lands* \* (166); *Mungret Agricultural School, &c.* \* (174); *Land Tax Commissioners' Names* \* (173); *Municipal Elections (Ireland)* \* (169).  
*Report—Commissioners of Woods (Thames Piers)* \* (168).

## THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON rose to ask the Secretary of State for India for an explanation as to the intended dispersion of the Indian Museum, and to move for Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the subject. The subject to which his Question related had excited a very strong feeling not among individuals only, but among persons who represented various communities. The Indian Museum, which dated from a century back, owed its origin to the munificence of persons whose names were indissolubly connected with the history of that Empire. It was a collection highly valued, not only by those who admired it on historic and artistic grounds, and as illustrating in an admirable manner the industries and arts of India, but also by those who regarded it as being of importance in connection with the commercial interests not of this country only, but of India itself; and representations had come from several of the large manufacturing towns and Chambers of Commerce against the proposal to disperse it. The plan which Her Majesty's Government had in view with respect to the Museum had been indicated in "another place" a few nights ago; and it was further stated, but he hoped not with truth, that after several portions of it had been dispersed to the British Museum, to Kew, and elsewhere, a portion of it would be put up for sale. He would strongly protest against that as a step entirely unworthy of a great nation. If, indeed, it was necessary that the collection should be broken up, the plan indicated by the Government—except, of course, their intention to sell a portion—was, perhaps, the best; but he denied that the reasons alleged by the Government were a sufficient justification. It was alleged that, as at present constituted, the collection was not an object of much public interest. If the interest in a Museum was to be

measured by the number of visitors who went to see it, he must admit the allegation; but he thought that was not a correct way of estimating the matter. It might be that the place in which the collection was now lodged was not favourable for those who did take an interest in it. Again, the charge for admission might operate to prevent persons from visiting the Museum—because when it was in the hands of the old East India Company a large number of visitors used to go to see it. Then it was alleged that the collection would be more useful if scattered. Well, he was not prepared to say that there were not some portions of it which might with advantage be handed over for exhibition in other institutions; but that did not mean a dispersion of the whole collection. Objection was taken to the maintenance of the Museum on the ground of expense. This appeared to him to be straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. He was not opposed to a more economical management of the Museum—on the contrary; but he thought it would be better for India and England to divide the expenses than that the financial question should be settled in the way proposed. The question of maintaining the Indian Museum was connected with that of forming a great Colonial Museum. Up to the present time there had been difficulties in the way of the latter project; but he believed that before long it would be solved, and he had always thought that if a Colonial Museum were formed it and the Indian Museum should be combined. This led him to regret the proposition of the Government, and he would be glad to hear from his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India that it had been abandoned.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, it could not be alleged that this was a question which had not been thoroughly discussed, for it was a question which had been much under discussion during the last five or six years, and considered even long before that time. It was true the Government had arrived at a conclusion on this subject, and that various opinions had been stated against the plan of the Government. Now, if there was any prospect of an adequate building for the Indian Museum, the position of affairs would be very different. But there was not. There were several

buildings of a public character which were much more important and much more needed, but the erection of which had to be deferred because there were no funds available for the work. In that state of things it could not be expected that the Imperial Government would build an India Museum; and having regard to the objects in view it would be unjust to spend the money of India for such a purpose. His noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) declined to admit that the number of visitors to the Museum was a test of the interest taken in it; and, at the same time, he referred to the numbers who visited it when it was under the care of the East India Company. As a matter of fact, in former days, when the Museum was in Leadenhall Street, it was accommodated in dark rooms where it could only be seen with artificial light, and a great part of it was shut up in boxes. It was quite a mistake to suppose that in those days the Museum attracted the attention of great numbers. In his opinion, it would be far better, and more to the advantage of art students, if the collection were dispersed and placed among other collections of ethnological and natural objects, where more complete comparison could be made. Now, as a matter of fact, the present India Museum was not visited in large numbers, either by students or the general public. The only destination of the collection, as at present settled, was that the economic and botanic portions would be moved to Kew, where they would supplement a collection already there. This would be a great improvement, for the public would have free access to it, and the Museum was frequented by large numbers of visitors. The natural history collection in the Museum was so small that he need not speak of it. It was proposed, but had not yet been arranged, that the historical and ethnological collections should be handed over to the Trustees of the British Museum, where they would be invaluable to students. These points were under consideration, and would be carefully weighed before a conclusion was come to. The Council of India did not think itself a proper body to manage such an institution as the Museum, and there were not sufficient members constituting that body to take an interest in its various departments;

and it was clear that there would be an advantage in placing the collections under such skilled persons as were to be found at Kew and the British Museum. Moreover, there was the question of expense. For the last two years the expense had been £9,000 a-year, and the lowest sum estimated for the future was £7,000 a-year. Now, the Museum was kept up principally for the instruction and amusement of the people of England, and the Council did not think it right that the burden should fall exclusively on the resources of India. He would be deceiving their Lordships if he said that Her Majesty's Government had not made up their minds not to keep up the Museum in its present position. It was not fulfilling the purposes for which a museum of the kind ought to exist; but in the arrangements for a distribution of it Her Majesty's Government would have in view the displaying of all the articles it contained in the best way for the benefit of India as well as of this country.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that he sympathized with the Secretary of State as to the reception which his endeavours to make some reduction in the Home Charges of India had met with. He (the Earl of Northbrook) would support Her Majesty's Government in economizing for India, even if they should propose to defray the salaries of the Secretary of State for India and the other officers of the India Office out of Imperial funds, as was the case with regard to the Colonial Office. He thought the transfer of the botanical collection to Kew, where it would be under the care of the Curator, might be advantageous, for the India Office would have the advantage of being able to consult the highest authorities on the botanical products of India. The arrangements with regard to the other portions of the Museum might, in his opinion, be safely left to the Secretary of State for India in Council.

#### TREATY OF BERLIN—THE RUSSIAN EVACUATION OF ROUMELIA AND BULGARIA.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL: My Lords, the Question which I have to put compels me, for a moment, to advert to such official declarations as have taken place,

one in the House, one out of it, upon the subject. About a week ago, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed your Lordships that East Roumelia was no longer occupied by any Russian Army. Considering how long ago it should have been released, the statement was not at all astonishing. As to the remainder of the occupation, whether it had ceased, or when it was about to do so, no light was furnished at the moment. But that was not the last expression of the Government. On Wednesday, according to the public journals, the noble Earl the Prime Minister assured the Lord Mayor that no Russian soldier continued in the Dominion of the Sultan. But as a large mass of persons would hardly know whether or not Bulgaria can be included in the Dominion of the Sultan, a further and a less ambiguous statement is required to make it clear that the new Vassal Principality has passed beyond its former military tutelage. The Prime Minister may have only corroborated what fell from the Secretary of State, or may have added to it. Either interpretation might suggest itself. But there is another point to be attended to. It was distinctly contemplated in the 22nd Article of the Treaty of Berlin that the Russian troops should spend three months in traversing Roumania. The permission may not have been utilized: a different route may have been chosen. It is, therefore, indispensable to ask, Whether any Force is now between the Danube and the Pruth? In short, until we know whether by the 3rd of August the Russians had quitted all the territory occupied under the Treaty of Berlin, and not only a part of it, it is not possible to form a judgment on the prospects of the Eastern Question, or on the attitude of Russia to other European Powers, or on the mode in which the foreign policy of the Government has been conducted. The Question, therefore, will be seen by the House, whatever answer it elicits, to be required by the circumstances in which we find ourselves at present.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: In answer to the Question which the noble Lord has put on the Paper, I have to say that the information I gave to the House some days ago was that all the Russian Forces had quitted Eastern Roumelia somewhere about the 27th or 28th of July, and that they had quitted

*Lord Campbell*

Roumania a considerable time before. To-day we have been informed that the last Russian detachment quitted Rustchuk on the 14th of August. I daresay that the jealous mind of the noble Lord will see in the six hours' delay some serious breach of the Treaty; but I can assure him that, as far as our information goes, the whole of the territory occupied under the Treaty of Berlin and to be evacuated by the Russians has been evacuated, and there are no Russian troops now south of the Pruth.

#### ARMY (INDIA)—THE WORKSHOP SYSTEM.

##### ADDRESS FOR PAPERS.

LORD STRATHNAIRN rose to move for—

"Copies of Correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Government of India, and the War Department, in 1864 and 1865, with reference to the system of workshops, and their approval of the same; also, of any Correspondence regarding the good effects of the workshop system on the discipline of the British army in India; and, for Return of the amounts of money invested in the Soldiers' Savings Bank for three years preceding and three years following the institution of workshops."

The noble and gallant Lord said, that the system of Army workshops, the Papers relating to which he solicited with their Lordships' permission, had proved itself to be very favourable to the efficiency, health, and discipline of the Army in India. The system—that was employment of well-seasoned and trained soldiers in their trades—remedied the diseases which were caused by continued inaction in intense heat, and supplied an army in the field with workmen who could provide for their most urgent wants huts, saddlery, drinking troughs, repair arms, and make engineering obstacles, &c. A "Reserve," formed of soldiers of 10 years' service in the workshop system, would about pay its own expenses; and, formed into battalions, might, at the shortest notice, reinforce an army in any quarter of the globe. He begged to take that opportunity to offer his excuses for having been absent, when, more than at any time, he should have wished to have been present—from the Vote of Thanks to the Army in India, for their late brilliant and important services in Afghanistan; but he came to the House too late, in consequence of not having received the

notice of the Vote of Thanks. He regretted it the more because two of the General Officers, Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts, whose good fortune it was to be most engaged, were on his general Staff when Commander-in-Chief in India. It was impossible to speak too highly of their merits as officers, and of the very valuable assistance they rendered him while serving on his Staff. Nothing in a strategical point of view could be better than the very able manner in which Sir Donald Stewart, overcoming remarkable obstacles, made the turning movement from the line of the Indus, captured Candahar, and threatened Cabul; or the bold attack made by Sir Frederick Roberts on the most difficult pass of the Peiwar and its capture, effected by a most gallant and successful assault on the strong stockaded position on its left, and when the positions which were protected by it were found to be impregnable, by a third and unyielding attack, cut off the enemy's retreat, and made Sir Frederick Roberts master of this most important position. The Native troops, by their devoted bravery, divided the laurels won in Afghanistan with their gallant British companions in arms. He begged to tender his sincere congratulations to Her Majesty's Government for having made safe India's weak point, and for having converted a doubtful and dangerous neighbour into a good friend.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, there was no objection to the Return; but there must be some delay in producing it, because some of the Papers would have to be got from India.

*Address agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 8th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Resolutions [August 1 and 7] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—£34,986,621, Consolidated Fund.

PUBLIC BILLS.—Second Reading—Prevention of Crime [281]; Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amend-

ment \* [287]; Border Summons \* [284]; East India Loan (Annuities) [275], Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) [289].  
Committee—Report—Endowed Schools Acts Continuance \* [272]; Saint Giles Cathedral (Edinburgh) [238]; East India Loan (£5,000,000) [197]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) [204].  
Committee—Report—Third Reading—Expiring Laws Continuance \* [279]; Lough Erne and River (Continuance) (re-comm.) \* [267]; Civil Procedure Acts Repeal (re-comm.) \* [280], and passed.  
Considered as amended—Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) [93], deferred.  
Third Reading—Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) \* [282]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) \* [268], and passed.  
Withdrawn—Chartered Banks (Colonial) \* [278]; Metropolitan Public Carriage Act Amendment \* [276].

The House met at Two of the clock.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

### PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDERS.

MR. RAIKES said, he had placed several Amendments upon the Paper in reference to the Standing Orders in relation to Private Bills. The first Standing Order which he proposed to amend was No. 24. He proposed to add to the end of the clause words to require that, in Bills to extend the municipal boundary of any town, city, or urban sanitary district, a map showing the existing boundaries of the district, and also the proposed extension, should be deposited with the town clerk, who should permit such map to be inspected. It was of great importance that persons likely to be affected by any change of boundary should have power of examining any proposed alteration; but at present there was no requirement in the Standing Orders to that effect, and, consequently, any person residing on the confines of a town or urban sanitary district was liable to find himself included in a re-arrangement of the municipal boundary, without having any previous knowledge of the fact, or being able to satisfy the parties that he ought not to be so included. He might say that his attention had been called to this matter by the case of a gentleman who, perhaps, of all others, might have been expected to be familiar with matters of this kind, but who found himself unexpectedly included in a new boundary of the City of St. Albans, without any pre-

vious knowledge. He (Mr. Raikes) trusted that the House would agree to this Amendment requiring notice to be given, as these changes were now becoming of frequent occurrence. He begged to move in Standing Order 24, at the end of the Order, to add—

“In cases of Bills whereby it is proposed to alter or extend the Municipal Boundary of any City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, a Map on a scale of not less than three inches to a mile, and also a Duplicate thereof, showing as well the present Boundaries of the City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District as the Boundaries of the proposed Extension, shall be deposited with the Town Clerk of such City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, who shall at all reasonable hours of the day permit any person to view and examine such Map, and to make copies thereof.”

MR. E. JENKINS wished to ask a question of the hon. Gentleman, who was, of course, a great authority upon matters of this kind. They could, no doubt, order a certain thing to be done in that House; but, in this case, they were ordering other authorities and other parties to do a certain thing; but the question was, whether the House had power to enforce, or whether they could compel the order to be acted upon, without having previously passed a Bill? It was proposed to require a map, on a scale of not less than three inches to a mile, and also a duplicate showing the present boundaries and the boundaries of the proposed extension, to be deposited with the town clerk of the city, borough, or urban sanitary district, and be open to the inspection of any person who desired to view and examine and make copies of it. It seemed to him that the House, if it passed this Order, would have no power to enforce it; and he, therefore, wished to put the question to the Chairman of Ways and Means as to the powers the House possessed in the matter?

MR. RAIKES said, that before a Bill could be sent to a Committee up-stairs the promoters of it would have to prove before the Examiner that they had complied with the Standing Orders of the House.

*Motion agreed to.*

MR. RAIKES next moved to amend Standing Order 33, line 9, by the omission of the words “or Turnpike Roads,” and by the insertion, in line 18, after

*Mr. Raikes*

the word “relate,” of the words “and of every Bill relating to Turnpike Roads or Trusts, Highways, or Bridges.” The hon. Gentleman explained that this was a trifling alteration for the simple purpose of requiring copies of Bills of this nature to be deposited with the Local Government Board. At the present moment, by the existing Standing Order, the Bills relating to Turnpike Roads or Trusts, Highways, or Bridges, had to be deposited with the Home Office, and the effect of the Amendment would be to require them to be deposited in future with the Local Government Board.

*Motion agreed to.*

MR. RAIKES said, he proposed now to move the repeal of Standing Order No. 202, for the purpose of substituting the following new Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 201:—

“All Rates, Tolls, Charges, Duties, or Penalties of every description, the amount of Capital to be raised, and of Borrowing Powers, the names of Directors, the Period for Completion of Works or for Purchase of Lands, the quantity of Land to be taken for extraordinary purposes, the amount of Personal Luggage to be carried free of Charge, and all Charges in any way affecting the Public Revenue, which occur in the Clauses of any Private Bill, shall be printed in *Italics* in such Bill when presented to the House.”

The present Order provided that the proposed amount of all rates, tolls, and other matters theretofore left blank in any Private Bill, when presented to the House, should be inserted in *italics* in the printed Bill annexed to the Petition, and the proposed Order would greatly reduce that requirement. One of the objects of the Order which he wished to maintain was that, providing that where, for instance, it was proposed to take borrowing powers, the length of time for the repayment of the loan should be stated, and the quantity of land proposed to be taken for the purpose of carrying out the Act, so that such points should be specially indicated to the Committee. He proposed by this Order to get rid of what seemed a needless expense, and to relieve the promoters of a Private Bill from the necessity of printing a Schedule to the Bill.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Ordered,* That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House.

### QUESTIONS.

#### IRELAND—THE FISHERIES OF SLIGO AND THE BONET RIVER.

##### QUESTION.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland to call upon Mr. Brady, the Inspector of Irish Fisheries, To explain how it is for the benefit of the public, and in the interests of the Salmon Fisheries of the Sligo River, that thirty miles of salmon fishing in Lough Gill and the Bonet River, county Leitrim, should have been completely destroyed; 1stly, by the enactment of bye laws altering the close season from the 1st February to the 15th January; and, 2ndly, by the publication, with Mr. Brady's authority, of a public notice, dated 14th January 1871, whereby all the rights and privileges of a several fishery in the Sligo River were granted to Mr. Martin, the public being thrown off their guard by the aforesaid public notice, came into court unprepared to dispute Mr. Martin's legal title to a several fishery; and, further, to explain why Mr. Brady is the only Inspector of Irish Fisheries who permits a poaching implement termed a fixed draft net, to be erected in the tideway of a river, these nets not being sanctioned by Act of Parliament?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I have made inquiries respecting the matter referred to in the Question, and I hope shortly to receive a reply. However, I think it right to say that it is not the case, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman has been led to believe, that Mr. Brady had no authority to issue a notice to carry out such works as those referred to. Any such notice must receive the sanction of three Inspectors. I understand, in all the cases referred to, the requisite authority was given.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE: Mr. Brady is responsible for all the decisions in his own district, and it was by his authority this notice was issued in the district.

MR. J. LOWTHER: What I understand is, that although, no doubt, the Inspector of the district carries out the usual duties of his office, he cannot take the issuing of notice on himself without the sanction of two of his colleagues.

#### PRISONS (IRELAND)—PENSION TO THE GOVERNOR OF LEITRIM COUNTY GAOL.—QUESTION.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of any Correspondence that may have taken place at last Spring assizes, county Leitrim, between the Jail Board of Superintendence, Carrick on Shannon, and the Grand Jury of the county Leitrim, relative to granting out of the county rates a retiring pension to Mr. Percy, Governor of the county jail; and if any, and what, reasons have been given by the Leitrim Grand Jury for granting a pension out of the county rates to an official who was not entitled to the same, either by services, age, or ill health, and whether such an unusual practice is being followed by the Grand Juries of other counties in Ireland?

MR. J. LOWTHER: It appears that Mr. Percy, the gentleman referred to in the hon. and gallant Gentleman's Question, is not, and was not, the Governor of the county gaol; but he has held the office of local Inspector, a post which has been abolished, and he, consequently, received two-thirds of his former salary.

#### NAVY — TRAINING SHIPS — CASE OF MICHAEL REARDON.—QUESTIONS.

MR. FINIGAN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he has seen a statement in the "Daily Chronicle" of the 7th inst. to the following effect:—

"Early yesterday morning an Irish lad, named Michael Reardon, jumped overboard from Her Majesty's ship 'Ganges,' and was drowned. Reardon was a fine young fellow, over 5ft. 6in. in height. At the time of his committing the rash act he was under arrest for desertion, he having ran away on Sunday, and been captured on Tuesday, and taken back to the 'Ganges.' It is stated that, having previously deserted, he feared he would be punished by flogging, and expressed to a companion his determination to drown himself rather than submit to the degradation;"

and, whether he will consider the propriety of limiting the punishment of flogging in the Navy to the same class of offences to which it has been recently limited in the Army?

MR. BLAKE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is true that an Irish boy named Michael Reardon a few days ago, deserted from a training ship at

Falmouth; that he was captured, brought back to the ship, and placed under arrest, but managed to elude the sentry yesterday morning, and, leaping overboard, drowned himself; if it be true that he said a day or two ago to a shipmate that, rather than suffer the punishment of flogging, he would drown himself, and has now done so; if he can state the number of desertions from training ships during the last three years, and also the number of boys who have been flogged during the same period with the birch, cane, or otherwise; and, if it be true that the boys are tied up while undergoing such punishment?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I only received information of the circumstances to which the Question of the hon. Gentlemen refer by the Notices they placed on the Paper. I have no information whatever on the subject, and therefore am not in a position to answer the Question of either hon. Gentleman.

MR. BLAKE asked if the right hon. Gentleman would state the number of desertions from training ships during the last three years, and the number of boys who had been flogged during the same period?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I should be extremely glad to give the information to the hon. Member; but it is only about two hours ago since I saw the Notice, and I am sorry to say I cannot give him any information on the subject at present.

NAVY—THE COAST GUARD—CASE OF EDWARD LITTON AND FRANK HORSFORD—REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF COURT OF INQUIRY.—QUESTIONS.

CAPTAIN PIM asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the Minutes of Proceedings and the Report of the Admiral Superintendent of the Naval Reserves upon the inquiry held at Exmouth, on or about the 20th of June last, into the circumstances under which Edward Litton and Frank Horsford, fishermen of Lympstone, lost their lives on the 11th of June last, and into the conduct of the Coastguard on that occasion, together with all Correspondence relating to this matter?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, that these Reports had always been treated as confidential Reports from the

officers of the Service to the Admiralty, and it would be injurious to the Public Service to produce them.

CAPTAIN PIM inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman would object to lay upon the Table the Report of the Admiral Superintendent?

MR. W. H. SMITH: That is just what I object to do.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTIONS.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had the following Notice on the Paper:—

“To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Government to proceed with the Supreme Court of Judicature Officers Bill, the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts Amendment Bill, the Great Seal Bill, and the Courts of Justice Building Act (1865) Amendment Bill?”

Inasmuch as the fourth Bill mentioned died at an early hour this morning, he would simply put the Question as to the other three.

MR. CHILDERS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he would be good enough to state to the House the whole of the Bills he intended to abandon? Many Members were naturally anxious to get away from town; but unless they received some assurance on this point they would be compelled to remain over Sunday, which, in certain cases, would be inconvenient. With respect to the Public Works Loans Bill especially, he thought the objectionable clauses ought to be eliminated and referred to a Select Committee next Session.

MR. M. BROOKS asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he did not think it advisable that the Order for the Committee on the Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill should be discharged, seeing that there were many Amendments to it on the Paper?

MR. SHAW hoped most sincerely that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not accede to the request of his hon. Friend the Member for Dublin. The Bill had been before the House for two years, and great importance was attached to it by the mercantile community in Ireland.

MR. GOURLEY wished to know, Whether the Chancellor of the Exche-

*Mr. Blake*



quer saw any reason why hon. Members should leave before the Business of the House was concluded? He confessed that he had been absent a week; but he had come now for the purpose of remaining until the Business was concluded.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he should be very glad if it was in his power to give such an answer as would enable hon. Members who were anxious to leave London to do so instead of following the excellent example of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. But he was bound by his duty not to make unnecessary public sacrifices in order to secure that desirable object. He was afraid that at that moment he could not exactly tell what Bills he would absolutely abandon. There were certain legal Bills, for instance, that had passed the House of Lords. They were in a forward position in the House of Commons, and it would be wrong for him to give them up at the present juncture. He would, however, endeavour by consultation with his Colleagues to decide what Bills really would be persevered with, and would at once communicate his intentions to the House. The Courts of Justice Building Act (1865) Amendment Bill had already been withdrawn; but there was no reason why the Bills relating to the Supreme Court of Judicature and the Great Seal should not be passed. The Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill had passed the House of Lords, and was in an advanced stage. He hoped in that case, also, there would be a probability of passing the measure, together with various Money and Continuance Bills which stood on the Paper. As to the Public Works Loans Bill, it would be brought forward to-morrow, when he would make a statement as to the circumstances which rendered the Bill necessary, and also as to the modifications which he was prepared to make in it. Speaking generally, he would be prepared to leave out the clause which prevented money being repaid by way of annuity, that being a question which he thought might stand over for further examination, and he should introduce provisions to secure all arrangements which were *bond fide* in progress. With regard, however, to the limitation of the rates of interest and the amount to be advanced in one year, those were clauses

which he should not be prepared to withdraw. He would probably be able to make a further statement at 7 o'clock.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE asked, When the Report on the Irish University Bill would be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: On Monday. It will be the Second Order, the Appropriation Bill being the first.

#### IRELAND—THE DEEL DRAINAGE WORKS.—QUESTION.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, What steps are being taken to carry out the River Deel drainage works in the barony of Ossory and Kilmore, county of Cork; and, whether the necessary conditions required by the Board of Works have not been long since complied with?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, as complaints have, from time to time, been made against the Board of Works on the ground of their alleged dilatory action in instances in which the fault has really lain with the parties who urged the complaints, I think it well to state exactly what took place with reference to this particular case. On June 4, 1877, a Petition, bearing date May 3, 1876—13 months previous to its receipt—was received by the Board of Works from a Mr. John Ryan, a solicitor of Charleville, County Cork. A reply was sent to him on June 6, 1877, pointing out further particulars which it was necessary for him to furnish. No reply was received from Mr. Ryan until May 20, 1879, when he forwarded plans for a new scheme, which he designated as the "Milford District Drainage," instead of the "Deel River District Drainage," as his original scheme had been intitled. On the 29th of May, 1879, a communication was sent to Mr. Ryan, calling his attention to this fact, and that it was necessary for him to comply with certain specified conditions prescribed by Act of Parliament, since which nothing further has been heard of him by the Board of Works.

#### THE BALLOT ACT.—QUESTION.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill during the next Session of Parliament to continue the Ballot

Act, which will expire on the 31st of December 1880?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, this is a question for next Session. I can only say that the Government will give their best attention to this question during the Recess.

#### CYPRUS—THE MILITARY FORCES.

##### QUESTION.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked the Secretary of State for War, What was the strength of the military force in Cyprus, and if it was intended to reduce it?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, there were at present from 350 to 400 men in Cyprus, and it was not intended to reduce that force any lower.

#### CYPRUS—TAXATION.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked, How it was that the military exemption tax in Cyprus was estimated to produce £8,500 only, whereas when levied upon Christians only it produced between £11,000 and £12,000, and never less than £9,000 a-year?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, that the poll tax in Cyprus was now to be levied on all the male inhabitants of the Island with the exception of such persons as were exempt under the Turkish law—namely, priests and foreigners. The reason why the estimate of the proceeds of the tax was less than the amount produced by the tax under Turkish rule was that the tax, although nominally levied by the Turkish Government only upon Christians between the ages of 18 and 40, was in reality levied upon almost all Christians, and, probably, upon many persons who ought never to have paid it, and that now it was only to be levied upon the male inhabitants of the Island who were between the ages of 18 and 60. He might add that the estimate was a very low one.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### POST OFFICE—PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY'S CONTRACT.

##### RESOLUTION. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [7th August],

*Mr. Morgan Lloyd*

"That the Contract dated the 7th day of February 1879, entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the conveyance of the Mails between this Country and India and China, be approved."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he wished to draw attention to the considerations which had induced the Government to submit a fresh contract for the approval of the House. The existing contract would come to an end in 1880. That contract was originally to last 12 years, and was for £450,000. In 1874 it was renewed at a reduction of £20,000. In the early part of 1878 a new contract was proposed by the Postmaster General, who suggested the omission of the services from Southampton to Suez and from Point de Galle to Calcutta. After consultation with the India and Colonial Offices, authority was given, on June 20, to invite tenders according to the rate of speed, to be sent in by July 25, these tenders being for five, six, and seven years. In reply, tenders were sent in from the Sun Shipping Company, for a fortnightly service between Suez and Bombay; by Messrs. Smith and Co., Glasgow, for a weekly service between Brindisi and Bombay; and several tenders from the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and from Mr. Alfred Holt, of Liverpool. The tenders of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, at the highest rates of speed, were £410,000, and of Mr. Holt at £458,000; but the Post Office advised the acceptance of the offer of Mr. Holt's tender for £336,500 for 11 knots between Brindisi and Bombay, and Shanghai and Bombay at 10 knots, against that of the Peninsular and Oriental Company for speed of 10½ knots for the complete service to Ceylon and China. The India Office was opposed to Mr. Holt's contract; and the Colonial Office preferred the service of the Peninsular and Oriental, which avoided the sending of the Colonial mails *via* Bombay, especially as the Australian Colonies, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, had entered into a separate contract for the conveyance of the Australian mails between Melbourne and Point de Galle. The matter was referred to a Committee representing the various Departments, which pointed out, on the whole, that

England and India; under the contract about to cease the loss to be so divided was £284,500, but under the proposed contract the loss would be £330,000; and in eight years the loss would be to England £2,000,000, and to India £629,000. It was admitted that, under former contracts, we were to pay 9s. 6d. per mile, while we had formerly paid respectively at the rate 6s. 9d., 7s., and 4s. 2d. Instead of comparing this with the French service, which cost 10s. 4d., as had just been done, we ought to compare it with some of our own services—say, that between Victoria and Galle, which had steadily diminished until it had fallen to 6s. 8d., while the cost of this service had been gradually increasing. He held that the true route to China was across India. They were told that the great point was to maintain harmony in the service; but if that were to be done by keeping it in the same hands, that looked like monopoly. We could have a better, quicker, more certain, and cheaper service if we were to divide it into sections. It was admittedly necessary to have communication of the most speedy kind between this country and Bombay; but he believed that that object could be secured without having recourse to subsidies. From the Correspondence in the hands of hon. Members, it was clear that the Indian postal authorities were of opinion that the mails between India, China, and Japan could be managed better from Calcutta than they could be from London. Then as to Australia, he understood that the mail contract had been entered into in reference to the India and China services alone, and without any reference to Australia. He complained that the Orient Company had not had an opportunity of offering their services either to this country or to Australia, and argued that the Government of Australia would probably reap an advantage of £20,000 a-year to the detriment of the taxpayers of this country through the provisions in the contract, in accordance with which the Government would hand the postages over to the Victorian Government. Contending that if the contract were agreed to for three years only, the Government would have ample time to send out fresh tenders, he begged to move that the period of time in connection with the contract be reduced from eight years to three.

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MR. RATHBONE, in seconding the Amendment, said: As different Members of the Government are fully aware, I have been most anxious not to approach the subject from any Party point of view, and to avoid having to make any charge against the Government with respect to this question. I have done my best to name beforehand where I thought mistakes might be committed, and show how they might be avoided; and I wish it to be distinctly understood that I believe both the Postmaster General and the Secretary to the Treasury have approached this subject with the sincere desire to do what is best for the Public Service. But, unfortunately, from the changes in the Parliamentary Heads of Departments, so frequent in our system of government, only the permanent officials can remember and place before their Chiefs the practical details of departmental work. But it is clear that a mistake has been committed, and the Government will be very much to blame if, when the whole case is put clearly before them, they should persist in a course which will entail great loss upon the country, and throw great difficulties in the way of the development of our shipping trade. It was perfectly understood between the House of Commons and the Government that two years' clear notice should be given in order to allow time for the necessary negotiations and preparations for a new service, so that the Government might not be bound hand-and-foot to the present contractors. It is most important that the Government and the House should understand the principal ground on which we maintain that this contract ought not to be confirmed for a period of eight years. It is this. Owing to the necessary time not having been given either for sending in tenders or for the arrangements consequent on any tenders being accepted, there was, and there could be, no real competition for the service, and that, feeling this, the Peninsular and Oriental Company was in a position to dictate terms most disadvantageous to the public. We contend, therefore, that the House of Commons is bound to exercise the right which it reserves to itself, and which it exercised most advantageously under similar circumstances on a quite recent occasion, and refuse to confirm this contract, at any rate, for so long a period.

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Both by enactment and by practice the House has given full and fair notice that it does not consider that it is bound as a mere matter of course to ratify such a contract. I will detain the House only a few minutes in pointing out what really has been done. Full notice was given to the Department of what was necessary by a Question put in my behalf by the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) on July 31, 1877. In reply to that Question, the Postmaster General said ample time would be afforded to all parties, not only for sending in tenders, but for their consideration by the Government when they were sent in, and I am sure that there was every intention that this should be carried out. But I will show presently how, from their mistakes, this Department found themselves unable to carry out this pledge, and, practically, it was not carried out. It was, of course, the duty of the Department, before issuing the notice, to possess themselves of all the knowledge necessary to enable them to ask for tenders, so that they might be in a position to act promptly when the time came for giving the two years' notice. Instead of this, they appear to have delayed getting this necessary information until the notice was actually given; and it was not until the 26th June, or nearly 12 months after the Question to which I have referred had been asked, and six months after the notice to terminate the contract was given, that the Post Office were in the possession of the information, which they might have had just as well, and were bound to have had, six months previously. The object was, in giving the notice, to enable them to carry out their pledge. The result might have been foreseen. Only 30 days were given to the Steamboat Companies to make their arrangements and estimates and send in their tenders, and the contracts could not be confirmed during that Session; and the consequence of that was that all those who had to tender, except the Peninsular and Oriental Company, who, having a fleet ready, ran no risk, were obliged to ask an unduly large amount in order to guard against the possibility of the tender, though accepted by the Government, not being confirmed by Parliament; thus materially raising the offers they made, and preventing the saving which might otherwise have ac-

crued to the public. It is evident that all but the Peninsular and Oriental Company were obliged to ask a very much increased price to cover the risk of having to commence their preparations before the contract was confirmed or the greatly increased cost and difficulty of making in 10 months the preparations which it was desirable, and intended that they should have two years for completing. It must be evident, also, to any practical man that the time allowed was too short to allow of those arrangements between different Companies, engaged in different branches of the trade, which might have produced the least costly and most efficient service for the public. Practically, there has been no competition. The Peninsular and Oriental Company alone among the competitors had a suitable fleet ready to perform the service, and were able to dictate their own terms, and the result is that the subsidy proposed to be granted to them is far in excess of the sum which would have been asked had there been an effective competition. Again, the Department issued tenders with the evident intention of having a very quick service; and, of course, under these circumstances, all the tenders, except the Peninsular and Oriental Company, were obliged to provide for the shortest possible delay at the different ports, and in every respect for a despatch service. The competitors with the Peninsular and Oriental Company, knowing the great stress that had been laid upon quickening the service, were obliged to calculate on only such delays being allowed as were necessary for the mail service. Had the trade generally understood that they would have been allowed delays sufficient to admit of their going in for a general trading service the saving would have been immense; and it seems probable that if due time had been given, so that the tenderers could have felt confident of having sufficient time to make their preparations after the contract had been confirmed; and if it had also been understood that facilities would be given, as they have been given to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, to compete for the general cargo trade, a great part—some believe the whole—of the loss of the country on this subsidy might have been saved. In thus not obtaining in due time the information necessary to enable them to negotiate and act, and in

*Mr Rathbone*

thus reducing from two years to 10 months—or, more correctly speaking, to six months, for the contract is not yet confirmed, and the new service is to commence in February—the time intended to be given to shipowners to make the necessary preparations, and add other omissions and commissions which have been enumerated, it must be evident to the House that a great mistake has been committed, and that the Government and the House should seek to remedy this mistake by only confirming the contract for three years. But I have no wish to dwell upon these mistakes; because my object is to show how they may, to some extent, be remedied, and how a very large sum may be saved to the taxpayers, and a most unfair injury to the shipping trade of the country averted. Those who are opposed to the confirmation of this contract maintain that the service ought ultimately to be performed with an equitable share of a reasonable postage; and they contend that would be done naturally and well by the boats running in the trade, if they were not interfered with by the unfair competition of a subsidized line. The subsidized line itself would probably undertake the service on such terms if it did not feel that it could ask more, and that the game is in its own hands by the mistakes of the Post Office officials. The question that now suggests itself is—How are we to escape from this future position? Well, probably the easiest way, and the one which would give some compensation to a Company which, on the whole, have done their work well, would be to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Holms). But suppose the Peninsular and Oriental Company should be so unwise as to refuse such an arrangement, then the Company whose tender was first recommended for acceptance is prepared to undertake the conveyance of the mails on terms which would enable the service to be given up at the end of two, three, four, five, six, seven, or eight years, at rates diminishing according to the competence of the Company for the service. The Postmaster General, in recommending the acceptance of the tender of the Company, says of Mr. Alfred Holt, its managing owner—

“From the high character of Mr. Holt, a shipowner, I do not doubt he will discharge faithfully and efficiently the important duty he undertakes.”

The acceptance of this offer would provide the most economical and advantageous way of putting an end, at the earliest moment possible, to this system of high subsidies at the cost of the British taxpayer. It would place in the hands of the Government the power at any moment, after two years, of accepting an offer to undertake the postal service for the remuneration which the postage gives to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, or any other Company or combination of Companies; while if in the proposed contract with the Peninsular and Oriental the arrangement continues for eight years, the terms of this offer would save £560,000 with absolute penalties, or £592,000 if the penalties were not absolute. Under it the mail boats would abstain from any competition for the carriage of goods or passengers; but, if the Government so wished, would carry on their account, profit and risk, any specie that might be going for the three years to which the hon. Member for Hackney by his Motion proposes to limit the contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company. Mr. Holt would undertake the service at £30,000 a-year less than the Peninsular and Oriental Company charge with an eight years' contract, and this offer is not mixed up with any conditions as to the conveyance of passengers or cargo. Let me recapitulate shortly the advantages which such an offer has over the contract we are now asked to confirm. In the first place, if this offer were accepted, the mail boats would, if necessary, carry neither passengers nor cargo, and the development of our steam traffic would no longer be impeded by a subsidized Company using its excessive subsidies as a means of driving away competition. In the second place, if such a contract be cancelled at the end of any year after the second year, the Government would then be placed in a position to accept a proposal to carry the mails for the postage earned. If this offer, having been accepted, were cancelled at the end of the third year—the time for which it is proposed that the contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company should be confirmed—the country would save £60,000. If put an end to at the end of the fourth year, there would have been saved £160,000. If at the end of the fifth year, it would have saved £265,000. If

owners—a system, moreover, which gives to other nations the extremely false impression that the way to create a shipping trade is to subsidize it. Now, I have seen it urged that the Government, having accepted this contract, it would not be fair to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, at this stage of the matter, to re-consider the question. But, as I have pointed out, both by enactment and practice, Parliament has given full notice that these contracts are to be re-considered previous to their being confirmed; and though the Peninsular and Oriental Company may naturally be disquieted at not getting this exorbitant subsidy for a period of eight years, they have been in no way prejudiced by the action of the Government so far. On the contrary, by our proposals to allow them to have the contract for three years, at as high a rate of payment, they will be large gainers by the action of the Department, as they will have three years more of the large subsidy they would not have had had the Department given ample time to obtain offers from other competitors, which I have shown would have been open to the Government, had the Department given sufficient time to insure a *bond fide* competition. I repeat, even if they accept the offer of this contract for three years only, the Peninsular and Oriental Company will be large gainers by the mistake that has been committed; and one need, therefore, have no scruple whatever in limiting to three years this exorbitant subsidy. I would, therefore, urge most strongly upon the Government and the House of Commons to limit to three years' duration this contract, which is most onerous to this country and India, and most unfavourable to the development of our steam trade with the East and our Australian Colonies.

#### Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided, That the period of the continuance of the Contract be reduced from eight years to three years."—(Mr. J. Holms.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. PULESTON pointed out that it was in the interests of the commercial world and of the general public that mails should be conveyed with rapidity, and by a great Company with a thoroughly

efficient fleet, and that such a Company could not undertake such a contract for so short a term as three years except at a greatly enhanced cost. Hon. Members who had spoken in favour of the Amendment appeared to have entirely ignored the fact that similar arguments were brought forward a few years ago in reference to the United States mail. Under the influence of those arguments the Government yielded, and adopted what was called the postal system; but there were such complaints with respect to the carrying of the mails, and the system worked so badly, that it was impossible to resist the arguments that were advanced in favour of reverting to the old system. Since then there had been no complaints, and the commercial world had benefited to a very considerable degree.

Mr. SAMUDA thought nobody could deny that the work had been well done by the Peninsular and Oriental Company. On the other hand, their return for it had been small. Their dividends had never exceeded 6 per cent, while they had sometimes fallen below 5 per cent. In considering the question of breaking up the contract, one had to bear in mind the amount of depreciation which their enormous plant—estimated by themselves at £4,000,000, although some disputed that estimate with reference to the present time—must suffer if their vessels ceased to be used as mail steamers, and which would more than represent the dividends they had paid during the whole time the contracts had run. Also the 16,000 seamen the Company employed, and who were now available in time of war, might, and probably would, be dispersed. The Peninsular and Oriental Company had, he maintained, established a fair claim to the contract in question. He held that there had been sufficient time given to other Companies for preparing tenders, and there had been four competitors for the service. The contract of the Peninsular and Oriental Company ought to be confirmed, because their tender was the lowest. He denied that there was any loss on this subsidy. There was no Department that yielded a greater profit to the Revenue than the Post Office, and the profit thus obtained must be looked at as a whole, and it was unallowable to refer to any one special service as failing to contribute to that

profitable result by reference to letters carried and money paid, as the subsidy stimulated and succoured trade and commerce far beyond the mileage distance that the steamers worked over. It was not correct to say that the contract could not be divided, and that, therefore, many shipowners were prevented from tendering. The fact was, it was subdivided into four different parts—namely, between Suez and Shanghai, Brindisi and Alexandria, Suez and Alexandria, and Suez and Bombay; so that it did not necessarily follow that the competitors were required to tender for the whole service or none, as several times stated in the course of this debate. By means of the subsidies, which for a number of years had been given to Companies for the mail services, many of our steamships had reached their present point of perfection. If the contract had been given to persons who had not already the ships requisite for the postal service, as the Peninsular and Oriental Company had, the present unsound state of our shipping trade would have been aggravated by bringing many more ships into the trade, and increasing the number of vessels competing for existence, when it was well known there were already more in existence than could be worked except at a loss. If it were still possible to accept the alternative offer made by the Peninsular and Oriental Company to contract for five years, at an increased subsidy of £20,000, he should be glad to see a compromise effected in that way; but if that could not be done he was prepared to support the view of the Government.

SIR GEORGE ELLIOT thought the careful and detailed manner in which the Secretary to the Treasury had revealed the whole state of the case ought to have satisfied anybody of the *bona fides* of this contract. In his opinion, the Government had made the best arrangement that was possible on a review of all the circumstances. He ridiculed the idea that there had been no real competition, because the time for sending in tenders was limited to 29 days. It was well known the then existing contract was expiring, and no Company which intended to compete required anything like six months' notice, for they would naturally make their preparations from a knowledge of the date of the expiration, and would be ready to compete

the moment the time came for sending in tenders.

MR. DODSON admitted the difficulty which existed in deciding on the respective merits of competing tenders, and thought there had been no lack of competition in the present case. Indeed, there had been a keen competition, and a considerable number of competitors whose capacity could be relied upon. But it was open to considerable doubt whether the Government had accepted the best offer, because Mr. Holt's alternative tenders were either lower in amount or offered advantages in the saving of time. The difficulty appeared to have arisen with the Colonial Office, which objected to the mails from China being conveyed *via* Bombay. In all the circumstances, the strongest objection to the proposal made was that the contract was to be binding for eight years. He thought it had been practically settled some years ago that contracts of this kind should not be entered into for a longer period than five years; and in this case, where there was some doubt as to which was the best tender, eight years seemed an unreasonably long period for which to confirm the contract. He would support the proposal to confirm it for three years only; and he concurred in the view of those who said that, in the meantime, a Committee of the House should consider the whole subject.

MR. GILES said, he had been flooded with pamphlets and articles which came from disappointed competitors, who used rather strong language when they talked about the supineness and incompetence of the Post Office authorities. The time allowed for sending in tenders was amply sufficient; but from 12 to 18 months was required for the building of ships, when new ones were necessary for the maintenance of a certain rate of speed. The Peninsular and Oriental Company were, in his opinion, justified in asking for a small increase in their mileage rate, owing to the great expense they must necessarily incur to secure an increased rate of speed.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, the real question before them was whether the House would refuse to sanction a contract which had been recommended to it after the most careful consideration, not by the Post Office or the Treasury, but by the whole Government of the

*Mr. Samuda*

country, and which no one alleged would not be amply carried out by the contractors. Would the House refuse to sanction that, in order to substitute—what? He asked, emphatically, what it was the Mover and Seconder of the Amendment would propose in substitution for the contract which the House was now asked to sanction? The hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. J. Holms) sought to defeat the contract—as his Amendment, if adopted, virtually would—by limiting the duration of the contract for three years in place of eight, without suggesting any substitute. The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone), on the other hand, took a letter out of his pocket, and intimated that the writer, a friend of his, was ready to undertake the work if the contract were defeated. Long as he had sat in the House he had never heard—he hoped the hon. Member for Liverpool would excuse him for saying so—so audacious a proposal. If such were to be the practice of hon. Members of repute in the House of Commons, honourable competition for contracts would be stopped, because no one would tender who could get a Friend to make a proposal at the last moment in the House of Commons. If this contract were now cancelled—and, as he had said, the change from eight years to three would virtually cancel it—what contractor in the future could rely on the faith of Governments? If the House acted in the vain hope that men connected with the shipping interest were so patriotic as to carry letters to the end of the earth for nothing, he certainly was not prepared to take the responsibility. Two years ago he attempted to establish the free system in the Atlantic service between Liverpool and New York; but at the end of 11 months the system collapsed. He had been charged with having abandoned it; but the fact was, it deserted him. Let not the House suppose that the substitution of five for eight years would be economical. Mr. Holt would not tender for any term under eight years. The Peninsular and Oriental Company asked £20,000 a-year more for five than for eight years; while Messrs. Smith, who tendered for the Bombay Service, asked £60,000 a-year more for five than for eight years. If they reduced the term, the country would have to pay for it through the

nose, and it was only by lengthening the term that they could get a satisfactory and economical working. The Government had taken every precaution to arrive at a sound and just conclusion in the matter. On all these grounds, he hoped the House would support the Government, and ratify the contract which they had made.

Mr. D. JENKINS could not approve the extension of the contract to eight years. It was unnecessary and prejudicial to the Public Service. If improvement kept pace during the next eight years with the last, the speed of this contract would be below the average of steamers travelling to the East by one or two knots an hour. He hoped the compromise suggested by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Samuda) would be accepted.

SIR FREDERICK PERKINS remarked, that representing, as he did, the port of Southampton—the birth-place of the Peninsular and Oriental Company—he had, throughout a life-time, watched with pride and satisfaction the wonderful progress of that Company since 1836. For 42 years its splendid ships had carried Her Majesty's mails between England and the Orient efficiently and well. Taking all things into consideration, the service had been maintained as faithfully and as regularly as the carrying of the mails between Queenstown and Holyhead, and this had been rendered possible by a maritime organization unsurpassed in magnitude and completeness by any similar Company in the world. The great strength and splendid efficiency of the Peninsular and Oriental Company were matters of which Englishmen might well be proud. Its noble fleet comprised 64 fine vessels, with an aggregate registered tonnage of 125,000 tons, and its operations were sustained by a capital of nearly £5,000,000. Her Majesty's Government could, therefore, with safety, intrust such a contract to its keeping, knowing what had been done in the past, and having in this the best assurance as to what would be done in the future. As the Company's ships had left the port of Southampton, he (Sir Frederick Perkins) had no interest in them beyond that of old association. He knew that a mistake had been made in leaving that port, which the best friends of the Peninsular and Oriental



had never ceased to regret; and he felt that the removal from the new contract of the condition which required the mail steamers to call at Southampton would be a loss to the nation, as well as a disadvantage to the interests of the Company, since passengers would much prefer embarking and disembarking there than brave the dangers and delays of the English Channel. Southampton was the Blackwall of the southern coast, and was, indeed, unrivalled for its dock accommodation, for the convenience it afforded of going on board steamers direct from the railway carriages, and for the advantage which those steamers had of leaving or entering at any hour, and at any state of the tide. It was ridiculous for those who had been unsuccessful elsewhere thus to bring their grievances into the House of Commons. Having been fairly worsted, they should have taken their defeat like men, and not have come there as they had done to expose the weakness of their case. The Peninsular and Oriental Company owed the new mail contract to no consideration shown for the Company's past services, nor to its unique position as the only Company possessing a fleet absolutely ready to carry out the work; but they owed it simply to the fact that the tender made by the directors for the services required by the Government was the cheapest tender in point of price, while it was also superior in the quality of the service it offered to those sent in by other shipowners. Hence, as the Company had won the contract by the lowness of their price and the increase of their speed, it was only just and fair they should have it. He would conclude by reminding the Government that they should endeavour to secure the confirmation of the contract, as, by so doing, they would cut the ground from beneath the Opposition, and show that in this respect, at least, the Session of 1879 had not been altogether the fruitless and barren one it was alleged to have been.

MR. ANDERSON said, he had listened to the noble Lord the Postmaster General, who had very ingeniously and wisely passed over the charges against the Government, and treated it as a contract which was already completed, and could not be set aside. In making the charges he did against the Government he firmly believed neither the noble

Lord nor the Secretary to the Treasury had any hand in any under-handed work; but they were very much in the hands of the permanent officials of the Department, and the result to the public was nearly as if they had been concerned in it. He had, month after month, put down Questions on the Paper, asking when the tenders would be out; and, no doubt, the officials had managed to keep the tenders so late that there would be no time for competition. When, at last, the tenders came out, he took the trouble to go to the City to ascertain whether it was possible, at that late time, for tenders to be sent in, and, without exception, they all said it could not possibly be done; that they had to build their ships, and that the tenders should have been out a year sooner in order to give the public the opportunity of reaping the advantages of free competition. It had been said that the complaints only came from disappointed competitors; but he was not a disappointed competitor. He had nothing to do with any public Company whatever; but what he did was simply in the interests of the public.

MAJOR O'GORMAN sincerely hoped that every Irishman in the House would back up the Government in this Vote; because, when an attempt was made by Irishmen to establish a trade between Galway and New York, these Liverpool gentlemen were the persons who paid the pilots to sink the ships in the middle of the bay.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 54; Noes 142: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 217.)

Main Question put.

*Resolved*, That the Contract dated the 7th day of February 1879, entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the conveyance of the Mails between this Country and India and China, be approved.

SUPPLY—[1st August.]

Postponed Resolution *considered*.

"That a sum, not exceeding £82,949, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Salaries and Expenses of the British Museum, including the amount required for Furniture, Fittings, &c."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked what arrangements had been made as to the

*Sir Frederick Perkins*

management of the Natural History Collection about to be removed to South Kensington? He hoped that advantage would be taken of this opportunity to make some change, so that the management of that collection might be entirely different from the management of the other collections of the Museum.

Mr. SPENCER WALPOLE said, he wished it to be known exactly how the matter stood. The recommendations made by the Royal Commission were communicated to the Treasury in February last, and were then transmitted to the Trustees of the Museum. The Trustees had carefully considered those recommendations, and had sent in a counter scheme to the Treasury, and the matter was now in the Treasury's hands. The views of those who took a particular interest in scientific matters, and in the advancement of science, had been taken into consideration; and he thought he might say the future management of the Museum would give complete satisfaction, not only to them, but to the public generally. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the department of Natural History was less scientific than the other departments. That was not the case. The keepers of that department were some of the best keepers in the Museum, and the way in which they did their business was such as to give every satisfaction.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE disclaimed any intention of reflecting on the managers of the Natural History Collection.

*Resolution agreed to.*

#### PREVENTION OF CRIME BILL.

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Matthew Ridley.*)

[BILL 281.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Secretary Cross.*)

Mr. PARNELL opposed the further progress of the measure at that time, as Amendments were required to be made in its provisions, and an opportunity of moving those Amendments could not be given this Session. The Bill appeared to have been brought in to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission which reported on the working of the Penal Servitude Acts; but, in his

opinion, it was entirely insufficient for that purpose. He should like to know whether it was the intention of the Home Secretary to carry out those recommendations? He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, that he could not give any pledge on the subject until he had had an opportunity of reading the evidence taken before the Commission. He hoped, however, that the Bill would be allowed to pass.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *this day*.

#### SAINT GILES CATHEDRAL (EDINBURGH) BILL—[BILL 238.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr Secretary Cross.*)

##### COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(*In the Committee.*)

On Question, "That this be the Preamble?"

Mr. DALRYMPLE said, he did not wish, at that stage, to offer any opposition to the passing of the Bill. He desired, however, to record the strong sense of reprobation with which he viewed the steps which had been taken to hinder the progress of the measure, and the method by which the opposition to it had been conciliated—namely, by changing the title of the Bill. He was happy to think that, notwithstanding this, St. Giles's Cathedral would still continue to be known by its ancient title. It was pitiful to witness the opposition which had been offered to the Bill on the ground of its title, and he was not sure that the concessions which had been made to that opposition were not even more pitiful.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

#### HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND) BILL—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Vans Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George Douglas, Colonel Alexander.*)

##### CONSIDERATION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Vans Agnew.*)

LORD ELCHO objected.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE protested against the Bill being considered at a Saturday Sitting. He thought the Government ought to show more firmness than to allow the Paper to be filled up with subjects which did not stand much chance of being considered.

Adjourned Debate further adjourned till *To-morrow*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [7th August] *reported*.

#### THE PROPOSED MONUMENT TO PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON.—OBSERVATIONS.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON, who had given Notice of his intention on the Report of Supply being brought up to move the following Resolution:—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty graciously to withhold Her approval of the plan for the erection of a monument to the late Prince Louis Napoleon in the Royal Chapel of King Henry Seventh in Westminster Abbey”—  
having risen,

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said: Sir, I rise to Order. I wish to submit to you, Sir, whether such a Motion as this could properly be brought forward upon the Report of Supply?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already informed the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle that the Amendment could not be moved on the Report of Supply; but, at the same time, the House is aware that general observations are allowed on the Report.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: The Motion, I presume, cannot be put?

MR. SPEAKER: No.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON explained that he had, 10 days ago, placed his Motion on the Paper in the form of an Amendment on going into Committee of Supply; but, inasmuch as Supply was finished yesterday, he had had no alternative except to put it on the Paper as an Amendment on bringing up the Report of Supply. Although he could not

take a Division on the Motion, he hoped to elicit from the House an opinion on the subject which he was about to bring under their notice which would accomplish his object as effectually as if the matter went to a Division. The reason why he gave Notice of a Motion was that he could not otherwise legitimately bring the matter forward; and he was induced to do so by reading a letter from the Dean of Westminster, which had appeared in the public journals, in which that rev. gentleman had said that when he had received the application for erecting the proposed monument in the Chapel Royal he had at once consented, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, in whose Chapel Royal it was intended that the statue should be placed. He had naturally inferred, from the terms of the letter, that the approval of Her Majesty was necessary before the proposed step could be taken; but he had since been informed that the matter was entirely within the control of the Dean of Westminster. He might be wrong, and, if so, there were hon. Members who would, no doubt, set him right. The Dean was, he believed, what was called “his own peculiar” in ecclesiastical matters, which enabled him to deal with such a subject as he pleased. That, however, did not interfere with the only object he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had in view, which was to obtain an expression of the opinion of that House as to the desirability of this monument; for such an expression of opinion would, he was sure, carry great weight with those who had the decision of the matter in their hands. The place in which it was proposed to erect the monument—namely, right over the tomb of Oliver Cromwell—was, he thought, most inappropriate. They had been told that this was a trifling matter; but “trifles,” someone had said, “make the sum of human things,” and the House was proud to attend to the smallest, as well as the greatest, matters. This was a “trifle,” moreover, in which the public took much interest. He yielded to no one in respectful sympathy he, in common with the whole country, felt for the Empress of the French in her great bereavement. No manly or generous heart would do anything to aggravate her grief. But the manner in which this question had been brought forward made it necessary for them to

speaking upon it. The question was as to the place where the monument was to be erected. No one would, of course, find fault with the proposal to erect a monument to the Prince at Woolwich, or any other part of the Dominions of the Queen, so that all those who knew and loved him should subscribe their money for the purpose. It was only because the proposal was to put up the monument in a national building, thereby giving it a national character, that he had a *locus standi* in calling the attention of the House to the subject. Of course, some hon. Gentlemen might say that the Abbey was a place where we ought to erect memorials to any persons who excited much interest in the country. If hon. Gentlemen held it to be a kind of exhibition, they must, of course, oppose him. But he totally differed from that view. Westminster Abbey had been for generations looked upon as the home of our mighty dead—a place where we ought to honour those who had served the country well. And, in his opinion, this monument was not to be erected to one who had done any service to England. He had nothing whatever to say against the Prince who lately lost his life, whose character, from all we could learn, was a pleasing and amiable one, and to whom *The Morning Post* had alluded as being a sensible, liberal-minded young man, and a model of modesty and good sense. He had no doubt that that was true. He had seen the Prince's own words quoted in a pamphlet the other day, which described an interview with him, and which somewhat flattered him. His words, in reply to some remarks which were made to him, were—"I do not merit your praises; I am only a young man who has as yet done nothing." That was spoken manfully, modestly, and with good feeling, and certainly did not suggest that he had rendered such service as entitled him to a monument in such a place. Ridiculous language had been made use of in the Press. One morning paper had, for instance, said—

"His life and death recall to English minds the beautiful existence of a Philip Sidney or a Falkland."

This was great exaggeration. If the monument was to be erected in a political sense it was still more objectionable. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them, the other day, that there was

nothing political about the matter. He was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman thought so. But we could not prevent its being looked upon as political. Abroad it would, and must be, so regarded. The Bonapartist Committee in France, only the other day, had said—

"A great neighbouring people has shown itself jealous of its duties towards our beloved Prince, and we cannot compete in the matter of homage with England, which gives him a place in Westminster Abbey, by the side of the illustrious dead who are her pride and her glory."

It was not desirable that we should do that sort of honour to one who, after all, was only a pretender. We owed no homage to the Napoleon family. What was its history? The First Napoleon was the scourge of the world. The second we knew little of, because, fortunately for him, he died before he was able to commit the crimes of others of his race. And the Third Napoleon, what was he? Only the other day he read, in *The Life of the Prince Consort*, a letter in which the Prince said of him, "He was born and bred a conspirator." Then they came to this young Prince. Had he done anything in a public sense which called for such a national tribute as this must be? They must speak the truth, and say that he had not. He said himself very honestly that he simply went out to Africa with our troops to advertise himself, and to make a name, in order that he might employ the influence he there obtained to overthrow the settled Government of our neighbours in France. To put up a monument in Westminster Abbey to one engaged in a work of that kind was something like an outrage to this country. The Abbey had been beautifully described as "the great temple of silence and reconciliation." A monument in it, therefore, needed to be endorsed by the nation itself, and the feeling of a large majority against it would destroy its charm and merit. He believed there were great multitudes of people in this country who would look upon this memorial as one that would degrade our great national temple. And this being the case, he thought it would be wise to concede to the feeling of what might be a minority, but was certainly a large minority—it would be wise for that House to express an opinion on this

matter, so that those who had the ultimate decision in their hands might be guided to act wisely.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I cannot but think that it is a fortunate circumstance that the hon. Baronet has been prevented by the Rules of the House from submitting to the House as a Motion that which he had placed upon the Paper. I must say I could have wished that, being precluded from offering it as a Motion, he had taken the wiser course of abstaining from any remarks upon the subject. ["No!"] I have no wish to analyze the motives of hon. Members, of course; but I do think that it is much to be regretted that such a subject as this should have been introduced to the House of Commons in such a speech as that to which we have just listened. I will say but a very few words indeed on this occasion. I repeat what I said a little time ago, that the admission of monuments into Westminster Abbey is a matter which rests entirely with the Dean. It is perfectly true that, in a letter which the Dean some time ago addressed to the public newspapers, he mentioned that, in proposing to admit a monument to Prince Louis Napoleon into the Royal Chapel of Henry VII., he did so subject to the approval of Her Majesty, whose family interest in the chapel we, of course, are aware of. I presume that, in so acting, the Dean was taking a course of proper respect towards Her Majesty; but, at the same time, was in no way calling in question his own right to admit the monument. The proposal that was made originated, as I understand, with the Dean himself, or, at all events, with some of the private friends of the Dean, and in no way, I am authorized to say, did it originate with Her Majesty herself. The proposal was made with no political significance, but simply with the view of expressing sympathy with the fate of a gallant young man who was known to many of us in England, and whose death, whatever else may be said about it, was certainly of a character to awaken sympathy both for himself and his widowed mother. I really think that Englishmen might, in such circumstances, abstain from attempting to give a political complexion to what can only be, at all events, an expression of national sympathy, and which many of us would have preferred rather

to respect in silence and sorrow. I wish entirely to enter my protest against the view which the hon. Baronet has adopted, that Westminster Abbey is to be regarded as a national building into which no monuments and no funerals are to be admitted except at the desire of the nation, and in order to mark the sense of the nation of some services rendered to England, and that in admitting or questioning the admission of any particular monument into that church we are to go into the political character and antecedents of the person or the family concerned. I say this is an entirely false view of the case.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to explain? I did not say that it was only political services that were to be considered in this matter; I said some services to the nation.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Well, "services to the nation." I apprehend that a great many persons have been buried in the Abbey of whom no one can say they have done service to the nation. They were admitted for private reasons, and at the discretion of those who had the charge of the church. If you are to make the admission of a monument at the discretion of the Dean the subject of contest and discussion in Parliament, and if you make an analysis of the services which the person so admitted is supposed to have rendered to the nation, you are altering altogether the proper relations of the Church and State in regard to Westminster Abbey, and of the Houses of Parliament in regard to it. If you carry it much further, you would make it a question of discussion whether you do or do not agree or sympathize with the political Party with which the individual was, or was supposed to be, connected, and you introduce questions which we ought to keep clear of. I have to express my extreme regret that the hon. Baronet should have thought it right or in good taste to have made the observations he has made, and to have introduced to the notice of the House of Commons questions as to the dynasty of the Napoleons or the character of any of the ancestors of this gallant young man. It is not because he was a Frenchman, with these or the other views or connections, or because of political sympathy or political antipathy, or anything of the kind,

*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*

that this proposal was made; but because the Prince had fallen in the service of this country under circumstances which awakened the sympathy of our countrymen, and because there was residing among us one with whom the country felt a very real and sincere sympathy. It was on that account the proposal was made by the Dean on his own responsibility; and I do think this House would be committing a serious and grave error if it were to attempt to pass a Resolution on this subject. I congratulate the House on the fact that the hon. Baronet is, by the Forms of the House, unable to present this Address, because I think the House would feel considerable difficulty in even attempting to pronounce an opinion on the question. It would seem as if we were dividing upon political questions which ought not to be introduced here.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he would avoid, in the few words he had to say, uttering a single word which could be any way regarded as intended to wound the feelings of anyone who was concerned in this matter; but, at the same time, he did protest most strongly against the tone that had been adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to his hon. Friend and his Motion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer got up and said, in effect, that this was a mere private church, over which a certain Dean had the control, and if he chose to put A, B, or C in the church it was nobody's business, and it certainly was not a matter in which they ought to ask the House of Commons to express an opinion. They might think it was a church in which they might bury the hon. Member for Stoke (Dr. Kenealy), with military honours, without anyone being able to say a single word about it.

MR. CALLAN: I rise to Order. I wish to know whether it is in accordance with Parliamentary Rules for an hon. Member to refer in such disrespectful terms—disrespectful so unquestionably and indeniably—to the hon. Member for Stoke?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member rises to Order; but I must say nothing reached my ears that appeared to me un-Parliamentary.

MR. E. JENKINS, continuing, said, it appeared to him that the country would not think it discreet in the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have answered

the hon. Baronet as he had done. There was a great deal that might be said in favour of the adoption of the proposal that a monument should be erected to the young Prince in Westminster Abbey. All the conditions under which he died, the circumstance of his residence among us, the fact that he had lived here a generous and manly and gallant life, and the fact that in all his associations those who had met him had learned to admire his spirit, and to admire, as well, the culture of his mind. All these things, together with his relations with the Royal Family, no doubt, did afford reasons that might be taken by many people as ample and sufficient, and justify the Dean in having granted to him the privilege of a monument in the Abbey. But that was not all. Unhappily, we could not separate this young man from his circumstances and from his family. The fact that the Prince had an asylum in England, known as it was in France, which was now under a Republican Government, continually challenged the existence of the Government of France. Then, before he left this country upon that expedition which turned out so fatal, he issued, in a letter to a friend, that which was practically a manifesto. He (Mr. E. Jenkins) was in Paris when that manifesto was issued, and was in communication with some of those who, one would have thought, would have felt the effects of that letter. They felt this—that the Prince was taking advantage of his position in England for the purpose of issuing a manifesto aimed distinctly at a friendly Government. There was much to be said in regard to that. They knew the object with which the Prince left for the Cape. They knew that he had confessed that in going to South Africa he wished to show that he could use a sword, and to give proof of a manly spirit; but with what object? Why, that he should carry out the infamous ambition of the Bonapartes. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, the most infamous ambition which ever degraded this earth was that ambition—an ambition which would wade through blood to a Throne, and would not hesitate to trample on the corpses of free citizens in order to reinstate a dynasty that had originally established itself in blood and had maintained itself in cruelty. They might say these statements were such as were calculated to give pain to some

persons; but, after all, this young Prince, as they knew, was preparing himself diligently, under the care of St. James, to gratify his ambitious designs on France—France, in which Liberty seemed at last to have set her foot. Yes, France, where at last they saw some hopes of a prosperous and a free people. The question which the House had to consider was simply this—What was the appropriateness of the building, and what were its surroundings? It had been argued that other Princes had found an asylum there; but had they been pretenders? He did not use the word in its offensive sense. They had not been pretenders to the Throne of a friendly Power. If it were otherwise, let anyone give him an instance where any pretender to the Throne of a friendly Power had been granted a place in Westminster Abbey. Look at the circumstances. Was there any appropriateness in the person? Had he done anything which entitled him to the gratitude of the English people? The House could not but remember the feeling aroused in the country when the first meeting took place between the Sovereign of England and the new Emperor. They knew how many in England had their feelings wrought up by the fact that this usurper should be waited upon by one who represented the dignity of this country. Was it likely that the people of this country would be satisfied with the fact that such a person as this should be selected for the honour of a tomb in Westminster Abbey? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Dean allowed all sorts of people to be buried there. That statement was misleading. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that it rested entirely with the Dean, and that he might grant a place for a monument to any person. The statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though made, undoubtedly, in good faith, was misleading. [Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA: Is it not true?] It was not in the power of the Dean, he (Mr. E. Jenkins) ventured to say, to bury any person he pleased in Westminster Abbey, nor was it really in his power to grant a place for the tomb of any person he pleased in Westminster Abbey. Only a few weeks ago it was thought to be a proper thing to bring the funeral of Lord Lawrence under the attention of the House of Lords, and in reply to

a Question which had been put to him by Lord Granville, the Prime Minister stated that the Government had offered the family the honour of a tomb in Westminster Abbey for the deceased Peer. [*Cries of "A funeral."*] Well, even if that were so, the body of Lord Lawrence would, he supposed, be buried in the Abbey. At all events, here they saw what was offered by the Government, and he wished to point out, in effect, that that hit the influence of the Dean. There could be no doubt that while the Dean of Westminster had a technical right to place any monument he pleased in the Abbey, yet that, practically, there was brought to bear upon him a certain amount of influence in the erection of monuments. What did public opinion say of this? Why, there could not be a shadow of a doubt that from all sources there were protests against this proposal. Those protests were perfectly just, and reflected accurately the public opinion. ["No, no!"] Public opinion expressed itself thus—that although elsewhere monuments might be erected to this young Prince, neither the person, nor the place, nor the circumstances were appropriate that there should be a monument in Westminster Abbey—the place which was dedicated to the virtue, to the nobility, to the highest character, and to the majesty of the English people, and which was never meant to be open to one who had neither by his deeds, nor by his condition, nor by his circumstances, won that right to an entrance into the great Valhalla of the British people.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wanted to explain why it was he had risen to Order in the early part of the evening. It was because he felt that such a Motion as that of the hon. Baronet opposite ought never to have figured on the Order Book of the House of Commons, and that it was most undesirable the House should be called upon to come to a vote on the subject. He did not propose in any way to reply to the arguments of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins), because the wisest course, in his opinion, for the House to adopt was not to enter into a discussion on the internal politics of foreign countries. He might observe, with reference to the monument which it was proposed to erect to the late Prince Louis Napoleon, that the father of that young Prince had manifested great

*Mr. E. Jenkins.*

friendship for this country, that he himself had been brought up here, and had met with an untimely death while associating himself with our Army. He could not help thinking that the wish of some private friends in England, under those circumstances, to show respect for his memory was a matter which ought not to be introduced within the territory of politics or Party discussion.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he quite concurred with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken in the view that the occasion was one in which it was not desirable to enter into the discussion of questions of foreign politics. But as allusions had been made by some hon. Members to the First Napoleon as the modern Attila, he would venture to ask those hon. Members who might be presumed to know something of the world's history whether they were aware of what the state of Europe was towards the end of the last century, when the Holy Alliance was paramount, and when a bloody revolution became necessary in order to change the aspect of things? If they were he was surprised that they, as Radicals, should have spoken as they had done of the founder of the Napoleon dynasty, and of the effect which he had produced in causing matters to settle down on a basis which at the time was thought would be permanent. Speaking as an Irishman, he would say that there was not a peasant in the South or West of Ireland who did not reverence the name of the First Napoleon, whose career had contributed so much to bring about those changed circumstances which made the Irish people now, he trusted, loyal supporters of the British Crown. The members of the Bonaparte family were spoken of as pretenders; but he would not trouble the House by entering into questions of that kind, or allude to the Orleanists as being pretenders in France, further than to say that during the late American War they had seen the Duc de Chartres and other French Princes bear arms in the cause of the South; and, again, in the Franco-German War, under Chanzy; yet they never heard of the members of the Legislature of France and America rising to taunt those Princes with having had Philippe Egalité for an ancestor. He regretted that now, because the Bonapartist family were down, they should be taunted as they had been, instead of having

sympathy extended to them in their distress.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he should be glad if what he could not help regarding as a most painful discussion should at once be brought to a close. The question had been raised in the public Press in becoming, decent, and respectful language, and he hoped it would not be dropped there. But the most likely way of getting it dropped and rendering it impossible to have a cool and moderate discussion among reflective men was to make speeches such as they had heard that night. Speaker after speaker had used language which they would be ashamed to read in the morning—if, unhappily, it was reported. No one, from the stern Republican who represented Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins), to the fervid Bonapartist who represented King's County—[Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: I am not.]—to the eminent Citizen who represented King's County, could fairly say that Englishmen, if they wished, had not morally and politically a right to erect a monument to the memory of an amiable and gallant Prince. There might be objections to its being erected in Westminster Abbey on other grounds; and there was a case which had occurred during the present Session, in referring to which his hon. Friend opposite, the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Hankey), would bear him out, for he as well as himself and other Members of the House were promoters of a project for the erection of a monument to an eminent patriot—he meant the late Earl Russell. The idea, however, of erecting the monument in Westminster Abbey had been abandoned, and it was to be erected in the Central Hall of the building in which they were then assembled, so that there could be nothing disrespectful to the memory of the late Prince Napoleon in the fact that the idea of erecting a monument to his memory in the Abbey had been entertained and afterwards abandoned, and an appropriate site—Woolwich, for instance—chosen instead. Westminster Abbey was the home of English history; there reposed the remains of those fellow-countrymen who had been most distinguished in the service of the State, in the Church, in literature, in science, and art. He offered these reflections for the consideration of the House; but he could not sit down without pointing out to the



Chancellor of the Exchequer that, in his love of law and order, he had created a despot to be alarmed at in the Dean of Westminster, who, he said, could raise a monument to whom he pleased, and as he pleased, like the former Duke of Newcastle, who averred that he had "a right to do what he liked with his own."

Mr. CHILDERS wished to bring back the House to the real question before them. They were asked to adopt the "Report of Supply," and the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle wished, instead, to censure the Dean of Westminster, because he proposed to erect a monument in Westminster Abbey, where he was supreme, to a gallant Prince who died in the service of this country. The House was told that the French nation would take umbrage at this monument; not because it would have any offensive inscription, but simply because the Prince Imperial was a Pretender to the Throne of France. He would remind the House that in St. Peter's at Rome there was a monument to the last British Pretender, which on the face of it bore the inscription that he was King of England, Scotland, and Ireland by the grace of God, and not by the will of man, erected to him in spite of the fact that he was a pensioner on our own Sovereign's bounty; and he defied any Englishman who had been at Rome to say that he had ever taken offence at that monument. Was there one Member of that House who doubted for a moment the liberality and charity of the Dean of Westminster, or would accuse him of mixing up political and religious partizanship with any act for which he was responsible in connection with the Abbey? Why, only a year or two ago he allowed to be put up in Westminster Abbey a monument to the two Wesleys. What would have been said if some Churchman had moved a Vote of Censure on the Dean for having erected a monument to one who, if not a Nonconformist himself, was the founder of the most powerful Nonconformist Body in England? If the House interfered with the act of the Dean of Westminster in this case, they would have to consider the case of every monument put up in the Abbey, which might be displeasing to some religious Party. He thought nothing could be more objectionable.

*Mr. Berensford Hope*

He therefore hoped that his hon. Friend, after the discussion which had occurred, would leave the matter alone and allow the House to go to Business.

Mr. BURT said, he was very reluctant to interpose in the debate; but he should like to say a few words before the matter dropped. He could not think that it devolved upon them to discuss the personal character and qualities of the late Prince Louis Napoleon. He was willing to believe that he was as amiable, as accomplished, and as gallant as any of his friends claimed that he was; but the only question before them was whether he should have a monument erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Westminster Abbey was the last resting place of Kings and heroes. There lay greater men than many of their Kings had been—men who had won fame in the senate or the battle-field, in art, in science, and in literature. It could not be contended, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer had argued to that effect, that it was quite an ordinary honour to erect a monument to a man in Westminster Abbey. He (Mr. Burt) wished to know why such an honour should be claimed for the late Prince Louis Napoleon? He did not inquire into his motives in going out to Africa; but he believed the Prince himself stated that he went there to get himself talked about; that he went to win a name and a reputation, in order to strengthen his position as a claimant to the Throne of a neighbouring and friendly nation. He saw nothing in the Prince going out to Africa to fight in a war of which Englishmen generally would be proud. They were not proud of the war we were waging there. Prince Napoleon was not a Garibaldi going to fight for the independence of a people, or to emancipate an oppressed nationality. He entered upon a war with which he had nothing to do. He took the side of the strong against the weak—he had almost said of the oppressor against the oppressed. He could see nothing to be admired in that. It was very difficult, if not impossible, to dissociate Prince Louis Napoleon's name from politics. Whether they did or not, they knew that in a neighbouring country, and also in this country, his career would be associated with political questions. He was quite ready to believe that the promoters of the memo-

rial had not been influenced by political considerations, and that they viewed—as the great mass of the people of the country certainly viewed—with satisfaction the stable Government which was now established in France; but, undoubtedly, in France this attention to Prince Napoleon had had a considerable amount of political significance attached to it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the monument was to be erected to the Prince, because he was a young man who had fallen in fighting our battles. He, however, denied the statement, and would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether no other men fell fighting our battles by the side of the Prince? Did they propose to raise a monument to them? His objection to this monument was not at all on account of the personal qualities of the Prince, but because he thought they were drawing distinctions between one man and another which ought not to be recognized. If they erected monuments to men in Westminster Abbey, it ought to be, not because of their rank or lineage alone, but because of their moral qualifications, and the great national achievements they had performed.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, there was a curious misconception as to the purpose of this discussion. He would be sorry it should be thought that anyone in that House had any idea of passing a Vote of Censure on the Dean of Westminster. Like most other Members of the House, he had the honour of a personal acquaintance with the Dean of Westminster, and had received kindness from him; and certainly it would have never entered into his mind, or the minds of any of his hon. Friends, to think of being so absurd as to suggest a Vote of Censure upon him. But the Dean of Westminster must have known, when he came to so grave a resolve as the erection of a monument to Prince Louis Napoleon in Westminster Abbey, that something of public discussion must have followed on that resolution. The Dean was the last man who would have thought Parliament had no right to express any opinion on what he proposed to do, or to contend that he was merely the custodian of a private and insignificant building into which he might introduce a monument of anyone he pleased. The right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had made

somewhat of a mistake in thinking he had discovered an analogy between this case and the case of a Stuart Prince buried in St. Peter's at Rome. St. Peter's claimed to be what he might call the parish church of all the Catholic world; and it was almost a matter of course that a great Catholic Prince dying within the shadow of the dome of St. Peter's should find a tomb or monument in its vaults. In this particular instance the case was different. It was not the custom in this country to bury foreign Princes in Westminster Abbey; nor did Westminster Abbey hold, in the history of the country, at all the same position which St. Peter's held in the history of Rome. Most distinctly, Westminster Abbey was, and always had been, intended to hold the tombs and monuments of the great men of English history. The hon. Member for the King's County ventured to assume that everyone in that House was an historian. He did not know that a House full of historians would be a very lively Assembly; but he would be glad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should go through a slight course of study of that kind, when he remembered the description the right hon. Gentleman had given of Westminster Abbey as a place where the Dean might bury, and raise a monument to, anyone he pleased. Not one of the foreign Princes that had died in this country had ever, as far as he knew, been buried in Westminster Abbey. The Chancellor of the Exchequer knew very well that if the Prince had been a man of no birth and no name, who fell fighting for us, no one would suggest the possibility of a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. It was because he bore the Napoleon name that this almost unprecedented honour was about to be accorded to his memory. The Chancellor of the Exchequer lectured hon. Gentlemen very sharply on their want of taste and of historical education; but it seemed to him (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) that there was something distinctly like a want of national good taste in raising this conspicuous monument to a Prince who no longer belonged to a reigning family, and who, disguise it as gracefully as they would, represented claims which the French nation no longer acknowledged. Prince Louis Napoleon, in joining the British Army in South Africa, had been inspired by a natural

desire to gain distinction for himself, and there was not the slightest objection to his comrades and his admirers raising a memorial to him; but he did think that, on the ground he had stated, it would be an entire mistake to place his monument in Westminster Abbey.

MR. ONSLOW said, that since this monument began to be talked about he had often spoken to working men on the subject; and, notwithstanding what had fallen from the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), he believed if this agitation had not been got up by a small section of the community every working man in this country would have approved what was proposed. We had educated the Prince, we admired him, he went out to Zululand to fight on our side; and when, in such circumstances, he met that most untimely death, it was most becoming in this country to recognize what he had done for us. Therefore, though he was not there to praise or to blame the Dean of Westminster, he was there to approve the monument; and he believed, if the country were polled, a vast majority would be found to support the proposal.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had stated that there was no precedent for erecting a monument to a foreign Prince in Westminster Abbey. He believed the hon. Gentleman was mistaken, because there was a monument to a Duke de Montpensier in Westminster Abbey. And if a Dean of Westminster in those days had been allowed to set up such a monument quietly, why should not the Dean of Westminster now be allowed to exercise his discretion with reference to a monument to Prince Napoleon? If hon. Gentlemen objected to the proposed monument on the ground that the late Prince represented the Napoleon family only, and not a reigning House, he, on the other hand, might say that the Duke de Montpensier to whom he referred was son of Philippe Egalité, and an exile. No considerations of that kind ought to enter into this question. The Dean of Westminster was within his right in starting this idea, and, with the generosity which always characterized him, he said he would cause a monument to be erected to the Prince, if it should not be displeasing to Her Majesty. They might, therefore, leave the matter where they found it.

*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*

VISCOUNT SANDON said, he thought it was time to ask the House why they should meddle with this matter? He did not see why they should enter into what their political feelings were; and he would ask hon. Members whether they were not incurring serious danger by giving a political aspect to a question which had no political character? So far as he was acquainted with the traditions of Westminster Abbey, it had received within its walls many illustrious persons and monuments of persons who were not illustrious. The Houses of Parliament had not laid down any rules as to who should be admitted within the walls of the Abbey. The result of the discussion only went to show that they would run the risk of getting into great complications if they added to the already overloaded Business of Parliament the task of settling what monuments should be added to Westminster Abbey and their historic Cathedrals. They had much better leave that to those charged with the supervision of such places. Parliament was in no way responsible for who went into them, either dead or in marble, and it would be advisable that the House should decline to interfere.

MR. FINIGAN said, he would not detain the House at any great length. ["Divide, divide!"] Hon. Members were crying "Divide!" but that would not prevent him continuing his remarks. They should show a little reason and forbearance. [A VOICE: Pepper away like one o'clock.] He would ask the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade whether the erection of this monument had or had not a political meaning? That country, which had now the honour of being a Republic, would certainly not appreciate what was about to be done—[*Interruption.*]

MR. BRIGGS: I rise to Order. I think if anything can throw discredit upon this House the present course of action of some hon. Members will—["Oh, oh!"]

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: I also rise to a point of Order. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Briggs) wishes to address the House upon a point of Order.

MR. BRIGGS: That is my object. I merely wish to say that I could not catch what the hon. Member was saying, in consequence of the interruption of the proceedings from the other side of the House. In fact, there was one

phrase which I caught distinctly from the other side, which I hardly think was Parliamentary. It was, "Pepper away like one o'clock."

MR. SPEAKER: I understood the hon. Member to rise to a point of Order; but I am unable to understand what the point of Order is. I call on the hon. Member for Ennis to proceed.

MR. FINIGAN said, the Government and their supporters must not hope to get out of an awkward difficulty by refusing to hear what Members had to say. [*Murmurs.*] He was not to be put down by shouts, but must claim his right to be heard. Prince Louis Napoleon had for a length of time only an individual character in this country, and by attempting to commemorate his memory in a national institution they were offering an implied insult to the French Republic. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members might cry "No," and attempt to gloss the matter over, but history would record that England, whom the French might well term *la perfide Albion*, had done an injury to a friendly neighbour. As the House appeared to be in a facetious humour, he would only say that if they felt condemned to turn Westminster Abbey into a second Madame Tussaud's they were welcome to do so.

First and Second Resolutions agreed to.

Third Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. SHAW, in moving that the House should disagree with the Resolution of the Committee, said, he wished to explain why he took such a course. The House had now been occupied for some time in discharging the duties of a vestry; and he, therefore, thought they might now devote a little time to the consideration of the question of education in Ireland. Last evening, when these Votes came before the Committee, the Irish Members allowed them to pass without challenge, and they did so advisedly. The Irish Members had no wish to delay the Sittings of the House; but they desired, upon the present occasion, to express their opinion upon those Institutions for which this Vote was proposed. They did not wish the House or the country to understand for one moment that, in allowing the Vote to pass, they approved of

those Institutions. But the Government having initiated a policy with respect to University Education, they were desirous of giving them time, in order to see whether the people of Ireland would fall in with that policy. He hoped that the result of that policy which the Government had initiated would be that the Irish Members would be able to see their way to let those discussions which had taken place upon this Vote from year to year drop. The institution of the Queen's Colleges was commenced at a very unfortunate period—namely, when the celebrated Maynooth Grant was brought forward in the House of Commons. That was a period of great excitement; and such a no-Popery spirit prevailed that it was quite impossible for the then Government, who entertained wise and liberal ideas on the subject, to carry those ideas out. It was well known that those Colleges did not meet the wants of the people in the South and West of Ireland. He knew that his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) would say—"Why did not the Catholics of the South and West of Ireland embrace the advantages of those Colleges?" but it appeared to him (Mr. Shaw) that when the Government instituted those Colleges they took very good care that the College at Belfast should be made acceptable to the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland, for the President was a Presbyterian, and the greater part of the Professors were Presbyterians. But the same care was not taken to make the Colleges in the South and West acceptable to the people. In Cork, the first President of the College was certainly a Catholic; but his duties compelled him to live elsewhere, and the acting President of the College for many years was a Protestant, and the great majority of the Professors were also Protestants. For many years the pervading feeling of the Colleges of Cork and Galway had been Protestant; and it was quite impossible to expect Catholics with their feelings, and perhaps prejudices, to make use of them. Now, he did not make an indiscriminate attack on the Queen's Colleges, which, he believed, had to some extent been useful; but they had failed lamentably to carry out higher education among the Roman Catholics of the South and West of Ireland. He knew 100 Catholic families in Cork and its suburbs whose sons naturally would

have gone to the Queen's Colleges but for their religious feelings and principles. Those Colleges, which had been kept up for 35 years and largely endowed, had not met the wants of the people in the South and West of Ireland; and he asked whether it was not time to change that position, and bring those Institutions more in harmony with the wants of the people? He hoped that the Government would not stop with the Bill that they had brought in; but would see what could be done with regard to Catholic education. He did not want, at that time of night, to do more than raise this question, in order to express to the House and to the country the determination of the Irish Members that if these Colleges were not changed, and materially changed, they would raise these discussions year after year on the Estimates, until they brought the opinion of the House and the country in harmony with their views on this subject. The College of Galway was not used by people in the vicinity; and, in consequence, the students, to a great extent, came from the North of Ireland. He believed, when these Colleges were instituted, the Catholics made some demand that the Bishops should be members of the Governing Body; and he could not understand why so reasonable a request was not assented to. He most sincerely hoped that the Government, now that they had touched the question of Irish University Education, and had brought it, to some extent, to a successful issue, would complete their good work by making those Colleges what they ought to be—namely, educational Institutions for the South and West of Ireland.

Mr. COURTNEY regretted that the hon. Member for the County Cork had not expressed his opinion on this subject earlier in the Session, because he now admitted that these Queen's Colleges had been a success in an educational point of view, and might have been made, by slight alteration, acceptable to the Irish Catholics. It was evident, however, that an attack was intended to be made on these Colleges another Session; and, therefore, the Government must feel that they had made a very heavy sacrifice with regard to Irish University Education in order to secure a year's peace.

THE O'CONOR DON could not allow the observations of the hon. Member for Liskeard to pass without notice. He

*Mr. Shaw*

(the O'Conor Don) thought that, if anything, the Queen's Colleges Vote this year had passed without sufficient comment. The reason why there had been no discussion upon it was because there had been such full discussions upon University Education, both upon the Government Bill and the measure he had had the honour of introducing. Irish Members had abstained from commenting on the course of education carried on in the Queen's Colleges, because they believed they would have ample opportunity of entering into that subject when the Vote for those Institutions was proposed; but that Vote had been put off until the last week in the Session, after the University Bill had passed through Committee, and there was a general desire on the part of the Irish Members not to raise another discussion upon Irish education. The Queen's Colleges Vote, therefore, escaped the criticism which it would otherwise have received. He could not quite agree with the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) that these Institutions could ever be made acceptable to the Catholics, because he believed their principle was radically wrong, and, educationally, they had been failures. He believed that the education carried on at Galway was an educational sham, and did not deserve the support of the country or a Vote of public money.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER thought that the hon. Member for Roscommon had misunderstood the meaning of the hon. Member for Cork, who had said that when proper provision was made for the University Education of Irish Catholics the chief ground of the hostility of the latter to the Queen's Colleges would be removed. Their objection to the Queen's Colleges was based on the ground that, whilst they were ostensibly created for Irish Catholics, they were so conducted that the Catholics could not make use of them.

Mr. O'DONNELL thought that this discussion was due to the very successful way in which the hon. Member for Liskeard always contrived to misunderstand the Queen's Colleges question. He quite agreed with what the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don) had said with reference to the education carried on at Galway College being an educational sham, and thought that Cork College was quite as bad.

MR. P. MARTIN did not consider he should be doing his duty to his constituents if he gave a silent vote in favour of the proposition of the hon. Member for Cork. It was well the House should understand that the hostility of the great majority of the Irish people continued unabated to the continuance of this grant. To those to whom the State ought to give educational aid the Queen's Colleges were of no benefit. The conspicuous failure of these Institutions, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure on them each year, ought to convince Parliament that this system of education sought to be forced on the Irish people was opposed to their feelings and judgment, and would never be successful. The great preponderance of educational opinion in Ireland, even amongst Protestants, had pronounced against these Institutions. He would say, as had been said by the late Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, that he would tell any Prime Minister that it would be as easy to take St. Paul's in his hands as to attempt to change the settled religious convictions of the Irish people on this question of education.

MR. PARNELL said, it was originally intended by the Irish Members to offer a stout opposition to these Estimates, but, fortunately for the Estimates, the Government's University Bill was introduced, and it was then decided that opposition had better be deferred, at all events, until next Session. He wished, however, to point out that after the passing of the measure he had referred to the Queen's Colleges would occupy such an exceptional and unique position that it would be more than ever necessary to oppose these Estimates in future years. If the Government University Bill passed, all the old objections to these Institutions would remain, while new ones would arise. These Colleges would still remain, and they would be unused to an extent even greater than at present, since Catholics would be able to obtain a University degree without resorting to them. Therefore, they would have these Colleges in future years with a gradually diminishing attendance—they would, in fact, gradually expire. Under these circumstances, it must not be expected that in future years these Votes would be treated by the Irish Members with the leniency they had

displayed on the present occasion, when it was thought desirable to do nothing to interfere with the progress of the Government measure.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 130; Noes 27: Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 218.)

Fourth Resolution read a second time.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT moved to reduce the Vote by £5,000, on the ground that, as he contended, the Government paid more for certain articles than was necessary.

Amendment proposed, "to leave out £1,330,000," and insert "£1,325,000,"—(*Colonel Arbuthnot*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '1,330,000,' stand part of the Resolution."

LORD EUSTACE CECIL defended the Vote, maintaining that the contracts were effected on the best terms that could be obtained.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Fifth Resolution read a second time.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME, in moving the omission of the sum of £3,800, the amount to be voted for the construction of the new hospital for two regiments at Regent's Park Barracks, said: I must ask the indulgence of the House for a few minutes, while I call attention, on this Vote, to a subject of great interest to the regiments of Household Cavalry, with one of which I have the honour to be connected; and I therefore beg to move, as a matter of form, the Amendment which stands in my name. Its terms are precisely the same as those of an Amendment which long stood on the Paper in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) prior to this Vote being taken in Committee. I regret that my hon. Friend was not in his place last night when the Vote passed without discussion, somewhat unexpectedly; and I regret more his absence this evening, because, not only would the case be in better hands with him, but he would be in a position to speak for a considerable portion of the non-military public. Now, with

reference to Motions of this sort, it always appears to me unfortunate that, in consequence of the Forms of the House, they cannot in their terms explain their own meaning. And, in this instance, it seems specially absurd that I should wish to reduce a Vote for a hospital which is already built, and half of which is occupied by patients from my own regiment. There is thus all the more reason for explanation on my part of what is here intended. The objects of my hon. Friend are identical with mine, while our pleas are somewhat different; for we both desire the Government to acquire that ground and those houses between the east end of the new Hyde Park Barracks and the Duke of Wellington's Riding School, on either side what is known as "Tattersall's Passage." My hon. Friend, had he been present, would have urged a promise made to him by the late Secretary of State for War (Lord Cranbrook) that, if opposition to the site of the new barracks was withdrawn, these houses would be pulled down. The opposition was accordingly withdrawn; but the houses still remain. It is, however, no intention of mine to take up that argument. I am sure, if there be a promise of this sort noted at the War Office, my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) will give effect to it. But I rest my case entirely on military grounds, considering that the removal of these houses will remedy sundry defects in the new barracks at Knightsbridge the existence of which must seriously interfere with their efficiency—defects which arise simply from want of space. The greatest of these defects is the want of a hospital in the barracks. There is a consensus of opinion among all military men that a Cavalry barrack, at all events, is not complete without its hospital. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War will, no doubt, admit this himself, if it be possible to place one among the buildings. I need not dilate on this point, more particularly as it was well spoken of last year by the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton (General Shute), when he brought this very question forward. Unfortunately, that was on the 6th of August, and at 2 o'clock in the morning, when little support could be expected; and the hon. and gallant Gentleman withdrew his Motion,

*Captain Milne-Home*

pending an interview with the Secretary of State for War, to which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman invited him and me, in order, if possible, to come to some compromise in the matter. Originally, in the plan for the barracks, was a temporary ward containing three beds; but the Secretary of State for War then proposed that the accommodation should be doubled. However, this was a compromise which could not be accepted; because, still, a double hospital Staff, and a double dispensary, would be requisite for Knightsbridge temporary ward, and Regent's Park hospital, as well as the daily ambulance. But I must now pass to the hospital in Regent's Park, and will not dwell on its excellencies and defects, except to make this remark, that there is only one infectious ward to contain all infectious diseases from both regiments. It will, naturally, be brought up against me that as the hospital is there it would be ridiculous now to build another at Hyde Park. No doubt, this argument, in a monetary point of view, is worth something, unless it can be shown, as I shall now show, that if the Knightsbridge proposal be agreed to the second hospital at Regent's Park can be otherwise utilized. At Regent's Park, certain Staff officers' quarters are by no means what they should be—entering by doors and staircases, &c., common to married non-commissioned officers. Moreover, at Regent's Park, we have a very considerable proportion of non-commissioned officers and men married with leave, who have to lodge out of barracks. At present, there are 10 non-commissioned officers and 23 privates who receive in lieu of lodging the niggardly allowance of 4d. a-day, while they have, probably, to pay some 5s. or 6s. a-week for their lodgings. My proposal, then, is to turn the second hospital into Staff officers' quarters—an alteration which can, as I am advised by the Engineer officers, easily be carried out—and to bring in as many of the non-commissioned officers as possible for the vacated Staff quarters. If this be done, a great boon will be conferred on a deserving body of men, and the Lodging Vote will be decreased in proportion. To return to Knightsbridge Barracks, I spoke of other defects there, one being the excessively inconvenient situation of the forage stores, in cellars

approached by a steep curving stone stair. I may mention the entire absence of what in Scotland we call a "middin"—that is, an arrangement for the stowage of manure, and particularly the separation of the sections of the veterinary department, the sick horses being at one end of the barracks, the forge at the other, a quarter of a mile off. All these drawbacks can be done away with if the proposal to pull down the old houses be adopted, and the ground, west of the passage, taken in. Hon. Members have only to visit the barracks, and they will see for themselves that these houses must come down some day. It may be said—why has not this been already represented? It has been repeatedly represented by the commanding officers of the three regiments; but, what between those in authority, favourable to the unification scheme, and others who go in for economy at all costs, no heed was paid to the regimental officers. They ultimately came to Parliament last year, when their claims were advocated fully and clearly by the hon. and gallant Member for Brighton. I have already alluded to the result of that; and now that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman sees how impossible it is for the compromise he suggested last year to be accepted I trust he will further consider the matter. And if he indicate his consent to adopt the proposal made, I am convinced he will receive the support of the tax-paying public and their Representatives here; for, by so doing, he will be the means of rendering the two Household Cavalry barracks as nearly perfect in efficiency as can be, and of carrying out a much-called-for Metropolitan improvement.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER, in seconding the Motion, said, he wished it to be understood that he had had no communication from his brother, who commanded one of the Household Regiments of Cavalry; but his attention having been drawn to the question by the Notice on the Paper, he had made a personal inspection of the buildings at Regent's Park, and after listening to the remarks which had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman, he had, as an old Lifeguardsman, much pleasure in supporting him. Apart from the general question as to the necessity for a regimental hospital in a Cavalry barrack, he cordially approved the proposal to

supply better quarters to the staff officers, and to give additional accommodation to married non-commissioned officers.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£853,300," and insert "£849,440,"—(*Captain Home*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£853,300' stand part of the Resolution."

LORD EUSTACE CECIL thought that the hon. and gallant Member was flogging a dead horse in bringing forward this subject, which had been repeatedly inquired into. The course taken had given perfect satisfaction to the three regiments concerned, and if any real grievance existed it would be remedied if it were possible to do so.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Sixth Resolution read a second time.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER asked for explanations with regard to various matters connected with military education, and concluded by moving a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £500, being part of the salary of the Governor at Sandhurst. The aggregate salary of that gentleman—namely, £3,000 a-year, was most extravagant, and ought to be reduced. He contended that this Vote required the serious consideration of the Secretary of State for War.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£165,800," and insert "£165,300,"—(*Sir Arthur Hayter*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£165,800' stand part of the Resolution."

COLONEL STANLEY hoped the hon. and gallant Member for Bath (Sir Arthur Hayter) would not be inclined personally to blame him, when he said that he had never heard of criticism of this character being applied at so late a stage of the Army Estimates. He would have been glad if his hon. and gallant Friend had communicated with him in reference to the subjects mentioned, because, in the absence of Notice of any kind, he had not at hand the particulars or details which, otherwise, he should have had. The subject, however, was, fortunately, not a difficult one; and he would, first of all, speak as to the supposed increase in the Vote. This was apparent only—not real. Owing to the larger



number of cadets at Sandhurst and Woolwich, the annual expenses had, of course, materially increased; but, on the other hand, owing to the recommendation of a Committee over which he had presided, the cadets now contributed a portion of this charge in the way of their own expenses. This item, of course, appeared upon the other side of the balance-sheet, although it did not show upon the surface of the Vote. With regard to the salary of the Governor of Sandhurst, he must ask his hon. and gallant Friend to look at the manner in which it was made up. It was fixed some years ago, by a Royal Commission, at its present amount. Colonel Napier, it was quite true, received £1,000 a-year as colonel of his regiment long before he went to Sandhurst; and this, of course, could not, by any right, be taken away from him. With regard to the house and grounds, it had always been held that the Commandants at Sandhurst and Woolwich should occupy free quarters, which were given to them by the country. Whether the house now occupied by Colonel Napier at Sandhurst would be re-built at the present time for that establishment was nothing to the point. A good deal of the outlying land attached had been let off, and that portion of it only which was in close proximity to the house was occupied. His hon. and gallant Friend having asked him for information upon the question of physical qualification of candidates for the Army, he was in a position to repeat what he had said last year, that if they could get the same amount of brains, *plus* better physical qualities, they would get better officers for the service of the country, and they were, therefore, bound to take them. He was, however, not by any means willing to agree that physical qualities should stand in the place of brains. He had not changed the views which he had expressed last year; but was willing to say that if fair means could be devised the College should be open to every class of candidates to be tested in both physical and mental capacity. He thought those qualities should be properly considered and some test established; but, at present, the Government did not see their way to take the step, and he would, therefore, not go into the matter any further. With regard to the officers of the Militia nominated directly

*Colonel Stanley*

to the Line, he explained that upon the last occasion there were 45 or 46 vacancies, which was in excess of the number of candidates; under these circumstances, therefore, competition would have been absurd. So far as he was concerned, there was no intention of departing from the system under which Militia officers, properly qualified by age, should compete *inter se* for the vacancies that might occur in the Army.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that after the explanation of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Seven subsequent Resolutions *agreed to*.

Fourteenth Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, in rising to object to this Vote, he should confine himself entirely to the subject-matter of it, and would not enter into any question of policy affecting the Island of Cyprus. The question was one of administration, and was, in point of fact, whether it was expedient that the country should be called upon to pay this sum of £26,000 a-year for this force? When the Vote was first submitted it had assumed the appearance of a purely military force; and it appeared to him, and many other hon. Members, that it was clearly and entirely illegal. He had given Notice of a Motion, by which, no doubt, the attention of the Government was directed to the subject; and it would also appear that they consulted with the Law Officers of the Crown, who gave it as their opinion that the force as originally proposed was illegal, inasmuch as a force of aliens could not be enlisted in the Service of the Crown without an Act of Parliament, because, also, the Vote should have been in the Army Estimates, and because the force should have been subject to the Mutiny Act. The consequence of that decision was that the Vote was withdrawn, and another substituted for it in the shape in which it then appeared. When that substitution took place it

seemed to him only natural to assume that there had been some substantial change in the force itself. The Papers showed already that there was in the Island a force far beyond its requirements. He had not been able to find out what the extent or expenditure of that force was; but from the Papers which had recently been laid upon the Table it appeared that the number of the police at that moment was 1,100. That he had pointed out the other night to be three times as large, proportionately, as the police force in any other country in the world; and, at the same time, he had shown that any increase was altogether beyond the requirements of the Island, and that the force might, to a great extent, be dispensed with. He had objected to the Vote that it was, moreover, not desirable to proceed further until they received from the authorities at Cyprus opinions as to the expediency of such a great augmentation of the police of the Island. The result, however, of the discussion a few nights ago had been such as to leave no doubt in his mind that the force in question was substantially a military force, and not a police force at all. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour), who appeared to be well informed as to the real intentions of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had described the uses of this force. It was employed in guarding stores, escorting treasure, defending the Island, if necessary, and throwing up defences. And, finally, he said it would save two battalions of British troops. How it was to do that he did not undertake to explain, nor could he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) understand. The conclusion was, therefore, left upon his mind that it was a military force. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had attempted to tone down the expressions of the hon. Member for Hertford by saying that the greater number of men would be employed in transporting treasure from one part of the Island to the other. The sum of money now asked for appeared to be a very large one for such a purpose. The result of these explanations was to leave it beyond all doubt that the force in question was a military force disguised as a police force. It had been admitted that, if a military force, it was illegal; and he need not trouble the House by pointing out that

it was not by simply changing its name and calling it a police force that its character as a military force could be changed, or that it could be made legal. He contended that it was a military force, and, as such, it remained clearly illegal and unconstitutional. It remained to be considered whether it was necessary. He had already shown that augmentation of the police of the Island was unnecessary. Was it, then, necessary to add to the military establishment there? The Secretary of State for War had stated that evening that the military force at Cyprus had been reduced to 400 men, and he also said that it was not the intention of the Government to reduce that small force any further. This, at all events, showed that the Island of Cyprus could get on with 400 soldiers, and he could not understand why the House should vote 800 more in the guise of police. It seemed to him that the 400 soldiers now in the Island, supplemented by the 1,100 police already in existence, would be amply sufficient for all possible purposes for which they could be required there. He ventured to point to the parallel case of the Island of Mauritius, which was about the same size as Cyprus, with double the population, but where there were only half a British regiment and 500 police. The force, therefore, so far as the Island of Cyprus was concerned, appeared to him to be wholly unnecessary. If once this sum of £26,000 was voted, this expenditure would remain for many years a permanent charge. When once Votes of this kind were taken in the Estimates, vested interests and other circumstances would arise which would render it extremely difficult hereafter to get rid of them. He asked the House whether, in the present state of the finances of the country, it was wise or right to undertake this large expenditure on account of the Island, when, as he had already shown, no reason had been given to justify it? He ventured to remind the House that the Vote had not received the unanimous approval of Her Majesty's Government, and that it had, according to report, been the subject of vehement controversy amongst the Members of the Government. The Secretary of State for War had told the House that he would have nothing to do with the Vote, because it was illegal; he would not, for that reason, take it into

the Army Estimates. Again, the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night had conveyed to his mind that he was by no means in favour of the Vote. It would, therefore, appear to have been forced upon the Government by the will of the Foreign Secretary, and he could only suppose that it had not the general approval of the Treasury or of a considerable number of Her Majesty's Government. He believed, if the House would take the matter into its own hands, and vote according to their views, they would give satisfaction to some of Her Majesty's Ministers, and, at the same time, relieve the country of an expenditure at once illegal and unconstitutional.

Mr. RYLANDS: I have not hitherto taken part in the discussions upon this Vote; and I daresay the Government may think it somewhat unusual, after the discussions which have taken place, and after the Division of last night, that we should again challenge a Division with the view of reversing the decision at which the Committee arrived. But I think we are amply justified in taking this unusual course by the extraordinary character of the Vote itself. Of course, my experience is much shorter than that of many hon. Members; but I have had the honour of a seat for some years, and I have never known a case in which a Vote open to such serious objections has been submitted to the House in so ambiguous a manner. We are forced either to consider the Vote itself as a trick and a subterfuge, or else we are bound to believe that in this Vote Her Majesty's Government are certainly disappointing the expectations their own assurances have raised—that there would be no public expenditure on account of the civil government of Cyprus. If it is to be regarded as a military Vote, then it is placed on the Estimates under the flimsy cover of a civil Vote, and it is a subterfuge and a trick. If it is really a civil Vote, then we are asked to vote a considerable sum for civil purposes; and, clearly, the Government are falsifying the expectation they raised that there would be no expenditure on account of the civil government of the Island. The Government must accept one of these alternatives; and, in either case, we are in an unfortunate position. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, when the matter was l

the other day, said that he would not admit that the British administration of the Island would increase the expenses imposed upon the British taxpayers. Well, if that is the case, what is the meaning of this Vote? It appears to me that the Government are bound to show that, in asking for this Vote, they are not departing from their own undertaking. I myself look with the greatest possible suspicion on the balance-sheet we have laid before us; of course, it is very easy for a Government to prepare a Paper of the income and Expenditure of Cyprus; but I believe they will find the income is subject to many drawbacks, and I am sure the expenditure will not keep within the limits laid down in the Estimate. I have not much faith in the favourable balance shown in this Paper. The hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) says, and I think truly, that it is not necessary we should go into the general question of the administration of Cyprus, a question so well brought under the notice of the House by my hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke). Still, it is impossible for us to overlook the fact that the only excuse under which the Government ask for this Vote was given by the Under Secretary the other night when he said Her Majesty's Government had taken possession of Cyprus on high grounds of policy. Now, the hon. Gentleman made this statement with gravity of demeanour; and I must compliment him that, from his connection with the Foreign Office, he has attained considerable diplomatic experience, for he not unfrequently shows his appreciation of that diplomatic axiom that speech should be used to conceal our thoughts. It cannot be imagined that he believes in the high policy now talked about, or that there could be any high grounds of policy in taking this wretched place. It did impose on the public mind a few months ago I know; but that is passed and gone. I recollect, when the announcement was made that it was to be a "place of arms," we had visions of considerable bodies of British soldiers stationed at Cyprus; we had ideas of barracks, fortifications, and a magnificent harbour, in which should ride a squadron of British ships; and that arrangements would be made in order to make Cyprus a basis of operations to Asia Minor, and enable Eng-

*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*

and to issue forth in the event of Russia attacking the Northern districts of Asia Minor. But this is all gone; it was the hantom of a poetical mind; and I think of one who read the speech of the Prime Minister made a year ago at the Mansion House, will, with our subsequent experience of the pestilential Island in which we have only 300 men, entertain the idea of a harbour for British men-of-war. We have given up that idea. I do not suppose any Member of the Government will now say with a grave face that they think the possession of Cyprus will be used in the event of Russia attacking the Asiatic Dominion of Turkey, and to carry out a high policy. I suppose we are called upon to vote the money simply because Government imagine that something must be done with Cyprus; unfortunately, the place will lead to a great deal of expense to this country. When the Government did not know what to do with the 7,000 Indian troops they brought to Europe they sent them to Cyprus; and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War said, gravely, it was necessary to be prepared to keep down any possible rebellion that might arise on the first occupation of the Island by Great Britain; but, of course, to everybody the idea of a rebellion was altogether absurd; the troops were taken away, then British troops were sent, and then they again came home at considerable expense for transport and serious detriment to the health of the men. We get involved in one expense after another; we are, therefore, bound, when we have the opportunity, by every means in our power to protest by our votes against what we believe is a foolish policy on the part of the Government; and I shall be glad, under all the circumstances, seeing the great objections there are to the Vote, the great doubt as to the wisdom of establishing this new force in the Island, and the serious question of the legality of the proceeding, I shall be glad if the Government, at this late period of the Session, see fit to withdraw the Vote, and leave it for another Session to determine our position with respect to this Island.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL was not surprised that the Government had felt glad to withdraw their troops from Cyprus, and to make use of the

Cypriotes instead. With regard to the illegality of the force, it seemed to be admitted that it was a force for military purposes, but that it had been discovered to be illegal to maintain it under that name. The illegality with which the Government were contending arose under the Army Discipline and Regulation Act which had just been passed, and their difficulty was due to the somewhat hurried and insufficient way in which that measure had been discussed. The Bill which Her Majesty's Government had brought before the House consisted of a string of Acts of Parliament undigested, and not put into the proper shape. However, the clause under which this difficulty arose was that which related to the enlistment in the Army of foreign soldiers, and which made it illegal to enlist more than one foreign soldier to 50 British soldiers. It appeared to him that there had been illegality in this affair; but, at the same time, he admitted that Cyprus, being an unhealthy place, it was expedient to make use of the Cypriotes instead of Her Majesty's troops, and hoped that his hon. Friend would not divide the House.

MR. DALRYMPLE thought that it was quite plain that hon. Gentlemen opposite were becoming seriously alarmed lest Cyprus should become a success. It was equally clear that the charges which they had brought with respect to the Island had broken down. What seemed most extraordinary was that the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) should have been gulled by a Greek Prelate (the Bishop of Citium), whose statements were afterwards disproved by his own mouth. The case of the Opposition had, no doubt, broken down on many points; and they had that evening brought forward another matter and endeavoured to cast ridicule upon the police force in Cyprus. He did not think it mattered much whether the force employed was civil or military as long as discipline was maintained; nor did he consider, looking at the character of the undertaking upon which we had entered, that the sum of money asked for was large. This, no doubt, would be recouped hereafter; in the meantime, the House would not expect that everything necessary with regard to Cyprus could be done in the course of a year.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had been sitting quietly and somewhat sleepily in his place, and should not have taken any part in the debate but for the fact that the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple) had made an elaborated attack upon him. He regretted to say that the hon. Member could not have listened to the two speeches which he had addressed to the House upon this subject; because, in his first speech, he had expressly dissociated himself from the views of the Greek priests, and had supported the Government in bringing both prelates and priests within the general law. He had afterwards raised the case, as did also the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), of the two priests who had been badly treated; but that case was one in which the Government admitted that a gross injustice had been done. But the hon. Member for Buteshire had said that all the charges made against the Government of Cyprus had been disproved. That was certainly not correct. On the first occasion, he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had mentioned 21 matters which he thought to be deserving of attention, and 18 of these charges had been proved by the Blue Book itself. In the case of one or two, where the Blue Book contradicted him, he had sent the depositions of some 20 people to the Secretary of State; and these, he believed, were now in Cyprus for the purpose of further inquiry. Everybody knew that there was forced labour in Cyprus, and the House had actually before it the Ordinance by which it was established. He had pointed out, as a matter of fact, that it had been enforced, certainly in two, probably in more, districts of the Island; although he could not but believe that in the course of a year it would have to be repealed. He assured the hon. Member that he would have many opportunities of reviving this question if he so desired, for it was certain that answers would be returned from Cyprus to the depositions which had been sent out. With regard to the subject immediately under consideration, the contention put forward had nothing to do with the general question concerning Cyprus. The hon. Member had said that the Vote was unnecessary, and that it should not have been put before the House in the last days

use of the force in escorting treasure, he believed the only treasure they would have in Cyprus would be the £26,000 they were going to send there. The hon. Member opposite had told him that this was a *quasi*-military force; but he took the opportunity of laying before the House the fact that, for any practical purposes, it would be useless as a military force. The very first condition of a military force was that it should be able to be moved about freely from one place to another; but there was no power to deal with this force outside Cyprus. On the other hand, if it was a police force, then the Civil Expenditure of the Island was being thrown upon this country. But it had been shown that there was already a large police force in the Island; and, therefore, they were now called upon to vote a sum of £26,000 a-year towards the Civil Expenditure of the Island in the form of expenditure upon an unnecessary police force.

MR. BOURKE said, the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was very indignant because this Vote did not appear in exactly the same form as it did originally; but he had himself given very good reasons why this change was necessary. It was perfectly true that when Her Majesty's Government came to consider this question they thought it would be objectionable to put the Vote for the Cyprus Pioneer Force into the Estimates then before the House. He need not enter into the objections raised to the Vote in that form, because that was not the point before the House. He had little to add to the observations which he made a few days before upon this subject. But the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had taken him to task for not speaking the mind of the Secretary of State with regard to this matter, and had gone so far as to say that he was not in the habit of speaking the mind of the Secretary of State, but that he only spoke from a brief. Now, he did not know what right the hon. Member had to lecture him upon that or any other subject. He could only say that where matters of accuracy were involved he should not follow the manner of statement which had been used by the hon. Member in the present case, because a more inaccurate statement than that had probably never been made. The hon. Member said the only justification

which he (Mr. Bourke) had given the other evening for the existence of the force in question was that it would be employed in the escort of treasure from one part of the Island to another. This statement was certainly inaccurate. What he did say was, that the escort of treasure might be one of the duties deputed to the force; but he had, at the same time, mentioned that it would be employed in garrisoning small places in the Island, as well as in other duties. It was, therefore, perfectly inaccurate to say that the only reason given by him for the maintenance of that force was, that it would be wanted for the escort of treasure. But the hon. Member had gone farther than this, and assumed that the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) did speak the mind of the Secretary of State. He would like to know what right the hon. Member had for saying that? The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would, he thought, be very much surprised to read to-morrow morning that the hon. Member for Reading was the person who came forward to measure what was in the mind of the noble Lord, and to sum up as to who it was in that House who spoke the mind of the noble Lord. He did not much care whether the hon. Member for Reading spoke the mind of the Secretary of State or not; but he did his best to answer accurately the observations addressed to him, and he had no reason to think that the hon. Member had ever been misled by anything stated by him in that House. The hon. Member also said that the Government were not unanimous upon this subject; so that he not only spoke the mind of the Secretary of State, but also assumed to speak the mind of the Cabinet. He (Mr. Bourke) had no reason to think, and he had great reason to doubt, that the Government were at all divided upon this question; on the other hand, he believed them to be perfectly unanimous, because he looked upon this as an economical Vote, and one which could be justified in every way and upon every ground. Then it was said that the taxpayers of this country would be burdened with this expenditure; but he held that when once they had decided upon the occupation of Cyprus upon grounds of high policy, this Vote was about the most economical expenditure that could be made in carrying out that intention.

He would not argue upon the expediency of occupying Cyprus. It was never intended or contemplated for one moment to leave the Island of Cyprus with only 300 or 400 British troops to guard it, without any other force. The Secretary of State for War had stated that it was desirable, in the interest of the Public Service, to reduce the garrison at Cyprus as much as possible, and it then became the duty of the Government to consider whether it would not be much more economical to establish a local force there; but after the objection taken to the Cyprus Pioneer Force the Government had determined to augment the police force. He would like hon. Members to recollect the cost of a British regiment, which would be, at least, £70,000, while the present arrangement would cost the Government only £35,000 a-year; and that was what he meant by stating the other day that the British taxpayers would not suffer. It was perfectly impossible to overcome the prejudice of hon. Members against this Island of Cyprus; and he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple) in thinking that hon. Gentlemen opposite were perfectly beside themselves because of the success which had attended its occupation. The hon. Member for Reading had said that the police force in the Island was 1,100 in number; but that statement, he would point out to the hon. Member, was entirely inaccurate, as there was not more than half that number of men. The hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had alleged that they would not be able to take the new police force out of the Island. But they did not wish, nor intend to do so. The new force was to take the place of the defensive forces for the Island, and was to do civil duties in addition. In ordinary circumstances, a military force would have been called upon to perform civil duties, such as making roads; and the force in question would perform all the civil duties which would be required of it. In conclusion, he might say that the Government believed that the Vote was an economical one, and that it was free from illegality. They believed it would enable the civil and military administration of Cyprus to be carried out in an economical and efficient manner; and they considered that those objects could be effected in the manner

proposed without making calls upon the Military Forces of the United Kingdom.

Mr. CHILDERS did not wish to dwell upon the alleged differences of opinion amongst the Members of the Government on this question. He desired only to say a word or two upon the purely financial bearing of the Vote, for he thought that that aspect of the question had not been sufficiently dealt with by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench. The Vote was asked for simply and solely because the Civil Revenue of Cyprus was inadequate to meet the Expenditure. The Vote had, therefore, been proposed for reasons which he could perfectly understand. Until the day previously they had had no Papers on the subject; and when the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) brought forward his Motion they had no information as to the financial prospects of the Island, although they were promised again and again that the Papers which had now been presented should be laid before them. From the accounts which had now been laid before them, they were able to see the exact state of the finances of Cyprus. In the second of the two Papers delivered on Thursday, they had the original estimate of the Revenue and Expenditure of Cyprus, upon which had been founded the very plausible declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Black Country during last autumn, that Cyprus would be able to bear all her civil expenditure. They could now see that those statements were made from Sir George Kellner's Paper. He wished to call the attention of the House and of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the statements of Sir George Kellner. In the first place, he estimated the Revenue of Cyprus at £170,000. Sir George Kellner, on pages 8 and 9 of the Paper, No. 7, detailed the Estimates of the Civil Expenditure of Cyprus, and if hon. Members would look there they would see that the cost of the British establishment in Cyprus was put down at £35,000; but, in addition to that item, there was certain expenditure in connection with Native establishments, and there was an item for the zaptieh police for one year. The total Revenue, as he had said, was put down at £170,000,

and the expenditure in connection with British and Native establishments was estimated at £52,000, leaving a surplus of £118,000, out of which the tribute to the Sultan would have to be met, and something would remain for roads and public improvements. Sir George Kellner, in almost the last words of his Report, used the expression—

"The current Revenue will not only cover the annual payments and expenses on account of administration, but will also provide a fair outlay for roads and sanitary matters."

He was bound to say that upon that Report his right hon. Friend was perfectly justified in the statement he made with regard to the Revenue of Cyprus. But, in addition to Sir George Kellner's Report of last year, they had now before them the actual estimate of the Revenue for 1879-80. The estimate presented a very different view of the matter to that which was given by Sir George Kellner; and he wanted to call the attention of the House to the extraordinary difference between the formal estimate now presented by the Government and the first estimate, which deceived the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and led him to make a statement entirely contrary to what the circumstances had since shown to be the case. They found that Sir George Kellner estimated the British establishments at £52,000, whereas it now appeared that the cost of those establishments would be £75,000; and whereas Sir George Kellner stated that there would be a considerable surplus to provide a fair outlay for roads and sanitary matters, yet not one single farthing was now to be applied to those purposes. Would the House believe that the whole expenditure in connection with buildings down to common repairs—that the whole expenditure in connection with roads—every shilling was to be borrowed? That expenditure was given, in the Estimate from which he was now quoting, at £34,000, or one-fifth of the total amount of the Revenue of Cyprus. To understand what that meant, he would put the case with regard to England. Suppose their Revenue was £80,000,000, and the Government had said that the Expenditure would fall within the Revenue, but when the Estimates were presented it was discovered that the total Expenditure would be £96,000,000, and that the sum which was to be spent on public

*Mr. Bourke*

works was to be borrowed. That was simply the fact with regard to Cyprus. The original statement was that the Revenue of Cyprus would cover the whole Expenditure, and including a "fair outlay" on public works. That was the Report upon which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his statement. But now it seemed that all the expenditure for public works would have to be borrowed. He would ask his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer how long that state of things was to continue? They were told that one-fifth of the Expenditure of Cyprus would have to be borrowed; but he would ask, from whom would they borrow it? It might be said that the Cyprus Government would easily borrow the sum from some bank, but was it certain that that could be done? But he would recall the attention of the House to the present Vote. If the Report of Sir George Kellner, which was the foundation for the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement, was looked into, it would be found that he divided the police expenditure into two parts—one part he described as the *zaptieh* police, with an expenditure of 500,000 piastres, or £8,000 a-year; and the other the military police. Therefore, according to Sir George Kellner, the Revenue of Cyprus was intended to cover the expenses of the *zaptieh* police and that of the entire military police force. There was not a single word in Sir George Kellner's Paper giving the Government, or Parliament through the Government, notice that any further expenditure of the kind would be required. Sir George Kellner stated, indeed, positively that the cost of the establishments would be reduced, and his words were—"It will be possible in the future to reduce the present charges for British and Native establishments." They now, however, found that the Revenues of Cyprus were insufficient to provide for the Civil Expenditure to the extent of £26,000 for police, the present Vote, and £34,000 for works, the subject of a loan. Thus, in the very first year of their rule, Cyprus did not meet her Civil charges by no less sum than £60,000. It must be admitted that that was a very serious sum. The excess in expenditure for salaries of the central administration turned out to be £5,800 more than Sir George Kellner

estimated it, for he put it at £12,000, and it now seemed that it would amount to £18,200. The expenses of the district establishments were put down by Sir George Kellner at £13,500; but in the later statement those items figured at £20,000. Then, in another item for salaries of officials, whereas the amount was put down at £16,500 by Sir George Kellner, it now turned out to be £23,200. Upon those three items, therefore, the Expenditure of Cyprus was more than £20,000 in excess of the estimate given by Sir George Kellner. He could not but think that these differences showed great looseness of estimate, and that no reliance could be placed on Sir George Kellner's finance. But the main question was, that altogether the deficit on the Civil Revenue of Cyprus was £60,000; or nearly half the net Revenue, if the amount due to the Sultan were first deducted. Again, as to the loans for public works, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should tell them how long the expenditure upon public works was to go on. A great deal had been said by Members of the Government about harbours, and especially Famagousta; and a very detailed paper, with plans, had been presented to Parliament; but, curiously enough, it did not contain the smallest reference to what the work would cost. The Revenue did not provide a single shilling for the harbours, or for any one of the works which must be taken in hand. If, during the first year, there was a deficiency of £60,000, on a local expenditure of little over £120,000, he did not think that the Island was altogether in so satisfactory a condition as the Government had described it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER would not attempt to go into details upon that question; but he should say in a very few words what he thought was the real difference between the Government and hon. Members on the other side of the House. In the first place, with regard to the statements he had previously made with respect to the Revenues of Cyprus, his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract had spoken with perfect accuracy. The statement he made was based upon the estimate of Sir George Kellner, and the reason he referred to those statements was in consequence of the extravagant remarks that were floating about at the time that



Cyprus was going to cost this country an enormous sum of money. On a former occasion, he ventured to say that according to the accounts they had received, and the other estimates that had been placed before them, they had reason to believe that Cyprus would pay the whole of its expenditure. But he also said that in the first year he would not pledge himself that that would be the case. In saying that, he had in his mind the extreme improbability that when they were going to work a new system in an old country, and to introduce improvements such as were necessary for the purposes of British administration, it would turn out, when they had introduced them, that in the first year, at all events, the estimates would be exact. What he had then feared had turned out to be the case, and the Expenditure for the first year had exceeded the Revenue. He wished to remind the House what the difficulties in connection with Cyprus really were. They had an old estimate under which certain salaries were paid, and certain establishments were maintained, and those appeared on the face of them to be cheap. They were cheap to the Treasury out of which they were paid; but they were not cheap to the unfortunate people who had their taxes extracted from them. The taxes were collected in a way which brought little to the Treasury compared with the amount that was taken from the people. In the same way, in the administration of justice a great deal was taken by those who administered justice, in addition to the nominal salaries which they received. Under British rule those abuses had to be put an end to. The first effect was necessarily to increase the expenditure from the Treasury without at first producing a corresponding elasticity on the part of the Revenue. What he had thought very likely to happen had happened. For the first year there had been some deficiency in the Revenue. In the statements laid before them by Sir George Kellner's Paper (No. 7, page 9) it would be observed that there was a distinction drawn between the cost of administration during a portion of the year under the Turkish authorities and the cost during the remainder of the year under British administration. For four months of the year the Island was under Turkish rule; but during the remaining eight months it had been under

British administration. That made a difference in the first year, because the administration under the one system was more costly than under the other. The same was the case with regard to the question of the police force. A great deal had been said about the *zaptiehs*—the Turkish police—and the military police. He thought he was accurate in saying that the Turkish *zaptiehs* were the police force during the first four months of the year, and that a military police force had occupied their place during the eight months of British rule. Without going too minutely into those points, the House would see that they had undertaken a new enterprise, and one which necessarily involved, in the first instance, some outlay of money. To some extent, the experiment they had undertaken must be costly; there was a great deal of work to be done, and improvements to be made which it was quite impossible to provide for out of revenue. With regard to the question of borrowing money for capital expenditure for the improvement of the country, he did not see any reason to suppose that the cost of those improvements would not be borne and covered by the improvements themselves under a better system. He did not think there was any reason why the Expenditure of the country should have been criticized in the manner in which it had been by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. With regard to the particular force now under consideration, he might say that the calculations made by Sir George Kellner were drawn up under the impression that there would be a considerable force of British troops maintained in the Island. It was afterwards thought better that there should be but a small military force; and, accordingly, the bulk of the troops had been removed, and considerable saving had been effected by the reduction of the amount for the maintenance of troops. But the withdrawal of the troops rendered it necessary that their place should be supplied by some other force, and accordingly the force had been instituted for which the Vote was taken. It could not be called a military force, for it performed duties other than belonged to the military. It would be a constabulary—something in the nature of a *quasi*-military force. If hon. Members would be patient enough to allow a

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

novel experiment to be worked out, he thought they would find that the expenditure which had been incurred in the government of Cyprus was neither uneconomical nor injudicious.

Mr. DODSON said, that according to the Estimate of the Revenue of Cyprus for the year 1879-80 the total amount was put at £174,000. Out of that sum they had to pay to the Sultan £96,000, leaving £78,000 of revenue to meet the expenditure. It was now proposed to make a grant from our Estimates of £26,000, thus making the total Revenue for the benefit of Cyprus £104,000. He wished to point out that of the £104,000; the total Revenue to be expended for the benefit of Cyprus, nearly one-half, or £49,000, was to be expended upon the maintenance of a police force. There was one question with regard to the police force to which he should like an answer. He should like to know what those Cypriot Sepoys consisted of? Were they Turks, or were they Greeks; or did they consist of "Linobambakis," Christians professing the Mahommedan religion to secure the privileges attaching to Mahommedans? He desired to have an answer to those questions, because a good deal depended upon the character of that force. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had called attention to the fact that not one farthing of the Revenue of Cyprus was to be applied for improvements in the Island, but that every shilling to be spent for those purposes would have to be borrowed. It was said that the sum of £34,000 was to be borrowed in Cyprus; and when he looked at the Estimates he found that the rate of interest to be paid on that sum was calculated at 3½ per cent. He should like to know whether the money was to be borrowed in Cyprus at 3½ per cent by the Government of Cyprus, or whether the British Government was to advance the money? Was there to be any British guarantee for the loan? If there was not to be any guarantee, he should like it to be explained how it was that money could be obtained in Cyprus at 3½ per cent, for that was a most unusual rate of interest for any part of the Levant? If Her Majesty's Government had already effected such reforms in Cyprus as to be able to borrow at 3½ per cent upon the credit of the Island alone, then Cyprus

would, indeed, be a model to the rest of Asia Minor, and they would quicken the reforming zeal of the Turks if they could show them how to borrow at this rate. He observed that the improvements which were to be carried out that year consisted only of roads, and repairs to roads, and some buildings, or repairs to buildings. Nothing whatever was taken for water supply, or for works of irrigation. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had held out good hopes that the time was not far distant when Cyprus would stand in no need for any Vote from the Civil Service Estimates for a military or *quasi*-military police, but would be able to pay its own way, and he also hoped that something might be obtained out of the Revenue to pay for improvements. Knowing something of the resources of Cyprus, he (Mr. Dodson) would entertain some hopes that if the country was well irrigated and managed those desirable results might be obtained; but he would wish to point out that one of the first necessities of the country—not second even to roads—was to provide means of irrigation. The means of storing and saving water, and obtaining water by boring in the soil, were improvements that were urgently required. If the fertility of the Island was to be developed, those things must be attended to; but there was no provision in the present Estimates for works of that kind. He hoped that in another year the resources of the Island might be such as might be available to be applied to that purpose, for until works of that character could be undertaken and carried out there would be little hope of Cyprus being able to pay its expenditure under British administration; for, however superior British might be to Turkish rule, it would necessarily be more costly. It was certain that they now had to pay an enormous proportion of the Revenue of the Island to the Sultan. They entered into a rash bargain, when it was agreed to pay the Sultan whatever the surplus of the Island might have been for the five years preceding the Anglo-Turkish Convention. The Turkish idea of the surplus Revenue to be derived from the Island was to take everything it produced and leave nothing behind. The result was the position in which they now found themselves; they had to pay

away to the Sultan the best part of the Revenue that could be obtained, and all that was left, instead of affording a margin for works and improvements, was not even sufficient to maintain a civil administration of the Island under British rule.

MR. BOURKE said, that if the House desired it he could enter into the questions upon the Vote at some length. He did not, however, think that that was a favourable occasion for doing so; and he would confine himself to answering the questions which had been addressed to him by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson). First, with regard to the constitution of the police force, he might say that it was to consist of exactly the same class of persons who now formed the military police. Some were Greeks, and some were Turks, and the selection of the members of the force would be left entirely to the discretion of the Chief Commissioner. With respect to the sum taken for interest upon money borrowed, it must be remembered that the money had not yet been borrowed. The Estimate was one which had been prepared in Cyprus, and he thought that they at least knew there what interest would be required to be paid for money borrowed. The right hon. Gentleman very truly said that the money which was to be borrowed was not to be spent upon irrigation. The right hon. Gentleman was also perfectly right in dwelling upon the pressing necessity of irrigation; but it had been thought best to postpone irrigation until the roads had been put in a satisfactory condition. Whether irrigation or the improvement of the roads ought to be the first matter taken in hand he did not know, and he could only say that it had been thought right to begin with the roads.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE wished to make some explanation as to what he had said with regard to the number of the police. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had stated that he had not given the right number of the police. He wished to explain that he had no means of knowing the exact number of the police; but, finding what the number was in one district, he multiplied that by six, and so arrived at the number of 1,100.

*Mr. Dodson*

That number, he found, was to be maintained for the sum of £23,000.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 85; Noes 39: Majority 46.—(Div. List, No. 219.)

#### NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND) BILL—[BILL 246.]

(*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

##### COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the Committee be deferred till Monday next."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

MR. MELDON appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow this Bill to be passed during the present Session. A Bill was brought in in 1874, and the promise had been repeated on various occasions since, that the grievances with which the Bill dealt should be removed. A promise was given in the beginning of the present year on behalf of the Government that the Bill should be brought in; but, nevertheless, it had only been recently introduced. Irish Members were unanimous as to the propriety of the measure; and he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fix the Bill for such a time that it might be passed before the end of the Session.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he was very anxious to proceed with the Bill, and he trusted they might have an opportunity of considering it.

Motion agreed to.

Committee deferred till Monday next.

#### EAST INDIA LOAN (ANNUITIES) BILL.

(*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Rukes.*)

[BILL 275.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the object of this Bill was to allow money to be raised for purposes of the Indian Government. He had been startled to find that the money to be raised under this Bill was to be made into a per-

at loan upon the Consolidated Fund. He hoped that the Government would give them some assurance that it was not to be made a permanent charge upon England. The great objection was that money should not be raised in a manner that the obligation was to be upon England rather than upon the Consolidated Fund.

Lord Lytton would not concern himself very much to see to the repayment of the money. He would say—"We need not trouble ourselves about it, and when it comes due we will appeal to the Government in respect of it." Lord Lytton would, year after year, allege that the circumstances were unfavourable, and beg the Government not to press for the repayment of the money. He would like to know what would be the effect of that Bill placing the money upon the Consolidated Fund? Would it be that if the Indian Government did not pay it would not be necessary to bring the matter before the House, and that the money would be a charge upon the Consolidated Fund?

COURTNEY wished to ask a question before the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose. He entirely assented to the necessity of permitting £2,000,000 to be raised by an addition to the permanent fund; but how was it to be raised? Commissioners of the National Debt were buying and cancelling stock almost daily; and if they now raised this in the open market, they would be adding to the debt with one hand, while repaying it with the other.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that it was assumed that the Government would pay what she contracted to and that they looked for certain to be paid off every year. It was proposed by the Bill that the repayments should be made, in every case, into the sinking fund. If in any year India did not make the proper payment, then the Government would be brought before the House. As to the mode of raising the sum, he would make no objection; but he believed the National Debt Commissioners would advance it out of monies in their hands, without going to the money market.

Commissioners would advance it out of monies in their hands, without going to the money market.

I read a second time, and committed to the House.

# EAST INDIA LOAN (£5,000,000) BILL.

[BILL 197.]

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

## COMMITTEE. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th July], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would remember that when that Bill was before the House on a former occasion he had promised that a fair opportunity should be given for discussing it. He certainly did not think that the Bill ought to be proceeded with at that late hour; but, of course, he was in the hands of the Government in the matter. He might say that it would be totally impossible at that time to discuss objections to the measure. If the Bill was proceeded with, he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would give some more explanation with regard to it than had yet been done. The Bill was originally introduced with the explanation that its object was to meet certain difficulties with regard to exchanges. That had now passed over, and, in all probability, the object of the Government in proceeding with the measure had no reference to that subject. He could perfectly understand that it might be the object of the Government to retain a certain margin of money in their own hands; but the sum which was to be taken under the present Bill was too large. He feared that the possession of the funds which the Bill sanctioned would put the Indian Government in a position to carry on another Afghan War without any additional resources. Her Majesty's Government were not likely to do anything unreasonable or contrary to precedent; but they must remember that they had in India a Governor General who had done some things contrary to what had been done before, and they should not put it in his power to enter upon a war without coming to the House for funds to do so. He hoped that they would have some explanation from the Government with regard to the Bill.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN observed, that he had given Notice of a Resolution to the effect that the time had arrived when the Natives of India ought to have some share in the representation of the country. At that time in the morning it was impossible to raise a debate upon such an important question; and he should, therefore, not move the Resolution of which he had given Notice until early next Session, or in the next Parliament.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thanked both hon. Gentlemen for permitting the Bill to proceed on that occasion. The questions in which the hon. Gentlemen were respectively interested were questions of very great interest, and deserved time for their full discussion. At the time the Bill was introduced the principle upon which the Government promoted it was explained; and it was only necessary for him to remark that the object was to give power to the Secretary of State for India to raise money in that country, if necessary, for the purpose of meeting the demands of the Indian Government.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered in Committee*.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Power to the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise any sum not exceeding £5,000,000).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL begged to move an Amendment that stood in his name to the effect that the amount of money which the Bill authorized to be raised should be reduced to £2,000,000. His object in moving that Amendment was that it might be made clearer for what object it was proposed to take power to raise so large a sum as £5,000,000. For all purposes in connection with exchange, the sum of £2,000,000 would be quite sufficient. He would seriously repeat his opinion, that the effect of permitting so large a sum as £5,000,000 to be raised would be to enable the Indian Government to use it for another war, or for other military purposes, without previously coming to the House for authority.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 12, to leave out the word "Five," in order to insert the word "Two."—(Sir George Campbell.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Five' stand part of the Clause."

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN remarked, that when the Bill was first introduced the amount which it was proposed to take power to raise was £10,000,000, and that had been reduced to half that sum; and he thought it might well be reduced to a still smaller sum.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that he had already explained to the House the reason for reducing the sum which the Bill authorized to be borrowed to £5,000,000. It was only desired to obtain power to raise that money, if absolutely necessary, in order to meet the necessities of the exchanges between India and England. He was sure the House would like to receive an announcement that nothing had been borrowed under the Bill, and, if it were possible, nothing would be borrowed. But, after full consideration of all the facts of the case, and after consultation with the financial authorities, they had felt that it was not consistent with the provision that they ought to make if they took power to borrow a less sum than £5,000,000. During the next week Parliament would rise, and there would be an interval of something like six months before it sat again. During that time they had to provide for the Indian Government about £1,000,000 or £1,500,000 per month. It was absolutely impossible to say but that they might at any time be compelled to suspend their drawings, and they would then be left without any resources, unless they had the powers given by the Bill. Without the authority given by the Bill they would only be able to borrow temporarily, and at a great loss. He could assure the Committee that he had gone over the matter very carefully in consultation with those best informed on the subject; and, under all the circumstances of the case, he did not think he should be justified in agreeing to taking power by the Bill to borrow any less sum than £5,000,000.

MR. FAWCETT said, that it was impossible at that time to discuss the important questions raised by that Bill. The Bill had been three months upon the Paper, and during that time the circumstances under which it was first required to obtain the money had very much changed, and there was not the same necessity at the present time for so large a sum as when the Bill was first

did not intend, and that they never proposed, to deal with exchanges in the way of speculation. It seemed to him that £2,000,000 would be quite sufficient for the purpose for which they said they required it. He would further point out to the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary that he had not given any answer to the point he had raised—namely, as to whether the £5,000,000 might not be spent for any other purpose not specially sanctioned or contemplated by Parliament? He would like to know whether it was the case that if the Indian Government became involved in any fresh war they could not spend that £5,000,000 for the purposes of such war without the sanction of Parliament? It seemed to him that the proper limit for the money to be borrowed under the Act was the sum which would be necessary solely to meet the purpose the Government now stated. With respect to fresh troubles in Afghanistan, it should be remembered that by law the Government of India were not authorized to spend the Indian Revenues in carrying on any war beyond the Frontiers of India. If any such necessity arose, it was necessary, first, for them to come to Parliament to obtain the sanction to the expenditure. But the Frontiers of India had now been carried beyond the Indus, and a question might arise as to where the Frontiers of India were now situate. They had established a political Resident at Cabul, and it might be a question whether the Frontiers of India had been extended not only in that direction, but in others. He should like some specific assurance that the passing of the Bill would not enable the Government to carry on another war in India without coming to Parliament.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that if the hon. Member was serious in the question which he had put, he could only say that it was humanly possible for the money raised under the Bill to be applied to the purposes he had stated. Upon the extreme improbability of that course being taken he need not, however, remark. Although it was perfectly true that things were better at that time than they were when the Bill was introduced, yet, as regarded the exchange, he could not see that they had much improved, and it was absolutely necessary to obtain power to raise the money.

*Sir George Campbell*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL was sure that the Government would not make a war if they could help it; but he did not understand the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary to say that if it should be determined to make a war the £5,000,000 could not be used for that purpose without first coming to Parliament for further authority. If that were so, he would leave it in the hands of the House to determine whether it was right or prudent to leave such a power in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. E. STANHOPE remarked, that the Government would have to come to Parliament for a Vote in the case of any expedition beyond the Frontiers of India.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Bill would place £5,000,000 in the hands of the Government, to use for any purpose to which they chose to apply it. He could not help thinking that it would be quite sufficient for the purpose of meeting the difficulties of the exchange that the Government should take a sum equivalent to two months' drawing.

MR. WHITWELL observed, that there was a question how far the Vote of Credit was to extend. He did not see any reason for putting the Vote of Credit in the hands of the Government for a period exceeding 10 years.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 53; Noes 18: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 220.)

MR. COURTNEY said, that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary had accepted all his Amendments. He would only remark, therefore, that they simply provided for the mode in which the money was to be borrowed.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

House resumed.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

EXCHEQUER BILLS AND BONDS (No. 2)

BILL—[BILL 289.]

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed.  
"That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Mr. RYLANDS wished to point out that the Bill had only just been printed, and had not yet been placed in the hands of hon. Members. It was, therefore, somewhat inconvenient that it should be taken on that occasion. There was one point in the Bill upon which he should like some information. It was proposed to raise a sum or sums not exceeding, in the whole, £4,200,000, by the issue of Exchequer Bonds. The Bill stated the Exchequer Bonds issued in pursuance of that power should be repaid within a period not exceeding three years and less than 12 months from the date of such Bonds. It seemed to him that the result of the Bill was to be the postponement for an indefinite period of the sum of money which it was proposed to raise—practically, to make up for the deficiency of the last three years. Although the Bonds were, as he had said, for three years, yet there was a power to renew them for a considerably longer period.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL remarked that he was about to call attention to the same point. They had already given the Government power to raise £2,000,000, and they were then asked to give power to raise a further sum of £4,200,000. It was desirable to have some assurance from the Government as to whether or not it was intended that the sum should be made an addition to the permanent Debt.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the Exchequer Bonds which were to be issued were, in a great measure, to renew other bills which became due in the course of a few days. The present Bill was drawn in the same form as similar Bills were always drawn, and named three years as the period of currency for the Bonds. It was only contemplated to pursue the usual course in respect of the Bonds in question.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS  
(WATER EXPENSES) BILL—[BILL 204.]  
(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir Charles W. Dilke,  
Mr. Rodwell*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 7th August.*]

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preamble postponed.

Clause 1 (Short title).

Mr. MONK moved, in page 2, line 11, after "works," to insert "indemnity," so as to make the clause read—

"This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Metropolitan Board of Works Indemnity Act, 1879."

*Amendment agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Provision for defraying expenses of Board in relation to Water Bills.)

Mr. MONK, in moving, in page 2, line 14, after "thereto," to insert "when the same have been duly audited and taxed," said: I think, perhaps, that if my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) intends to move the Schedule to the Bill of which he has given Notice, we ought also to add the words "referred to in the Schedule annexed to the Bill."

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I shall move it when we come to it.

*Amendment agreed to.*

On Motion of Mr. MONK, the words "referred to in the Schedule to this Act annexed" were also inserted.

Mr. MONK moved, in page 2, line 14, after "as," to insert "if they were."

*Amendment agreed to.*

Mr. MONK moved, in page 2, line 14, after "expenses," to insert "legally."

*Amendment agreed to.*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, in page 2, line 16, at end, to add, "such expenses being first duly audited."

Mr. MONK: That will be unnecessary now, in consequence of the adoption of one of my Amendments.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Expenses of Act).

Mr. MONK: As my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board agrees to the omission of this clause, it is unnecessary for me to

move the Amendments which stand in my name.

Clause omitted.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG moved the addition of the following Schedule to the Bill:—

Details of Amounts paid or payable by the Board in the years 1878 and 1879 for expenses in relation to the Water Supply of the Metropolis.

Amount paid in the year 1878.  
(Disallowed by the Auditor.)

|   | £     | s. | d. | £     | s. | d. |
|---|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|
| Counsel . . . . .   | 1,045 | 15 | 0  |       |    |    |
| Engineers (re house fittings and as witnesses) . . . . .                  | 105   | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
| Chemists (analysis of water and as witnesses) . . . . .                   | 1,438 | 6  | 0  |       |    |    |
| District surveyors (information as to levels of basements, &c.) . . . . . | 257   | 5  | 0  |       |    |    |
| Parliamentary agents . . . . .  | 1,378 | 3  | 7  |       |    |    |
| Lithography, maps, plans, &c. . . . .                                     | 416   | 6  | 1  |       |    |    |
| Shorthand notes . . . . .   | 29    | 15 | 10 |       |    |    |
| Wages and travelling expenses of assistants . . . . .                     | 827   | 14 | 10 |       |    |    |
| Advertisements . . . . .  | 1,105 | 11 | 10 |       |    |    |
| Incidental expenses . . . . .   | 7     | 5  | 9  |       |    |    |
|   | <hr/> |    |    | 6,611 | 3  | 11 |

Amount paid or payable in the year 1879.  
Paid to 30th June 1879.

|   | £     | s. | d. | £       | s. | d. |
|---|-------|----|----|---------|----|----|
| Engineers (re new works and purchase of existing works and as witnesses) . . . . .              | 6,320 | 7  | 8  |         |    |    |
| Geologists (re geological formation of places from which samples of water were taken) . . . . . | 348   | 4  | 10 |         |    |    |
| Chemists (analysis of water and as witnesses) . . . . .   | 276   | 10 | 0  |         |    |    |
| Surveyors (information as to levels of basements, &c.) . . . . .                                | 20    | 16 | 0  |         |    |    |
| Travelling expenses of assistants . . . . .   | 16    | 0  | 0  |         |    |    |
| Advertisements . . . . .  | 53    | 15 | 0  |         |    |    |
|   | <hr/> |    |    | £7,035  | 13 | 6  |
| Estimated amount to meet outstanding accounts and liabilities . . . . .                         | 1,500 | 0  | 0  |         |    |    |
|   | <hr/> |    |    | 8,535   | 13 | 6  |
|   | <hr/> |    |    | £15,146 | 17 | 5  |

Motion agreed to.

Schedule added to the Bill.

*Mr. Monk*

Preamble.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, in page 1, line 1, to leave out from "works" to "pressure," inclusive, in line 6.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. MONK moved, in page 1, line 6, after "Parliament," to insert, "in excess of the powers conferred upon them by Parliament." He said: I move the Amendment which stands in my name, and I need scarcely say that in so doing I fully admit that the Board of Works—my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman and his Colleagues—acted in good faith in the course which they took in promoting these Water Bills, and that in the belief that in promoting the said Bills they were acting within the powers conferred upon them. If my hon. and gallant Friend desires to have the words "in good faith" inserted in this part of the Preamble I see no objection; but I move the words which stand in my name.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Perhaps the Committee will be kind enough to adopt the Amendment in this form—"in good faith, but beyond the powers conferred upon them by Parliament." I think that would meet the case, and would be more agreeable to my Colleagues on the Board.

Amendment, so amended, agreed to.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved in page 1, line 7, to leave out from "Parliament," to "supply," in line 9.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. MONK moved, in page 1, line 23, to leave out from "expenses" to "expenses," inclusive, in line 25, and insert, "which has been disallowed by the auditor."

Amendment agreed to.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, in page 1, line 28, to leave out from "were," to "Metropolis," in page 2, line 2, and insert, "acting within their legal powers."

Amendment agreed to.

Preamble, as amended, agreed to.

House resumed.

Bill reported, as amended.



SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I do not know whether the House will allow the Bill to be read a third time now; but I appeal to the House to allow that to be done.

MR. MONK: I suppose it may be done to-day, Sir; but I think it should be reported first, and then, if there is no objection, my hon. and gallant Friend might take the third reading, perhaps, after the Report. But I think it would be a very unusual proceeding indeed to read the Bill a third time before the Amendments have been examined and considered upon Report.

Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN  
(EDUCATION) BILL—[BILL 93.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Scott, Mr. Isaac, Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be taken into Consideration this day."—(*Mr. Wheelhouse.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE begged to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer why he permitted Bills of private Members to be placed on the Paper for the Saturday Sitting when they were opposed Bills? It was contrary to all precedent to permit the Bills of private Members, when they were hotly opposed, to be placed on the Paper for the Saturday Sitting.

MR. MONK said, that he had given a Notice of opposition to that Bill. The hon. and learned Member in charge of the Bill wrote to him some weeks ago, and requested him to withdraw his Notice of opposition. In reply, he intimated to the hon. Member that if he would accept his Amendments he should be most happy to withdraw from all opposition. A considerable time having elapsed, and having received no reply from the hon. Member, he asked him whether he acceded to his request, and the only answer given by the hon. and learned Member was that he had not taken the trouble to look at his Amendments. If the hon. and learned Member would not take the trouble to look at his

Amendments, of course he had no other choice than to continue his opposition to the Bill. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was from no fault of his that the hon. and learned Gentleman had not taken advantage of opportunities of bringing his Bill before the House. In his (Mr. Monk's) opinion, it would be perfectly useless for him to bring it forward on Saturday, and he believed that the hon. and learned Gentleman had not the slightest desire to carry the Bill. His only object seemed to be that the Bill should appear day after day in his name upon the Orders of the House.

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, that there must certainly be some misapprehension upon his mind, or upon that of the hon. Member for Gloucester, with reference to the Bill. To the best of his belief he had never refused to consider the Amendments which either he or anyone else had proposed to the Bill. If any circumstance, or any words or act of his had created the impression on the mind of the hon. Member that he would not consider those Amendments, then he regretted the circumstances very much. But the hon. Member for Gloucester had gone out of his way to tell him that he did not want to pass the Bill, and that he had no wish or desire to do so. He could only say that he had tried to pass that Bill for 10 years. He had tried to pass it against the opposition of five or six hon. Members of that House, and no more. Every single stage as to which opposition could be brought to bear had been made use of by those five or six hon. Gentlemen. It must be as well known as anything in the world could be that, so far from wishing to have the Bill upon the Paper, and not to pass it into law, he had over and over again sat in that House night after night, not only for months in that Session, but for months in previous Sessions, in order that those poor children might by some accident get a better chance of obtaining education than they now had. It was hard—very hard—that motives of that kind should be imputed to him, knowing as he did how earnestly he had tried to pass that Bill. He hoped that such a statement would never go forth again with respect to that or any other Bill to which he had put his name.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought that no one who had watched the conduct of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Leeds in that House, especially in reference to that Bill, could doubt his sincerity or the spirit that always animated him with regard to that Bill. His own impression—and he had observed his hon. and learned Friend frequently—was that he had brought the Bill forward from a heartfelt desire to accomplish what was a most excellent and desirable object. With respect to the observations of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, he fully acknowledged their force, and that they were placed in some little difficulty. There could be no doubt that, with regard to Saturday's Sitting, it ought to be confined to Government Business. But they were in a peculiar position with regard to the Sitting for that day. By some means, a Private Bill had been fixed for consideration that morning. Then there was the Bill of his hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works with respect to water expenses, also fixed for Saturday's Sitting. Under those circumstances, he felt it would be rather hard to set up a strict rule against his hon. and learned Friend, for it might seem invidious to prevent his Bill being fixed for the Saturday's Sitting, when two other Bills of private Members had been allowed to be put down for that day. He would, however, leave the matter entirely in the hands of the House.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE moved to leave out "this day," in order to insert "on Monday next."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "this day," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Sir Charles Dilke*,)—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words 'this day' stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to*.

MR. MONK remarked, that the hon. and learned Gentleman said that he did not recollect what took place. He entirely accepted that explanation, for, no doubt, the matter had escaped his memory. He must repeat, however, that he had told the hon. and learned Member that he should be happy to meet him at any time in order that the Amendments might be considered.

MR. RYLANDS rose for the purpose of saying that a Division was not challenged on the question, in consequence of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He understood from him that he accepted the principle for which the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea contended. They believed that the practice of restricting a Saturday's Sitting to Government Business was a most convenient and a most important one; but they considered that, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated that two other Private Bills had been allowed to be put down for Saturday, it was unnecessary to go to a Division upon the matter. He rose for the purpose of expressing a hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House would adhere to the principle in the future, and not allow the Bills of private Members, when they were opposed, to be placed on the Paper for a Saturday's Sitting.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER entirely accepted the proposition.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Consideration, as amended, *deferred till this day*.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £34,986,621 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Saturday, 9th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—Resolution [August 8] reported.  
PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) \*.  
Second Reading—Public Works Loans (No. 2) [260].  
Committee—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (*re-comm.*) \* [268]—*n.p.*

*Committee—Report—East India Loan (Annuities) \* [275]; Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) [289].*

*Committee—Report—Third Reading—Prevention of Crime \* [281]; Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment [287], and passed.*

*Considered as amended—East India Loan (\$5,000,000) \* [197]; Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) [93].*

*Considered as amended—Third Reading—Endowed Schools Acts Continuance \* [272]; Saint Giles Cathedral (Edinburgh) [238]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) [204]; Artizans' Dwellings Act (1868) Extension [236], and passed.*

*Third Reading—Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment \* [135], and passed.*

*Withdrawn—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) \* [119].*

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

### QUESTIONS.

#### IRELAND—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN GALWAY.—QUESTION.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, What are the names of the owners of the properties in the neighbourhood of Clifden who have been exempted from the extra police tax; on what grounds, and at whose instigation, such exemptions have been made; and, whether it is legal to assess this tax upon the owner of the police barracks at Clifden, which are let to the Inspector General on lease for a long term of years?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I have sent this Question to Ireland, with a view to local inquiries being made; but I have not yet received any communication, and am, therefore, unable to answer it. I can only now say, as I said before, that taxation is the rule, and exemptions are the exception. I know nothing as to who the owner is who is referred to by the hon. Gentleman in the Question.

#### CRIMINAL LAW—THE DERBY MURDER—CONDUCT OF THE JURY.

##### QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a statement, very generally circulated, to the effect that, on the trial of Mainwaring for the murder of a policeman at Derby, the jury were divided in opinion—one section of them being in

favour of a verdict of wilful murder, whilst another portion were for a verdict of manslaughter; that, after a lengthened argument, lots were drawn—the agreement being that the drawer of the blank card should decide the verdict—that the drawer of the blank card at first inclined for manslaughter, but eventually, out of a feeling of deference to those opposed to that view, “tossed up,” when the toss was in favour of “sudden death,” and a verdict was accordingly returned of “wilful murder;” and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made to ascertain the truth of this allegation; and, if true, whether he will take steps to have the sentence recorded re-considered?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: My attention has been called to a paragraph in the newspapers relating to this matter. All I can say at present is that I cannot imagine how any jury could possibly be guilty of such a diabolical act; for I cannot conceive anything more vicious, more wicked, or more absolutely calculated to be subversive of the ends of justice. If the names of any jurymen guilty of such a dereliction of duty were brought before me, I should certainly lay the case before the Law Officers of the Crown, with a view to steps being taken to punish them, and prevent them ever being jurymen again. I am happy to see in one newspaper a distinct contradiction has been given by one of the jury to the statement in question; but I have not yet received any additional information in reference to it, and can only say that I hope to have an official confirmation of that contradiction.

#### AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS—THE COMMISSION.—QUESTIONS.

MR. BURT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can state what are the special difficulties which have made it impossible for the Cabinet to appoint a representative of the labourers on the Royal Commission about to inquire into agricultural depression; and, whether, considering the strong desire on the part of the labourers to be represented, and the great interests they have at stake in an inquiry of the kind, he can hold out any hope that steps may yet be taken to secure the representation of this body on the Commission?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I can assure the hon. Member and the House that it is not from any want of sympathy with the labourers, or from any want of effort to give effect to it, that we have failed to make the arrangements suggested in the Question. The Government have done their best to find a labourer whom they could place on the Commission, but they have not succeeded in finding any actual *bond fide* labourer who could give the time, or, if that difficulty were overcome, would be recognized as being sufficiently representative of the class to undertake the duties of such a responsible position. The Commission will, however, contain the names of many gentlemen who take a sincere interest in the welfare of the agricultural labourers; and the Government are well assured that it will be one of the very first and most important duties of the Commission to inquire and ascertain in what way they can best arrive at a full statement of the feelings and wishes of the agricultural labourers in different parts of the Kingdom, and to provide for evidence being brought forward and carefully sifted upon those subjects which they wish to bring under the notice of the Commission.

MR. CALLAN: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether care will be taken that some gentleman connected with Ireland will be placed upon the Commission who represents the interests of the tenant farmers of the country, and that the representation will not be confined to landlords?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I prefer not to answer any Question as to the composition of the Commission until Monday. The hon. Member for Tralee (the O'Donoghue) has given Notice of a Question which I shall be able to answer on that day.

MR. BURT: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Mr. Arch, who enjoys the confidence of the agricultural labourers, and was very recently an agricultural labourer himself, has a thorough knowledge of their position and requirements?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have always understood that Mr. Arch was an agricultural labourer; but I doubt whether his name would altogether give satisfaction to that class.

# CYPRUS—LOAN FOR PUBLIC WORKS.

## QUESTIONS.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Under what authority the High Commissioner of Cyprus has borrowed or proposes to borrow £34,000 for Public Works, and what is the estimated rate of interest?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, the authority for the loan was an Ordinance of the Legislative Government of Cyprus. He did not think it expedient at present to say what were the details or provisions of that Ordinance.

MR. CHILDERS asked, Whether the Ordinance had been passed?

MR. BOURKE: The Ordinance has not yet been passed.

MR. CHILDERS: Has any loan yet been raised?

MR. BOURKE: No.

MR. RAMSAY asked, Whether it was to be understood that the Legislative Council of Cyprus had power to borrow money for which this country might become directly or indirectly responsible, or in consequence of which it might suffer loss?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The money will be borrowed, not on the responsibility of this country, but on the security of the Revenues of Cyprus itself.

# THE LATE PRINCE IMPERIAL — THE SLAIN TROOPERS.—QUESTION.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state whether any efforts have been made to recover the bodies of the two British troopers who lost their lives at the same time as Prince Louis Napoleon; and, if the bodies have been recovered, how they have been disposed of; whether any steps have been taken to ascertain if these unfortunate men had any parents or relatives dependent upon them to mourn their loss; and, if so, whether provision will be made for the support of such parents or relatives; and, whether the Government will use their influence to procure a suitable site for the erection of a memorial near to that which it is proposed to raise to the memory of Prince Louis Napoleon?

COLONEL STANLEY: All I can state, on the information I have been able to obtain, is that the bodies of the troopers

referred to were recovered at the same time as that of the Prince Imperial; and, as nothing has been said to the contrary, I presume that they were buried on the spot. That would be the most likely course. Those troopers belonged to the Colonial Force, and, consequently, I have no information as to their relatives; but I believe that funds are being raised in the Colony for the support of the families of those who have fallen in the war. I give that only as a matter of private information; I am not able to state it with authority. With regard to the latter part of the Question, as to whether the Government will use their influence to procure a suitable site for the erection of a memorial near to that which is proposed to raise to the memory of Prince Louis Napoleon, it has already been explained to the House that that is a matter in which the Government have no right to interfere.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

[BILL 260.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that as probably Amendments to be submitted would offer occasion for answering any objections which might be urged against the measure, he would now state, as briefly as possible, the grounds on which he asked the House to assent to it. The subject was one to which he had for some time been calling the attention of Parliament and the country; and, therefore, no one had reason to complain that due notice had not been given of the intention of the Government to deal with the question, which was becoming one of very considerable importance. The principle of making advances from the State to local bodies for the promotion of great undertakings was of long standing. Since 1792 the State had been in the habit of making advances, from time to time, for all sorts of objects. Sometimes they had advanced money to assist trade, sometimes they had been made to assist cases of distress, some-

times to facilitate the construction of public works of importance. That system had gone on, under various forms, and of late years it had been put upon a better footing than before. It was now administered through the assistance of a body of gentlemen to whom the Government and the country were under the very deepest obligation. They ought never to miss the opportunity of thanking those gentlemen, who gratuitously gave their services as Public Works Loan Commissioners, for the very faithful and valuable assistance which they rendered to them in the matter. Now, he wished to say that the system had proved more costly to the State than, perhaps, some people were disposed to believe. He attributed the fact not at all to any want of care or to any want of astuteness on the part of the Commissioners. There was no doubt that the system on which they proceeded did necessarily involve them in a certain amount of risk, and from time to time there had been—and almost must be—a certain amount of loss in respect to advances. Up to a very recent period the advances were made upon a very moderate scale, and were generally confined to a few hundred thousands a-year. They were made on this principle—that there were many cases in which, although good security could be offered, it was difficult for persons who only wished to raise small sums to obtain the money they wanted on reasonable terms, or even any terms at all. Therefore, the State came forward and made advances on security at a moderate rate of interest. A new development had been given to this system by Acts of Parliament, giving advances for local works from the National Exchequer. Large advances had been made; and if the Report of the Public Works Loans Commissioners of last year—the third annual Report—were examined, it would be seen at what a rate these advances were going on. In the Report there appeared a statement showing the sums advanced by the Public Works Loan Board between the 1st of April, 1869, and the 31st of March, 1878—a period of 10 years. For 1869 the sum advanced was £773,000; in 1870, £896,000; in 1871, £561,000; in 1872, £371,000; in 1873, £560,000. That brought them to 1873; but then suddenly a leap was taken, and they began to see advances

made at a much greater rate. In 1874 the sum advanced amounted to £2,076,000; in 1875, to £2,320,000; in 1876, to £3,320,000; in 1877, to £3,249,000; and in the year 1878, to £4,300,000. He did not know what the amount advanced in 1878-9 was, but he believed it to be still larger. It would thus be seen that between March, 1869, and March, 1873, £7,900,000 was advanced. That was an insignificant sum as compared with £20,580,000, at which figures the advances stood in 1878. In that way the advances were growing, and the credit which the State was providing was advancing at a rate which was very serious. But they were only now at the beginning of a great system, and this was the effect of the operation of certain Acts which had been passed quite recently and had hardly begun to develop themselves yet. Considerable advances had been made under the Education Acts, and advances under the Sanitary Acts were becoming of such a magnitude as to render it a matter of serious national importance to consider where we were going and how far the system could be carried. It was not comparatively a matter of much importance when only a sum of some £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 was concerned; but when the sum reached £26,000,000 or £27,000,000, and the advances were increasing every year, it was clear there would soon be an enormous sum lent out, and that it was a matter that ought to engage the serious attention of the House. Everyone who took the slightest interest in the welfare of this country should consider how far that system should be carried out, and how far restrictions should be put on advances that were now being made. "But," he might be told, "this is all very well; there are large advances made for excellent purposes and on good security, and they are made at a rate which does not involve any loss to the State, but, on the contrary, provides a certain profit to the State." They were told that, generally speaking, these loans were made at  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent interest. The State could borrow at  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent, and, therefore, there was a profit of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent, and that was sufficient to cover any risk or any expenditure which might be incurred in connection with the system. If that were the case, there would be something

to be said; but the main point of his argument was that the amount of interest that they were now charging when they charged  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent was not sufficient to cover the risks which they ran. He had on former occasions given some figures to the House on this point; and he might say, speaking of the loan transactions of the State as a whole, that the result was something of this kind:—Since 1792 the State had been a lender of £85,883,000, and, assuming that all the debts outstanding were good debts, they should get back £89,900,000—that was to say, they should receive back all the principal advanced and the sum of £4,000,000 as representing interest. It was difficult to say how much that interest represented, but careful calculations had been made; and the result at which they arrived was that it probably represented something equivalent to 12s. per cent on all the money that had been advanced. If, therefore, they had been paying—as they certainly had—a good deal more than 3 per cent, and had not received back more than 12s. per cent, it could not be said that these transactions had been an unmixed benefit to the State. Then he would, perhaps, be told that these advances were made in years gone by on questionable security and with results that they ought to have anticipated—in point of fact, that many of the loans were gifts. Of course, they were much wiser than their ancestors—that they knew; but, at the same time, if they were to go back and examine the history of these various advances, they would find, he thought, that probably there would have been great indignation expressed by those who made the advances if they had been called gifts. That might or might not be; but he could not help thinking that they were a little too apt to assume that what was done a few years ago was done recklessly, and that what they did now was done carefully, and that, therefore, they might assume that all these losses were matters of the past, and would never occur again. [An hon. MEMBER: They ought not to occur again.] He admitted that they ought not to occur again; but they might rest assured some bad debts would be made, and they must look for them. If the loans under the Harbours and Passing Tolls Acts were carefully analyzed, it would be found that  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent had been charged, and that there

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had been a loss of between £29,000 and £30,000 up to the 31st of March last, though the Acts were quite recent. This showed that with the best intentions and the utmost care they must make, and must calculate on making, some bad debts. What had been the result during the 62 years during which the Public Loan Commission had been in existence? They had been very careful in the advances they had made; but he found that in 62 years the sum issued from the Exchequer to the Public Works Loans Commissioners was £41,694,000. The whole of the money was to pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and they ought to have received into the Exchequer £10,937,000, but they had actually received only £9,362,000, or about £2 15s. per cent, and this, notwithstanding that during a great part of the time the loans had been made, not at the low rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, but that 4 per cent, and even 5 per cent, in some cases, had been charged. That had not resulted from any want of care, or of an earnest desire to examine into all the circumstances; but, as a matter of fact,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was not enough to cover the advances they made, and allow for bad debts. He was sometimes told they borrowed at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and even lower, and ought to make  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and even more. He had examined into the matter; and seeing the large amounts that were now involved, and the larger applications likely to come, it was absolutely necessary they should take steps for putting some proper restriction on the rate of borrowing, and that was the first and main provision of the Bill. The measure proposed that in cases where a loan was granted by the Commissioners it should bear interest at not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent if it was for a short period of not exceeding 20 years;  $3\frac{3}{4}$  if not exceeding 30 years; 4 per cent if for 40 years; and if for more than that  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. These rates had been decided on after careful consideration and communication with the Commissioners. Obviously, where the loan was for a long period the risk was greater; and it was, therefore, only reasonable that where the loan was only for a long period the rate of interest should be higher than if it was for a short period. That was one of the points of the Bill. The next point he had to draw attention to was the pro-

position in the Bill that the amount lent to any one body should not exceed £100,000 in any one year. Undoubtedly in the first beginning of those advances there was no question as to advancing large sums, as they had done recently. The great object was to assist small communities with money which they could otherwise hardly borrow without great disadvantage, the amounts generally being so small that they could hardly raise them in the open market; but since the passing of the Local Authorities Acts, to which he had referred, and which had done a good deal to stimulate local enterprise or exertions for the improvement of great localities, there had been a tendency, and a very natural one, on the part of those communities to come forward and ask for the advance of large sums for the completion of important works. Take, for instance, the case of the school boards. They knew that to those boards there had been very large sums advanced, and this was a matter which stood on a different footing from the other class of cases to which he referred. They anticipated that the amount of money which would be advanced for school buildings would be something like £4,000,000; that was their anticipation at the time of the passing of the Education Act, 1870, but more than that sum had been taken by one school board alone—that of London. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), who had taken so great and honourable an interest in the improvement of the town of Birmingham, had been one of the most energetic of the applicants for advances from the Public Works Loans Commissioners. Although they had had some passages of arms, he hoped the hon. Gentleman did not think he wished to throw any blame upon him for the persistency—the successful persistency—he had pursued. He hoped the hon. Member for Birmingham would not for a moment suppose he was questioning the character or propriety of the advances he applied for; but here was a case where they were asked, in a single application, to advance £1,500,000. What was the immediate effect of that in other towns? There was a similar desire on their part for similar improvements, and hence there were the applications for the borrowing of money with which to carry out the improvements. They must,

therefore, be prepared from time to time for very large demands of the kind, and there was no particular reason why that which had been done for Birmingham should not be done for other towns. Then it might be said—"If you are calling on municipalities to carry out great works for the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes and the sanitary condition of these towns when we know that these things can only be done by borrowing, you ought to have taken into consideration the demands that would be made upon you." He wished to remind the House that when they saw what that system was likely to grow to, they did endeavour to introduce a system which he thought was a proper mode of dealing with cases of that kind—that was to say, in 1875 an Act, called the Local Authorities Loans Act, was passed, which provided facilities for those great local authorities to borrow directly in the open market the large sums they desired, and the object of that Bill was to obviate the necessity of claims of that kind on the Public Exchequer. An important community like Birmingham, and some other large constituencies of the country, might very well, by proper organization, raise the sums they required at a very reasonable rate of interest—just as the Metropolitan Board of Works had done in London. He did not know whether there were any defects found in the Local Authorities Loans Act; but they had always said, if there were any, make them acquainted with those defects, and they would be most happy to propose remedies for them. He had only heard of one defect at present, and that was that under that Act the communities who made use of it, though they could borrow on very fair terms, could not borrow on such favourable terms as they could raise money from the State; that was to say, that people in the open market did not care to do what the State did—that was, to lend at a probable loss. That was a matter which ought seriously to engage the attention of Parliament; and it seemed to him to be perfectly reasonable that the Government should do what they proposed to do by this Bill—namely, to introduce a limit beyond which the advances should not be made in each single year. That measure would produce a very considerable effect. He had ob-

served that the effect which very large advances of this kind being made in a single year exercised upon the Exchequer was by no means to be underrated. If very large calls were made upon the Exchequer for advances of this kind, of course the Exchequer must find the money by borrowing in the open market; and although the State might borrow £1,000,000 or £2,000,000, or even £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, without materially affecting the rate of interest, still, if it came to meeting an advance of £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 a-year, the State, going into the open market and borrowing those large sums, would inevitably raise the rate of interest against itself; and it was a matter very seriously to be considered whether the Government were justified, as a financial operation, in making these very large calls upon the Money Market. What he proposed, therefore, was that they should limit the amount that could be called for in any one year to £100,000. There was a third clause in the Bill, and that was a clause which, as he mentioned yesterday, he was prepared to abandon, at all events for the present year. It was a clause which prohibited the repayment of loans which were made for more than 20 years by means of annuities. It would be quite obvious to anyone who reflected on the subject that in the case of long loans there was a natural desire on the part of those undertaking the works to borrow money, and to spread the repayment of it over as long a period as possible; but the effect of spreading the payment for works over a long period was this—that those who had planned and executed the work, and perhaps the generation who were most benefited by it, passed away, whilst a very small proportion of the capital sum expended had been repaid; and that the repayment of the great bulk of the capital was thrown upon the succeeding generation, which might, perhaps, have views of its own; which might think, perhaps, that the action of its predecessors was not so good as should have been undertaken, and that the work was, perhaps, somewhat worn out; and that, at all events, the new works which had developed themselves rendered it very desirable, indeed, that the community should get rid of those old burdens as much as possible, in order to raise money for other purposes.

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If that were a case in which anyone but the State was the creditor there would be less danger; but it was quite obvious that the relations between a large community borrowing from the State—the relations between debtor and creditor in that case—were very different from the relations between a borrowing community and a bank or private capitalist who had advanced the money. The latter would say—"You are bound to pay us this debt which you have contracted, and you have shown us no reason whatever why we should remit a portion of it to you." On the other hand, where the parties concerned were a great city and the State, the representatives of the city had always a temptation to come to the State and to say—"This was money expended under your encouragement, or the encouragement of the State, a certain number of years ago. We were stimulated to do these things, and we laid out—or our ancestors laid out—a great deal of money in great haste. The burden falls upon us. We find these works do not suit the present day. You are very properly calling upon us to execute other works, and will you help us to do that by taking off, at all events, a part of the debt which we contracted for those other public purposes, and which, therefore, you are quite justified in taking off?" Well, that was a danger which might be very large, and which they must not put out of sight. At the present moment there could be no doubt whatever that the securities offered were good, and that the intention of repayment was perfect, and that the State was making these advances simply and entirely on commercial principles—making a fair bargain, and expecting to be repaid—but in the course of 20 or 30 years who could say what the relations between them might be? Again, there was always very great difficulty even with regard to the security. Where the security depended on the rates of a great community, one would be inclined to say those rates were a practically inexhaustible security; but changes might take place, and they did sometimes take place, even in very flourishing places, and it might turn out that the security became, in the course of time, somewhat deteriorated. He was informed one day of a case where a considerable sum had been advanced upon the security of the rates of a great

district, and he was told that amongst the ratepayers of that district there was a gentleman who was connected with mining operations. Well, it was considered exceedingly probable that his mine might be exhausted before the period came when the loan was paid off, and then the rates would feel it; and thus they might have serious difficulties which they could not at present contemplate or estimate. All these things were in the future, and they could not foresee the future sufficiently to imagine all the difficulties which might arise. Therefore it was desirable that they should, as far as possible, endeavour to limit the period during which those loans were to be repaid; and therefore it was that he proposed that they should prohibit the advance of loans to be paid by way of annuities, if they exceeded the period of 20 years. However, he was willing to let that matter stand over for further consideration. He thought, if the House were prepared to agree to the two first propositions which he made—one, that they should fix the rates of interest in the manner in which they were fixed in the 2nd clause of this Bill; and the other, that they should adopt the limit of £100,000, for the advances to be made in such cases—they might leave the question of repayment by annuities where it at present stood; that was, that there was a discretion to be exercised in the matter, and although many loans were made on better terms, when the money was repaid in a short period, still, there was no prohibition of repayment by annuities. He would only add that in Committee he would propose to introduce words to exempt cases in which anything had passed. The 5th clause provided that nothing in the Act should apply to any loan granted before the passing of the Act. He proposed to extend that as follows:—

"Provided, That, where, though a loan has not been actually granted before the passing of this Act, negotiations for the same have proceeded so far as to make it in the opinion of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury inequitable for such loan to be subject to the provisions of this Act, or any of them, such loan shall, for the purposes of those provisions, be deemed to be a loan granted before the passing of this Act."

They knew that there were not a few cases in which public bodies had undertaken to contract for works on the understanding that they would receive

loans from the Public Works Loans Commissioners upon the terms which had been before the public for some time; but, perhaps, they would not have actually completed their arrangements so far as to get a grant from that body, although they might have carried them so far as to have established a moral claim for consideration; and he proposed to provide for the admission of such moral claims. They had no desire in any way to defer the work, which they had themselves been so anxious to promote, of local improvement, and they had no desire to draw back from the negotiations which they had entered into. He was not so much looking at the present or the past as to the future, because he was quite satisfied the system was growing in an alarming way. He was sure there was a necessity that they should put a limit upon it. Although he was ready to allow that no harm had been done, yet he thought it was necessary they should stop soon, and the sooner they did so, the less would be the inconvenience they should entail on all. He should have several opportunities of answering any objections that might be raised; but he hoped in what he had said that he had convinced the House it was a matter that they took up because they believed it to be of great national importance, so that they were only doing their duty in asking the House to agree to what was suggested.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have to move that this Bill be read a second time this day six months, and, in doing so, I think that it can only be described as meddle and muddle legislation. We are nominally engaged in the consideration of the Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill; but we are really engaged in considering the fourth distinct proposal which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made upon this subject in the past few months. When the Bill was introduced in the earlier part of the Session, a mistake was made, and it was withdrawn, and a substituted Bill laid upon the Table. That substituted Bill might have been supposed to contain the conclusions of the Government in reference to the subject. The Bill re-

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mained on the Notice Paper for a considerable time, and was withdrawn a month ago in consequence of an irregularity, and a third Bill was introduced. I find that in the third measure some very material alterations were made. In the first place, the money clauses were added; though I do not complain of that, if it was to the convenience of the House. But, in addition to that, an exception was made for the first time in favour of loans advanced under the Irish Land Act. Under the original Bill the whole of the system which has been in operation in Ireland, and under which a large number of persons have become proprietors of the land which they held, would have been done away with. But alterations were made in that respect in the third Bill. Well, then, we come to the statement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made to-day; and it now appears that in accordance with the pledge which he gave yesterday, he is prepared to make a further change in the Bill, dropping the 4th clause with reference to payment by annuities, and introducing a new clause. The Annuity Clause was a clause which most seriously affected local authorities. Under the existing system, the School Board of London—the largest borrower under the Acts—has to pay annually for the money which it borrows, both for sinking fund and interest—a rate equivalent to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum; but, under the Public Works Loans Amendment Bill (No. 2) they would have had to pay, in their first year, over 7 per cent. [*The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: The loans already granted would not be affected.*] But it would have had that effect in regard to all new loans; and, as the population of London is annually growing, and a considerable number of new schools erected every year, the charge upon the rate-payers would have been materially increased by the operation of that Bill. I may say that I acknowledge the great concessions made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in striking out this 4th clause; but it is to be regretted that the Government did not consider the propriety of taking that step at the commencement of the Session, because, if that had been done, a good deal of the opposition to this Bill would have been removed. I, at least, should have withdrawn my re-  
that the Bill should be put down

as the First Order of the Day. But, even as the Bill stands, I still object to it, because I believe it will tend to increase the burdens of the local authorities throughout the country, and without any sufficient necessity, or proportionate gain or advantage. Now, I must say that this measure is extremely inconsistent with the past professions of the Government. They have stated that they have done all in their power to relieve the local rates. I venture to think that their proposals have not had the desired effect, but have promoted local extravagance, and thrown away the money which would otherwise have come into the Imperial Exchequer. Still, their intentions were good; now, however, by the Bill before the House they are taking away with one hand what they have given with the other; and they are burdening us with unnecessarily stringent terms for loans which we raise to carry out the duties which the Government has imposed upon us. I admit that the continued and rapid growth of those loans call for the very serious attention of the Government, and also that the conditions under which loans are made could very well be revised and modified to advantage; but I do complain that a matter of this importance, affecting the whole local government of the country as it does, should be brought before a small House at the latter end of the Session. I therefore thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be satisfied with calling attention to the subject, and should now leave the matter over until next year. I would now wish to draw the attention of the House to the fact that this Bill will very materially affect a number of separate and distinct Acts; and, from a Return that has been issued, it will be seen that the numbers so affected will be 18 in England and 49 in Ireland. Seeing that there are several Consolidation Acts amongst them, I think it will be observed that the items of legislation which will be affected cannot but be very much more numerous. Loans have been made for almost every conceivable purpose—sanitary works, water-works, artisans' dwellings, education, school boards, markets, fairs, free libraries, public buildings, police stations, lighthouses, and other matters, including the "Bright Clauses" of the Land Act, and other matters connected with the

land in Ireland. Now, it is to be observed that, in many cases, it is desirable to grant loans which, in other cases, it is very undesirable to grant. It requires that each application should be very carefully considered on its own merits; and, therefore, it seems to me perfectly monstrous that, at this period of the Session, at one fell swoop, we should destroy the conveniences that have been afforded in times past for dealing with applications as they arose. I am now going to call attention to one of the clauses of the Bill, and the manner in which it affects the Artizans' Dwellings Act. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred to the case of my own borough; but I am happy to say that in Birmingham the requirements of the town have been completely satisfied. The Government granted to us £1,500,000 at 3½ per cent to carry out the work, and I say, further, that there is not the slightest doubt about the security which we have offered. In the first place, there is the freehold property of the actual value of the money advanced, which is yearly increasing in value, and there is, in addition, the whole of the rates of Birmingham, amounting to the annual rateable value of £1,500,000. *The Times*, in an article, stated that I wished to make a raid upon the Public Exchequer; but it is not I who went to the Government, the initiative came from the Government. They introduced into this House a Bill, and they take credit for the provision which they have made; but because Birmingham has taken advantage of the Artizans' Dwellings Act, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was surprised, and seemed to indicate that we should not have done so much, and that the Act should have been, like the Agricultural Holdings Act—a sham. If the present proposals of the Government had been the law in 1875, we should never have undertaken the great scheme of improvement which is now in progress. The low terms at which the money was offered us was a main inducement to the local authority, which would not have been justified in carrying out the work on any other conditions. I think, therefore, that if this Bill passes, all hope for further progress under the Artizans' Dwellings Act may be banished. The case of the Metropolitan Board of Works has been mentioned, and the fact that the Local

Loans Bill could be applied to the wants of local authorities; but, until Parliament chooses to give to provincial Corporations the same facilities that have been given to the Metropolitan Board of Works, it need not expect that they will take advantage of the Local Loans Bill. The Metropolitan Board of Works has been allowed to compound for stamp duty, and trustees have been authorized to invest in its stock. This last provision chiefly accounts for the high price commanded by Metropolitan stock in the market. In the autumn of last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer paid a visit to Birmingham; and I can say that there is no Member of Government to whom we should show more respect than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But he fell into bad hands, and confined himself to the Conservative Party of Birmingham. They constitute only a small portion of the community, and I am afraid I must say not a very intelligent portion of it either. Those persons must have told him that it was very desirable that he should explain to Birmingham the cause of the ever-increasing extravagance of the Government, which was then considered a serious matter in Birmingham. In an electioneering speech which he made on one occasion, he devoted himself to this subject of finance, and I am bound to say that he commented upon the expenditure of the local authorities of the country, rather than the expenditure of the Imperial Government, as the serious point; and he attributed the great amount of the loans that had been granted to local authorities to the action of the late Government. He said the late Government "are responsible for this legislation, and it is for us to see how it is to be stopped." But I think it will be seen that it is perfectly unreasonable to talk about local loans in reference to Imperial expenditure. All that ought to be shown in the national balance sheet is the loss or profit made on the transactions with local authorities. It is not true that the late Government were responsible entirely for the legislation referred to. Parliament thought fit to impose upon local authorities some new duties. Sometimes they were forced to carry out Acts, while at other times the Acts were permissive, and they were thus tempted to put them in force; and in return for the

*Mr. Chamberlain*

performance of those duties, some assistance was given by granting facilities for raising of money. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on May 24, 1875, said—

"It was important to bear in mind that a great proportion of the services—such as education and sanitary improvements—for which local authorities incurred debt were rendered for Imperial reasons and by Imperial legislation. It was therefore quite reasonable that the Imperial authority should assist the local authority, not only in the way of direct subventions, but also by facilitating the borrowing of money.—[3 *Hansard*, cccxiv. 800.]

That is the whole question. Then, when the Public Health Act was under consideration, in 1872, it was agreed, by Mr. Disraeli and other Conservatives, that assistance should be given to local authorities in aid of local burdens; and the provisions relating to sanitary loans were forced on the late Government by the Tory Party, and were the conditions on which the present Prime Minister supported that Bill. Well, at a later period of the same discussion, the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) proposed, as an Amendment, to leave out the words "not less than" before the rate of interest, which was 3½ per cent. That was carried against the Government by a Division in which all the Conservative Party voted against the Government. In this case, it is perfectly clear that the pressure came chiefly from the other side of the House in order to increase the amount of these loans, in order to lengthen the term of these loans, and in order to reduce the amount of interest on these loans. It was most extraordinary, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman should go down to Birmingham and tell those innocent Conservatives there that the increased expenditure on this head was due to the action of the late Government. The Bill now presented for our consideration, if I may judge of its purpose by the statement which was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has for its object the abolition of this system of loans altogether. Everything which he said would apply to the whole system of loans. If that be his opinion, why does he not bring in a Bill to that effect? Why not abolish the whole system? Instead of that, he seeks to secure the same result by a side-wind, by making the conditions of the loan so onerous that nobody can take advantage of them. What are the proposals of the

right hon. Gentleman? Firstly, he proposes to limit the amount to be lent to any single authority. Well, I must say that that is a very mistaken policy indeed. He is going to cut away all the best and safest customers. The only persons who are at all likely to take more than £100,000 a-year are—firstly, the London School Board, which has behind it the whole rates of London, an absolutely undeniable security; and, secondly, those large Corporations which may require money to carry out a great scheme under the provisions of the Artizans' Dwellings Act. They are both cases in which the money is absolutely safe, and in which a profit might be made by the Exchequer, which might possibly cover the loss arising in other directions. We had an instance given us by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to which a loss might be anticipated. In the North there was an advance on the security of the rates, the chief part of which were levied on a mining property which is supposed to go out of working. That was not an authority looking to borrow £100,000; it was some little authority to which no money at all should have been lent. If the facts are as stated, some blame attaches to the Public Works Loans Commissioners. One thing is absolutely certain, as I shall show. The loss arises on small amounts, yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to stop the operations of the Public Works Loans Commissioners in cases where no loss can, by any possibility, be expected to accrue. Secondly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to raise the rate of interest at present charged on these loans. I would ask, why does he take away the discretion of the Public Works Loans Commissioners? They are authorized to charge such a rate of interest as may be necessary to save the Treasury from loss. Why should you make an iron rule, the practical effect of which will be to exclude every considerable Corporation from the operation of the Bill, and to leave as applicants for public money only those authorities which have no credit, and which have no sufficient security? Well, then, the next proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which is included in the same clause, is to lessen the period over which these loans are granted. That is a curious thing. The long loans

are made for the purchase of freeholds, or the erection of substantial and permanent works, where the security is absolutely undeniable, yet in these instances the most onerous terms are to be demanded; and in cases where short loans are made—say, for paving, which may be destroyed in a few years—the Chancellor of the Exchequer is prepared to allow the continuance of the loans at the lowest possible rate. It seems to me that this Bill is not at all likely to achieve its object, but it is likely to harass the local authorities in their work. Now, I proceed to ask what are the objects which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated have induced him to make this great change? In the first place, he says that these loans have hitherto involved the Exchequer in a considerable loss. I venture to say, in the first place, if that be true, the alterations which the Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposes will not save the Exchequer from loss. The losses he mentions are a great deal more than would be set right by an additional  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent rate of interest. It is an argument in favour of stopping the loans altogether; but not an argument for making the obligations more onerous in cases where the loans should be continued. There is no fear for losses in the future under circumstances which have existed in the past. There has been a very useful Return made by the Secretary to the Treasury, which gives the total amount of money advanced by the Public Works Loans Commissioners under different heads, and of the amount of loss already incurred or anticipated. Now, it will be seen by a reference to this Paper, that by far the largest loss has been experienced in the case of certain Irish loans, under the head of "Union Workhouses for Ireland." It is anticipated that in this respect the Exchequer will suffer a loss of £1,370,000, out of a total loss anticipated at about £2,000,000 sterling. What is the nature of this loss? It is really a loan which is more in the nature of a gift. At the time it was made it was not seriously anticipated that it would be ever re-paid, and, in fact, the Chancellor of the Exchequer admits this. I have a quotation from a speech which he made on February 11, 1875, in which he states with reference to this subject—

"The cases in which the least profitable loans have been made, and in which most losses have

been incurred, have been those in which Parliament has for some reason or another itself interfered, and ordered money to be lent, overruling the discretion of these gentlemen (the Public Works Loans Commissioners).—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxii. 223.]

That is perfectly true. Loans of this kind are very much in the nature of loans made by persons to those who apply for charity. They say—"We will give you money as a loan," although in their hearts they never expect to have it re-paid. That is what Parliament has done in times past again and again in reference to these loans; but it is very unfair to consider losses thus anticipated, and since sustained, as a part of the enormous system now in operation. I have another remark to make in reference to these losses. It will be found, with one very inconsiderable exception, to which I will not allude, that no losses have been incurred in cases where rates have been given as security. With regard to losses which may be incurred where money has been given on the security of an undertaking, this raises the very important and arguable question whether it is right to lend money in such cases—for a harbour, for instance, the success of which may be interfered with by the erection of another harbour in its neighbourhood? That is a question which ought to be fairly discussed. I think that it is most unfair to punish the innocent with the guilty, and to inflict penalties on authorities throughout the Kingdom whose security is sufficient, because money has been lent in times past on a security which is entirely insufficient. Another point to which I will call attention is this—that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to remedy this loss by raising the rate of interest. But if he will look to his own Returns, he will see that all these losses occurred in cases where the rate of interest has been high. In fact, the rate of interest indicates the value of the security at the time the loan was made. One or two other large losses were purely exceptional in their nature, and the repetition of which there is not the slightest reason to anticipate. £100,000 was lent by Parliament for making Battersea Park, and a more unjustifiable loan was never made, in my opinion. Battersea Park is, to all intents and purposes, for the benefit of those immediately surrounding it. It ought to have been paid out of the local fund. In

*Mr. Chamberlain*

Birmingham we have to provide such places for ourselves, and to maintain them; but in London it seems to be a matter of Imperial concern. It is anticipated that the money, given as a loan, will be wholly lost and wholly irrecoverable. I do not know how this is; but if the matter is brought before Parliament I shall oppose the writing of this off as a bad debt. It ought to be collected from the ratepayers in the district. We seem also to have lent money for the Thames Tunnel. I inquired under what circumstances money was lent for an undertaking of this sort; but I have been unable to obtain any information on the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to imagine that we are not more wise than our ancestors. I certainly hope we shall never again lend money for such an undertaking as the Thames Tunnel. When these losses are excluded from consideration it will be found that the remaining losses are of an exceedingly trifling character. As a matter of fact, the normal operations of the Public Works Loans Commissioners have been conducted, and will be conducted, at a considerable profit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, says that he can well imagine that years hence pressure may be brought to bear by a particular authority to secure a remission of loans granted from the Exchequer. Such a thing is possible, I admit; but it seems to me impossible that Parliament should ever accede to such a request, for this reason—the interest of every other locality will be against the particular locality claiming such remission. Surely, the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot imagine that the local authorities will adopt log-rolling tactics and require the remission of these loans, so that the Imperial Exchequer should take upon itself the whole of these local burdens. I think I have shown that, at all events, with regard to the loans which are now applied for, for instance, loans for education—which are accountable for £12,000,000, out of £22,000,000 advanced—for sanitary purposes, and for the Artizans' Dwellings Act, made to large Corporations, there is no real reason for anticipating any loss. On the contrary, the rates are sufficient to provide for them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer goes on to say that these advances embarrassed the Exchequer. Well,

in what way? In the speech which the right hon. Gentleman made in introducing his Budget, he stated that the floating debt was about £12,000,000 and that he did not consider that excessive. If not excessive, it was clear that up to the present time the Exchequer had not been embarrassed by the advances which had been made. I do not think that it will be embarrassed in the future. It must be borne in mind that the advances to school boards must be very much less in the future than in the past. We were told the other day by the noble Lord the Vice President of the Council (Lord George Hamilton) that the task in that direction had been almost completed. Under these circumstances, that item will cease to figure in the annual loans to local authorities. I do not think that under other heads there is likely to be any demand at all equivalent to that required for educational purposes. There is another point, and upon which I should agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I agree that the present system under which money is raised for these loans is likely to create, sooner or later, considerable difficulty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is doing what some banks have done, and done with unfortunate results—namely, lending money for long terms and borrowing it for short terms. At any moment he may be called upon to make enormous re-payments for which there is no sufficient provision. The reason is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not satisfied with a legitimate profit, but wants a special profit. He can raise these Exchequer loans at considerably less than he can borrow on Consols; therefore, he goes into the market for these short loans, instead of raising by Terminable Annuities for a considerable period, or by additions to the Consolidated Fund, sums which are lent out for terms, in some cases, exceeding 50 years. If the excessive issue of Exchequer Bonds were to be continued, I certainly see great inconvenience might ensue. Surely, so able a financier as the Chancellor of the Exchequer can devise some means by which the difficulty could be avoided. Now, another point which ought to be attended to is the separation of accounts of the local loans altogether from national operations. I do not see why there should not be a loan to be known as local

Consols or by some such term—raised for the purposes of local authorities, and by which the obligations for local objects should be clearly separated from obligations for Imperial purposes. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer is prepared to consider alterations in the Local Loans Act, which would bring local authorities themselves into the market for borrowing, he will have to provide, in addition to the facilities already mentioned, some arrangement by which small local authorities may amalgamate with other local authorities. By this consolidation small loans might, no doubt, be raised on satisfactory terms. I think I have now dealt with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with the arguments he has used in support of this Bill. I have heard another argument advanced in previous discussions in respect to which I will say one word only. It has been said that the advantages which are given to local authorities to raise this money increases the facilities for extravagance. I have said before that I think the House of Commons shows a very great tendency to vicarious economy. It never interfered with the Government when it made a large expenditure for Imperial purposes; but it is always carping and nibbling at the expenditure of local authorities, which is, to a large extent, due to the action of the House of Commons. By far the larger portion of the whole money raised under these loans has been raised under distinct compulsion from the House of Commons. If you want to stop local expenditure, reverse this legislation. Repeal the education measures, and the sanitary arrangements which make drainage compulsory. Reverse all these; repeal them if you can; and then you may talk about economy to local authorities. The expenditure is necessary. I believe that you cannot repeal the legislation. As a matter of fact, the expenditure of local authorities is increasing, will increase, and ought to increase. We are every year advancing in civilization; new demands are arising. The present generation would not be satisfied to rest under circumstances which contented our "wiser" ancestors. They would not be satisfied with boroughs where all provisions for proper sanitary conditions and a satisfactory water supply were neglected. Under these circumstances, it is absurd to, at

the same time, expect these provisions should be made by local authorities, and then to complain of the expense which it involves. I cannot help thinking that the House of Commons ought to be proud of the local government of the Kingdom, of the local enterprise and intelligence which is being shown by many authorities in this respect, as contrasted with almost every other country in the world. Never has our activity been greater in the local work of the country. We have a right to expect the co-operation and assistance of the Government, and to deprecate the attempt now made to hamper and harass our operations. The Government was ready to lend money, although no money was to be spent for local authorities. In past times we have lent money to Greece, Turkey, Holland, &c. We have subsidized almost every Continental nation. The present Government lent £4,000,000 to the Khedive for the Suez Canal. They could find money for a speculative investment; but they could not find money to lend to great Corporations to carry out important local improvements. If it was right for the Imperial Government to make these foreign speculations, *a fortiori* it must be right for them to make an investment where there was an absolute security, and where these investments are calculated to promote the health and happiness of the community. It may be necessary to modify the conditions under which these loans have been granted for certain places. It is wrong, however, to attempt to deal wholesale with the subject; it is unfair to ask the House of Commons to consider so important a subject at this late period of the Session. It is wrong to throw obstacles in the way of local work, and unnecessary to increase the already heavy burdens of the ratepayers. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time this day three months.

Mr. RYLANDS, in seconding the Motion, said, that this was a question not only affecting in some degree the national finances, but was one connected with past legislation of the House of a very important character. It was a question of the greatest interest and importance; and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was either reasonable or desirable in the public inte-

rest that a question which affected to so great a degree many of the interests of this country, as well as the national finance, should be seriously debated in the middle of August, when a number of the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen whose opinions on the subject ought to be taken were unfortunately absent from their places? He would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer full credit for having approached this subject with the greatest possible anxiety, and with the view of placing, if he possibly could, this public loans question upon a more legitimate basis. He recollected perfectly well that on former occasions the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) thought that it was a matter which seriously deserved the consideration of the House. That right hon. Gentleman was, unfortunately, absent that day. Upon a matter of the kind before them his views would be of great value and weight. If it was a question of emergency; if there was anything in connection with the Public Works Loans Commissioners which might interfere with the national finances, there might be some excuse for the course which the Government had taken, which would justify the House rushing in this inconsiderate way into a matter which required to be treated with the greatest care. He would venture to suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, having regard to all the circumstances connected with this very difficult question, having regard to the very great interest which would be naturally excited in localities which, at present, he believed, had taken no notice whatever of the proposals of the Government, and having regard to the desirability, when dealing with a question of this kind, of not dealing with it in a haphazard way, but in a mode which was likely to be a permanent and satisfactory mode, it would not be better to be satisfied with the vote of the House on the second reading of the Bill? Under the circumstances, he had no doubt the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) would agree to the second reading being taken unanimously as to Parts 2 and 3, which provided the necessary means for the Public Works Loans Commissioners carrying on their operations for the coming year. Then in the beginning of next Session a strong Select Committee could

Mr. Chamberlain



be appointed to deal with the general question, with the view of putting it on a permanent and satisfactory basis. He really thought that by those means the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not lose, but gain time in the object he had in view. Of course, he could see that they were now challenged by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman to review our entire policy as regards local loans, although, perhaps, not by the Bill itself. No doubt, they had adopted a policy of a remarkable character—a policy of State intervention, with the view of facilitating the raising of large sums of money for different localities—and they expected that the localities would, to some extent, be controlled in their dealings with this public money. As far as his sympathies went they were entirely in the direction of decentralization. He would be very glad to see a system by which money raised by local authorities should not be under the control of the Executive power. Nothing could be more unfortunate than that in every important act which Town Councils or Local Boards of every description might be called upon to take, the local body should have to go to the President of the Local Government Board, ask for an inspection, and submit to a central control. This tended to depress public spirit in localities, and in some cases led to serious errors in administration. This was a point of the greatest possible importance. He had no doubt at all that by the aid of the careful inquiries of a Select Committee they would be able to elaborate a scheme under which certain classes of loans by the Public Works Loans Commissioners should be entirely thrown on localities which should be held responsible. In addition to this, they could, in the Select Committee, deal with the various modes by which the raising of public loans could be most efficiently carried out. Being a Member of the House of Commons at the time, he recollected perfectly the circumstances to which the hon. Member for Birmingham had alluded, and could bear testimony to the accuracy of the statement the hon. Gentleman had made—namely, that there was at that time a strong demand that local bodies should have relief in a variety of ways from the State, and the demand was almost unanimously made by the Conservative Party. It also received the support of a consider-

able number of country Gentlemen on the Liberal side of the House; and the late Government, powerful as it was at that moment, and having a large majority in the House of Commons, were left in a considerable minority on the Motion of the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes). There could be no doubt of the pressure continually put on the Government. There had been a tendency, from time to time, to give assistance, either directly or indirectly, from the Imperial Exchequer for local purposes. He was not prepared to dispute that there were certain matters in which the State should, and he thought very properly, assist local bodies in raising money. He was disposed to think that that might be very fairly said to be the case in the matter of national education and of sanitary improvements. But other advances were open to more question, and it might be fairly referred to a Select Committee to determine what were the objects with regard to which it was right and necessary that Imperial assistance should be given in the raising of loans for local purposes. He was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the modifications proposed to be made in the Bill, had shown a desire to meet the views expressed by the opponents of the measure. He (Mr. Rylands) was strongly of opinion that in the case of those local bodies which had been called upon by obligations placed upon them to enter into certain arrangements, that it would be most unfair that in the case of prospective arrangements they should be placed in the Bill under terms not contemplated at the time when the obligations were entered into by them. He understood that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite willing to recognize such bargains, so to speak—that was to say, not only money that had been actually advanced, not only money not even actually applied for as yet to the Public Works Loans Commissioners—but also to recognize what was an implied bargain. It was very possible that loans had as yet not been applied for, but with regard to which the local authorities had entertained reasonable expectations that, when applied for, they would be granted. He was sure that this was a very important concession on the part of the Government.

He wished to point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer another matter for his consideration. The right hon. Gentleman had recognized fully, he thought, the sort of bargain which had been entered into by individual bodies with the State. There was something, however, beyond this. Various Acts of Parliament had been passed in the House after considerable discussion—a part of the provisions contained in which dealt with the loans to be provided under these Acts by the Public Works Loans Commissioners. That was of great importance, because it really touched the basis upon which former Parliaments had acted in the case of certain statutes. They would, in point of fact, repeal the conditions under which certain Acts of Parliament were passed, if they passed the measure before them. There could be no doubt whatever that some of the Acts were passed on conditions which would be disturbed by the Bill before them if it was passed in the form proposed by the Government. Whether the last Parliament was right or wrong; whether the conditions under which these Acts were passed were wise conditions or not; they ought not to reverse the legislation of a former Parliament by the incidental operation of a Bill introduced at so late a period of the Session as the present. He did not at all approve of the Bill being adopted in this rough-and-ready sort of way of applying the same rule to everything. It was extremely necessary that before they legislated in that direction they should have the opinion of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which would go into the question of the various Acts of Parliament affected by this proposed legislation, and recommend to the House how far any Bill dealing with these loans should apply to the particular Acts of Parliament in question. He should second the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham for the rejection of the Bill, certainly not without considerable sympathy with the object which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had in view. He did it because they ought not to be asked to pass the first portion of the Bill at that period of the Session. He hoped that the proposed legislation on the subject would be most carefully considered, and that a Select Committee would be appointed which would command the confidence of the

*Mr. Rylands*

House, and whose decision would bring about legislation which would give satisfaction to the country, and, at the same time, meet the reasonable expectations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Chamberlain*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. THOMSON HANKEY did not agree with the hon. Member for Birmingham (*Mr. Chamberlain*), who said that these public loans were nothing more or less than investments of national money in local improvements, and that he thought that was a wise policy. He entirely dissented from the principle that it was part of the duty of the Government to borrow money, in order to lend it out for the purposes of local improvement. He held that it was no part of the duty of the Government to do so, and that rates were by no means so satisfactory a security as the hon. Member seemed to suppose. A locality which was rich to-day might be poor 25 years hence; and money which was advanced to it on the strength of the existing rates might ultimately be lost. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done excellent service in bringing the matter forward. He differed from the hon. Member that the idea of this Bill arose out of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's visit to Birmingham. He knew nothing about the visit of the right hon. Gentleman to Birmingham; but he was quite sure that long before that visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer had frequently spoken to him upon the subject. With regard to the proposal for limiting the loans to £100,000 for each year to any single body, he did not think that that provision would really check public works, or would be any inconvenience to the country. There might be cases in which it might be to the public interest to make loans to local bodies; but, generally speaking, it was a dangerous thing to encourage loans of this kind. If rates were the indefeasible security the hon. Member imagined them to be, local bodies would have no difficulty in obtaining the advances they required from capitalists who were seeking good in-

vestments. He trusted the hon. Member would not persist in his Motion, seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was bound to ask the House to give effect to engagements into which Parliament itself had entered. At the same time, he must say that he saw no reason why the amending clauses to which objection had been taken should not be postponed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that if that were done he should withdraw all opposition to the Bill.

Mr. GILES, who said that he, as did the hon. Member for Birmingham, represented a borrowing Corporation, announced his intention to vote for the second reading of the Bill; but hoped that, when it got into Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be disposed to make some exception in favour of Corporations who required loans for useful sanitary improvements, and who had ample security to offer.

Mr. CHILDERS quite agreed with those who had thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the introduction of that Bill; but, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to remind him that in 1875, and in different years since 1875, in the Budget debates, and also on the introduction of the Local Loans Bill, he (Mr. Childers) had warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the danger which the continually increasing local loans were occasioning, and begged him to take the subject up and deal with it as a whole. He thought, therefore, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be thanked for bringing in the Bill; and though it was most unfortunate that it should have to be discussed at that time of the Session, yet it was one that had to be discussed. But he must remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer of what his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham had alluded to, which was, that the present Government did take the greatest credit in the country, over and over again, for the extension of that system of local loans. The benefits which the country were to derive from an increasing access by Corporations to the Exchequer were brought forward, over and over again, in support of the policy of the present Government. Having made all the political capital they could by this clause, it was hardly fair of them to turn round and say now that the evils of that system

were due—not to the legislation to which they were parties, and which they strongly supported when they were in Office and out of Office—but to their Predecessors, and not to themselves. Now, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given two reasons for dealing with the question. The first of these was that our local loans, for a long series of years, had been of such a nature that the country had experienced a serious loss through having to borrow at the rate of 3 or 4 per cent, and lending to the local authorities with a return of only £2 15s. per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had also explained the financial difficulty of having these large loans; that the system had increased beyond what was convenient for the Government; and that, irrespective of the loss on interest, the total amount was growing at so alarming a rate that it was necessary to check it. Now, what he wanted to point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer was, that if it were necessary to do that it had better be done directly, and not indirectly. That was what he urged upon him in 1876 and 1877, and again last year. What he understood was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come to the conclusion that under certain Acts—take, for instance, the two main ones, the Education Acts and the Sanitary Acts—the Treasury and the Government, collectively, had no authority over the gross amount of loans, and that if a body wishing to borrow money obtained the consent say, of the Education Board or of the Local Government Board to a particular loan, the Treasury had nothing to say to it, whether the aggregate amounts in the year came to £1,000,000 or £100,000,000. He ventured to say that was an entire delusion. It was possible that a mere lawyer's construction might say that this was permissible under the Acts in question; but it certainly never was the intention either of Parliament, or of those who introduced the Acts, to produce such a result. On the contrary, the view of those who introduced that legislation was that the total charge would be limited to amounts which were then stated to Parliament; and it was, he believed, on the faith of that understanding that Parliament passed the Acts. He was sorry his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) was not here to-day to confirm this statement. The late Government never dreamt that

the effect of their legislation would be such as to put it out of the power of the Treasury, as representing the supreme Government, to determine what should be the total amount to be expended in each year; but the present Government had thought fit to place this interpretation upon the Acts—that the Treasury had no voice as to the total amount which should be so lent. That was a position for the Treasury which he was very sorry indeed to hear put forward. He had always understood that they were supreme, and that it was for them to decide the total amount in each year which they were prepared to lend under the Acts; and if that were not so, the first step should be to put this straight. If it was the view taken by the Government that they had no option in the matter, they ought to ask for that option; and he was perfectly certain that Parliament would not hesitate for a moment in granting it. If the Government were to say—"We are now in the position of having indefinite claims made upon us, which we have no power of restraining," Parliament, he was sure, would at once give the Government the powers of restraint, which were demanded by every condition of sound finance. He had pointed this out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the strongest possible way, three years ago; and he then warned the right hon. Gentleman that if he allowed the matter to drift, as it was then drifting, and permitted all the local authorities to borrow what they pleased, without allowing the Treasury a controlling voice, the demands would become so heavy that the Treasury would be placed in the very difficult position in which they now found themselves. In these circumstances, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would now reconsider the question, and insert in the Bill at least a clause giving the Treasury the power of restraining and limiting the demands upon them. Such a clause, he believed, would be found to remove all the difficulties of the situation. As to the merits of the present Bill, he had listened with considerable interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Birmingham. On some points he agreed with that hon. Gentleman, but on others he could not agree. He could not agree, for instance, with the doctrine as to the better security of long loans.

*Mr. Childers*

On that point he preferred the doctrine of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Nor did he agree with the hon. Gentleman in contesting the reasons of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with respect to repayments by way of annuity. But the point on which he thought the hon. Gentleman had most conclusively proved his case was, that it was too much to ask the House on the 9th of August, at one blow, and in one clause, without any inquiry whatever, to alter the arrangements of 30 or 40 Acts of Parliament by dealing with the rates of interest which were to be paid on loans for public purposes. He had looked into the provisions of one or two of these Acts. In the Education Act, for example, it was set forth in Clause 57 that such loans as it defined were to be repaid within a period not exceeding 50 years, and to bear interest not at the rate of not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, but without variation at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. So far as the rate was concerned, that was a contract with the school boards of the country. But the 2nd clause of the present Bill distinctly repealed that clause, because it said that upon any loan for a period not exceeding 30 years a rate of interest of not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum would be charged. The Education Act gave a fixed rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer now said, that if these loans were for certain periods, although within the maximum of the Education Act, they must be at rates of from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. There might be some reason for such an important change; but these were not questions that ought to be raised on the 9th of August. In conclusion, he begged to suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should leave out of the Bill, not only the 4th clause, but also the 2nd and 3rd, and content himself, for the present, with passing the remainder; and that, at the beginning of next Session, a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire specially into the questions dealt with by Clauses 2, 3, and 4—that was to say, the rate of interest, the maximum amount to be lent in any one year, and the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the system of repayment by way of annuity. He hoped the Government would withdraw the clauses he had named, and consent to have the subject referred to a

strong Financial Committee of this House next Session. If they took up all the different Loan Acts now in force, and if those who came under those Acts had an opportunity of stating their case, his own impression was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would arrive at a sound conclusion. But he could not help thinking, if the Bill was forced through—and he admitted the Government could force any Bill through if they chose—now, at the end of the Session, there would be a feeling that justice had not been done, and, in the end, the Government would get more discredit than credit by the arrangement. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to re-consider the provision, and to comply with the request made by the hon. Member for Birmingham, and the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), and give them the assurance, if the Bill was read a second time, that those three clauses should be referred, next Session, to a strong Financial Committee of the House, which would be able to deal with them.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given excellent reasons for calling the attention of the House to the aggrandisement of local indebtedness. Local authorities borrowed from private sources upon authority given to them by means of private Acts of Parliament. He had known cases in which power had been given to local authorities for terms of 80 years; and whatever would be the result of this discussion, the powers given by Parliament in this respect ought to be put under much closer and stricter surveillance than had been the case heretofore. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would, he thought, have treated the House more fairly if he had told them how the loss of £1,370,000 was made up. The fact was, that £1,375,000 had been lent to Irish workhouses, with the sanction of the Treasury; and the Public Works Loans Commissioners had had nothing to do with those loans. He maintained that during the 20 years he and the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Thomson Hankey) were on the Commission that, so far from having incurred serious losses in the public interest, the losses of the Commission were absolutely insignificant, and not more than one banking concern might have made. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought, therefore, to put in a different shape

his demand for an increased rate of interest. He thought that to offer a stimulus to local extravagance, even when it was for good purposes, was highly to be deprecated. Every inducement to economy should be held out to local authorities. The Commission had conducted their affairs with independence and intelligence, and if any change were made it must be made on other grounds than the unproductiveness of the investments which they had hitherto made. The real point before the House was how the accounts of the Public Works Loans Commissioners ought to be kept; and, in his opinion, they ought to be taken altogether out of the Imperial accounts, and the Savings Banks funds of the country might be made use of for the purpose of these loans. He suggested that, as the Bill must be passed, and would probably be passed in any shape the Government might desire, it did not seem hardly right to pass at such a late period of the Session this Bill, which clashed so immediately with the latest information they had on the state of the law. In the last Report of the Public Works Loans Board, they gave the terms upon which loans were sanctioned. They were well known— $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for loans not exceeding 30 years,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent not exceeding 40 years, and 4 per cent exceeding 40 years. The Bill simply took this scale and raised it a peg, adding a  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. He did not say this would be absolutely injurious, but it was certainly a decided change; and he suggested that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had agreed to omit the 4th clause, should go a step further and accept the proposition, and postpone the other two clauses which so materially changed the position of borrowers. It would be more satisfactory to the country, and command more confidence than the passing through the Bill with a Government majority.

MR. RATHBONE said, he regretted extremely that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not present to hear the conclusion of the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), for he thought that he would then have seen that all those who sympathized most strongly with the object he had in view thought that that object would be met by dealing with these questions more fully with a Select Committee next year; and it was not be-

cause he did not agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the objects of the Bill, but because he thought that those objects required more consideration than could be bestowed at this period of the Session that he urged this. He thought, as it had been dwelt upon by almost everyone who had spoken on the question of local liabilities, that it might be seen how very valuable it would be if they could have a system by which the localities could borrow their own money. But if they proposed a clause like this now, they all knew what the result would be. The thing would be dropped, and it could not be taken up again until the weight of increasing liabilities again alarmed the public mind. He confessed he could not quite share the views of his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) about increased local liability. He thought he judged of it by large centres of population, whose affairs were on so large a scale that they were sure to be pretty well watched; but if they would look at the small local authorities, he was not sure that there were not many of them practically in insolvency—and not only in insolvency, but spending very foolishly money so easily procured. He thought it would be well if they could borrow on the co-operative system without having recourse to the assistance of the central authority. He would, therefore, urge, and add his voice to the recommendations of others, that a special Committee would deal with this subject more thoroughly and more deliberately than the House of Commons could at the fag-end of the Session.

Mr. GRAY said, that the objections which had been urged so ably by the hon. Member for Birmingham all applied to Ireland, together with some special objections which he would mention. He did not think that there was any disposition in that House to treat this question as a Party one, and he certainly had no wish himself to discuss it from a political standpoint. It was, however, the fact that the loans already granted in England considerably exceeded the proportion which had already been granted for Ireland. It was well known that the legislation of the character affected by the Bill for England had preceded similar legislation for Ireland. In illustration of this, he would take the case of the Sanitary and

Public Health Acts. The Public Health Act for England was passed in the year 1872. Whether that Act had proved a good measure for England or not he really did not know; but, in all probability, a good deal of money had been borrowed under it. But the Public Health Act (Ireland) was not passed until the year 1874, and very little money had been raised in Ireland under that Act. Then, again, the re-modelled Public Health Act for England was passed in 1875, and under that Act the local authorities in England had raised very large sums of money. But Parliament had only passed the corresponding Act for Ireland last year, and amended it this year, and under that Act in Ireland no sums of money had been raised. This was really an injustice to Ireland, because in England they had already granted very large loans to local authorities at low rates of interest, and now it was proposed to reduce the amount and increase the rate of interest on loans before Ireland had received any benefit at all from the Act which was passed last year. He saw the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer smiling, and he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman thought he (Mr. Gray) had just found another Irish grievance; and he dared to say that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer alluded to the subject at all, he would tell them, when he rose to reply, that there was no such idea as that in the minds of those who promoted the Bill. He had no doubt that if the right hon. Gentleman did say so, he would be speaking truly; but, still, he must point out that that was the result, and so the intention was not very important. They found that Ireland would receive no advantage, while England had already received the advantage. The hon. Member for Birmingham had calculated that 49 Irish Acts of Parliament would be affected by this Bill; but, owing to the way in which they had been administered, they had been practically inoperative. He would take, as an example, the Acts administered by the Board of Works, Ireland. A Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the subject of the system carried on by the Board of Works, Ireland; and the result of the inquiry had been to prove that, as facilities had not been given for borrowing the money in the way contemplated by the Act of Parliament, the local authori-

*Mr. Rathbone*

ties in Ireland had not been in a position to avail themselves of the advantages of which, under this Bill, it was now proposed to deprive them. It was the old story; they always met the fate of the step-child.—England took the cream, and left Ireland the skim-milk. It was the same kind of thing as happened with the spirit duties. It was not intended, it was said, to inflict a special burden upon Ireland by putting a uniform duty upon spirits; but still, a special burden was so inflicted, and the intention of the framers of the measure was little consolation to those who had to pay the unfair charge. But to come to the question of the Bill before them. If they were to take as authoritative the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Peterborough (Mr. Thomson Hankey)—who was himself one of the Public Works Loans Commissioners, and should, therefore, be supposed to speak with great authority upon the subject—it would remove many of his (Mr. Gray's) objections with reference to the rate of interest at which loans ought to be granted. That hon. Gentleman had said that compulsory Acts should not be affected by the Bill. But the Bill said nothing of the kind. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said nothing of the kind. Therefore, he could not assume that the hon. Member for Peterborough did speak with authority. The Public Health Act was, in many respects, a compulsory Act, yet loans under it and the Artizans' Dwellings Act were included. It was said that the Artizans' Dwellings Act was a permissive Act; but it was, he thought, a mistake to suppose any such thing. The Act, viewed in one way, was a compulsory Act, for a very few ratepayers could compel it to be acted on. With regard to the general question, the real difficulty which had arisen, and which he thoroughly recognized, was the question of arranging how the amount of burden on local loans could be met. One hon. Member had said that this Bill was a very small measure—the smallest measure which the Government had yet introduced. Now, his strongest objection to the Bill was that it was such a very small measure. The present Bill, in fact, only dealt with the fringe of the question. The Government had not considered the various interests which would be affected by the introduction of this Bill, and merely proposed to relieve themselves.

It was because it was such a small measure that he objected to it. It was not that he objected to a good proposal for dealing with the difficulty of the amount of these growing loans. It was the larger towns which had really been the cause of the difficulty, because they were the parties who borrowed very large sums. What he thought was, that most of the large towns should be still able to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest upon their own security; and if the Government initiated such a policy, then they would only have to deal with the small towns. He believed that really was the way in which the Government ought to deal with the question. But, instead of doing that, so many difficulties had been thrown in the way of local authorities borrowing money upon their own security from the public, that it was almost impossible for them to get money in the open market, and they were, therefore, obliged to come to the Public Works Loans Commissioners. He would take, in illustration of this, the case of the City of Dublin. If they in Dublin could issue a consolidated loan on all their debts, secured on their own property, they would never dream of coming to the Public Works Loans Commissioners for money. He thought the security of the City of Dublin was as good as any security. In a Return which had been printed, he found that there had been granted to the Water Works, Ireland, the sum of £479,000. That was principally, or entirely, for the Dublin Water Works, and he would take it as a sample of what he meant. The Water Works Act, which enabled the loan to be granted and a rate to be levied, restricted the rate to a certain amount; but, in order to protect the Treasury against loss, the usual Mandamus Clause was put in the Act. The Mandamus Clause was, that if the rates were found not to be adequate to protect the Treasury from loss, the Public Works Loans Commissioners of Ireland could bring them before the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, and ask to increase the rates. But they had landed property in Dublin, of great and increasing value. Let them assume for illustration, say, what would really be the fact in a few years, that the property yielded a considerable surplus over the demands upon it. Suppose they had, at the same time, a small deficiency in the Water Works account, they could not devote the sur-

plus of the one to make good the deficiency of the other; but the Courts would be appealed to, a *Mandamus* issued, the credit of the City injured, and the ratepayers unnecessarily burdened. Suppose they wanted money which they were authorized to borrow, they could not pledge their land as additional security. By all means, let them have the most rigorous restrictions against local authorities borrowing too much—let them have every safeguard by means of Government audit that the money was properly applied; but once a loan was authorized, let the fullest facilities for raising it be given, and, as between the lender and the borrower, let the security be shown to be, what it was in reality, the entire property of the City. Permit the debts to be consolidated and simplified, so that they could be dealt with in the Money Market. Permit trustees to invest in such stock, which, in the case of the great towns, would be as good security as Consols. Let them do as the Metropolitan Board of Works did, and their own people would invest in their own stock. They could raise their money at home, the Treasury would not be burdened, and could easily assist the smaller bodies, which could not borrow at fair rates on their own security. It was the great towns like Birmingham, which took £1,500,000 for artisans' dwellings and so on, which created the difficulty. If they were given proper facilities, they would be able to borrow anything they wanted themselves. If they permitted such Corporations as Birmingham, Manchester, Dublin, and Belfast, to borrow money upon giving security on their consolidated property, that would be taking a step in the right direction. But the Government were commencing at the wrong end. This Bill would not give facilities to local authorities to borrow themselves, and it also threw difficulties in the way of their borrowing from the Imperial Exchequer. If hon. Members permitted this Bill to pass in its present shape, he was sure that they would have no more legislation on the subject for many years to come, and that was the reason why he was opposed to it. He objected, as strongly as possible, to many portions of the measure; and he also objected to passing such a Bill without its receiving the most careful consideration at the hands of the House.

*Mr. Gray*

He was sure that the House would agree with him that, at this period of the Session, it was impossible to give the measure the consideration which it deserved. He concurred in the suggestion which had been made that the new clauses dealing with the rate of interest should be postponed until next year, when they could be considered by a Select Committee, and must express his objection to the Bill because it only dealt with the fringe of the question, instead of trying to settle the whole. He would oppose these objectionable provisions in Committee as far as possible.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE was glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer had agreed to exclude the "Bright Clauses" of the Irish Land Act from the operation of the Bill. The Bill would have been fatal to those "Bright Clauses." However, the Government had admitted this exception; but, having done so, they could not refuse to consider exceptions that might be claimed by Acts having the same policy. Another Act which would be materially affected by the Bill was the Artizans' Dwellings Act; and he had a strong impression that if the Bill passed into law in its present shape, the effect, if not fatal to the Artizans' Dwellings Act, would be very detrimental to its operation. The effect would be to add a fourth to the charges upon local authorities in carrying out that Act; and he calculated that if a local body wished to borrow £100,000 under that Act, there would be an advance of £750 a-year in the repayments under the Bill to what it would be at present—a great increase to the burden upon taxpayers, and an obstacle to the Act being put in force. Upon careful consideration of the Bill before them, he was perfectly convinced that it would lead to very much fewer schemes of improvement being embarked in by local authorities under that Act. It came, practically, to this—that the local authority should not borrow for a longer period than 30 years. The authorities of Reading, his own constituents, had borrowed a sum of £240,000—one-half of that sum from an Insurance Company, and the other half from the Public Works Loans Commissioners; but for the one-half which was re-payable in 30 years they had to pay £7,300 a-year, and for the other only £5,400, which was a very great boon indeed. If at the time this transaction



was carried out the Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme had been in force, the effect would have been a charge to the community of Reading of £1,200 a-year. In his opinion, it would be wise for the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to press the contentious clauses this Session, but to proceed only with that portion of the Bill to which there was no objection.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the debate, to which he had listened with much interest, reminded him of a quotation which an old friend of his was very fond of using. It ran thus—

"It's a very good world we live in,  
To lend or to spend or to give in;  
But to beg or to borrow or come by one's own,  
It's the very worst world that ever was  
known."

Unquestionably, the Bill contained provisions which were very unpalatable, no doubt, to those who wished to borrow; and he admitted that those who represented constituencies such as Reading, who found that they could get money from the Treasury at five-sevenths the price they could obtain it in the open market, were naturally not willing to have the question of terms re-opened. But he only wished to say this—he was quite ready, in any way that hon. Members desired, to consider whether any alterations could be made which would facilitate the obtaining of money under proper arrangements by the local authorities; but with regard to the particular method which was now adopted with regard to the loans from the Treasury, he felt it necessary to call the attention, not of particular Members, but of the whole House of Commons, to the fact that they were by the present system placing the Exchequer at a great disadvantage, and that it was necessary to take some steps to regulate a system which was growing to enormous dimensions. Several fallacies had been advanced in the course of the discussion—among them, that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), who, with others, seemed to think the measure was going to affect an enormous number of Acts of Parliament, and have the effect of reducing the operation and advantages offered to the public under those 40 or 50 Acts. But this was an entire delusion. There might be as many Acts which affected

the lending of money to local bodies from the Public Works Loans Commissioners; but in four cases only among those was the rate of interest described, and would be in any way enhanced, by the provisions of the Bill. If hon. Gentlemen would look at the clauses of the Act of 1875—the Public Works Loans Act—they would see that every loan granted under that Act should bear interest not less than the rate authorized under the special Act, or if no rate was specially authorized, then not less than 5 per cent. Of those granted at a lower rate than 5 per cent, there were very few for the purposes of the Education Act, the Sanitary Act, and the Artizans' Dwellings Act. With the exception of those, the ordinary rate was 5 per cent. Therefore, they need not trouble themselves with the effect on this great number of Acts. In the majority of these Acts there undoubtedly was a provision that the rate of interest should be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or such other rate as might be determined by the Treasury, to protect the Exchequer from loss. In the Education Act, no doubt, the qualification did not occur, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was prescribed; but the term of years was not prescribed, and, consequently, it was within the letter, if not the spirit, of that Act that the term of years for which these loans should be made should be limited to 20 years, and so this Act would not be affected by the Bill. Another governing provision was that the rate was to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or such as would secure the Exchequer from losses. That was obviously the intention of the whole Act. It was not intended to make a gift at the expense of the Exchequer, but it was intended to enable advances to be made on terms sufficient to save the Exchequer Department of the State. But it had been found that, instead of leaving this matter to be dealt with arbitrarily by the Treasury, it would be better to introduce a scale regulated by Act of Parliament, so that there should be no misunderstanding, and that the Treasury should not be charged with an arbitrary proceeding when they introduced a condition to the loan which placed the rate of interest beyond  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. When the Bill got into Committee he would be ready to discuss these clauses; but he could not carry his concession so far as to the omission of these clauses. It was necessary to

lay down the principle contained in the clauses referred to, to prevent the mischiefs he apprehended, and also necessary as bearing upon that principle, that advances made in one year should not go beyond a certain amount. The right hon. Member for Pontefract made a much more drastic suggestion. He said, why not lay down the absolute sum to be advanced, and stick to that amount? But suppose they fixed the sum at £3,000,000, at £5,000,000, or £6,000,000, what would be the position of the Treasury and the Public Works Loans Commissioners in the scramble which would immediately take place for this amount? There must follow a great deal of discontent and heart-burning. It was better to try the effect of limiting the amount of a single loan. This would reduce the pressure upon the Exchequer for a very large sum. With regard to the Local Authorities Loans Act, no doubt there had been points worthy of consideration in giving effect to its intention. He should be glad to consider all these cognate questions, and if it was desirable to have a Select Committee on the subject, he saw no reason why such a Committee should not sit; but this was apart from the main object of the Bill, which, primarily, was to ask Parliament for authority to raise a sum of £6,000,000 to lend to local authorities, and then to introduce safeguards to prevent these loans growing to such an extent that the liberal intentions of Parliament were abused by being carried beyond what was the intention of Parliament. Parliament did not intend to expose the Exchequer to the risk of loss; but the intention was that these loans should be guarded on fair—on liberal—terms, but not on terms which might be extravagant. It was not the intention of Parliament to subsidize the borough of Reading. If the borough of Reading had made £1,800 out of the Imperial Exchequer—

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it paid that much less. It did not make it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER contended that that was making it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, Reading did not want to borrow any more.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was glad there was a limit. He did not know that he had much to say beyond what he had said in the first in-

stance. He disputed the fact that he was asking the House to deal with all the Acts mentioned. All the Bill did was strictly in conformity with the principles of the old Act; and while expressing his willingness to discuss any particular proposal in Committee, he asked the House now to pass the second reading, or there would be considerable difficulty in regard to advances.

MR. HUTCHINSON said, he would not vote against the second reading of the Bill; but there were provisions contained in it which he would oppose in Committee.

MR. STEVENSON said, that in Committee he would propose that the Bill should not apply to loans under the Harbours Act for the construction and improvement of harbours.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL expressed his regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dropped the clause which prevented the present generation from avoiding their share of the repayment of local debts. Under the annuity provisions of the present Act, the present generation paid very little, and subsequent generations would have to pay a great deal. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had given excellent reasons for this clause. It was an extreme *non sequitur* to drop it. Whether as regarded States or municipalities, the great danger of the present time was the disposition to heap immense burdens on posterity in order to obtain benefits for the present generation. That was going on now at a greater rate than it ever did before. The fact was, the world was living too fast. We were piling up debt upon debt; and this system of imposing the debt on future generations was, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, a great temptation to extravagance, and he deeply regretted there was not a determination to carry through this check upon that extravagance. Large municipalities had large facilities for going into the market and borrowing, and for carrying Private Bills through the House, and it was desirable they should have this freedom; but it should not be without some controlling authority in the interest of future generations to check the action of ambitious heads of Corporations. But there was something to be said in the interest of the smaller Scotch municipalities. He accepted the view of the Chancellor of the

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Exchequer that loans should be made on conditions that would secure that the Treasury should not be losers; but in dealing with this question it was scarcely fair to lump together all the loans made during the past 82 or 92 years, as the right hon. Gentleman had in alluding to Corporations to whom loans had been granted by former Governments. He instanced the Isle of Man; but he might have mentioned a much larger Island, and losses sustained by the Treasury from Irish loans advanced for past Irish objects. But the people of Scotland were in a different position. They were a prudent and thrifty people, and when they got loans from the Treasury they generally made good use of them. The result of their thrift and prudence was that the interest of money was lower in Scotland than anywhere else; and if they said such small burghs as he represented, and which were now engaged in applying for water and other works, should only borrow from the Treasury at a rate that was really higher than the rate in the open market in Scotland they were doing them an injury. These small burghs would be put to great inconvenience if the rate was made too stringent as against them. These small bodies had no opportunity of going into the market to borrow, as large bodies could do. The expenses and uncertainties of Private Bills were too great for them. It was a great advantage to them to be able to borrow from the Treasury on reasonable terms. He ventured to hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would re-consider this clause, and take care that he did not, by lumping together the provident and improvident parts of the Kingdom—parts of the Kingdom where interest was low, and parts where it was high—do injustice to thrifty places such as the borough he had the honour to represent.

SIR JOSEPH McKENNA said, he wished to be allowed to say a very few words upon the measure which was now under the consideration of the House. He could not altogether agree with the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) in the observations which he had addressed to the House. However, hon. Members from Ireland were so much in the habit of hearing in that House so many extraordinary things said about them, that they were now not very much astonished at anything

they might hear. He believed that the indebtedness of Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer was smaller, relatively and actually, than that of any other part of the United Kingdom; and the position which he took up was, that although he admitted the general purposes of this Bill to be good, if they passed it now there would be an injustice done to Ireland. That, however, was an argument which had been very fairly put before the House by his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray), and, therefore, there was no necessity for him to repeat it. But what he did wish to say was, that he thought the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) was one which might very well be accepted by the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was, unfortunately, not present when the suggestion was made; but he had no doubt that it had been repeated to him. It appeared to him that there was very little difference between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he thought that the clauses might, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) had suggested, be very well struck out of the Bill. The Treasury could not possibly be injured by assenting to the suggestion, and the question could then be carefully considered by a Select Committee next year, when there would be no difficulty in dealing with it.

MR. KNIGHT said, that he believed the ratepayers in the boroughs would be grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for doing something to check the expenditure, which threatened to involve them in ruin. The boroughs of Birmingham and of Reading had been prominently represented in the debate. They were all aware how the matter stood as regarded Birmingham; but it was not as well known that the rating of Reading amounted to about 10s. in the pound. He hoped a small Schedule would be proposed to exclude those towns from the operations of the Bill.

MR. G. PALMER denied that the rating of Reading amounted to 10s. in the pound. It would not, he believed, amount to more than between 7s. and 8s. in the pound, and had, in fact, been forced upon it by the central authority.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that being a Money Bill, it must pass this Session. He judged, from opinions expressed, that it was desirable that the contentious clauses should be deferred for the consideration of a Select Committee. This was not raised by his Amendment, and could be raised in a better form on the Motion for going into Committee. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) would then raise it; and, in the meantime, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for Monday next*.

#### BANKING AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES (re-committed) BILL.

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

[BILL 564.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he would not ask the House to discuss the measure to-day; but if it was agreeable to the House he would just put the Bill into Committee and immediately report Progress. He might mention, for the information of the House, that he had re-arranged the Bill, so as to make the first two clauses deal with unlimited banks and provide for the limitation of their liability; and in Committee it would be for the House to decide whether they would go any further than those two clauses.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA wished to express his regret—

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: If the hon. Gentleman does not agree to what I propose I will postpone the Order at once.

Committee *deferred till Monday next*.

#### ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS IMPROVEMENT ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 217.]

(Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Matthew Ridley.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE complained of the enormous compensation given for the property acquired by the Metropolitan Board under the Act of 1875, and also of the exorbitant sums charged in the shape of fees by arbitrators.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS observed, that ample provision was taken in the Bill to remedy all the defects of the existing Act, and to prevent the public money being in future extravagantly expended.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed*.

#### SAINT GILES' CATHEDRAL (EDINBURGH) BILL.—[BILL 238.]

(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross.)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. Watson), the following Amendments were made:—

Clause 1, page 2, line 12, leave out "otherwise," and insert "of contributions from any source other than municipal funds or revenues;" line 14, after "thousand," insert "five hundred;" line 19, at end, add "which shall thereupon be incorporated with and form part of the High Kirk;" page 2, leave out Clause 2; Clause 3, page 3, lines 4 and 5, leave out "the whole of the said sum of;" line 9, at end, add—

"And shall invest the sum of five hundred pounds on such separate security as they shall consider proper, the interest whereof shall be accumulated and applied pro tanto in the maintenance of the fabric of that part of the building presently occupied by the said new North Church (usually called West Saint Giles), but declaring that nothing herein contained shall limit the obligation of the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners to maintain the fabric of the whole building as provided by the said recited Acts."

The right hon. and learned Gentleman expressed a hope that the House would now allow the Bill to be read a third time.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I believe, Sir, that the Bill is called the Saint Giles' Cathedral Bill. I quite understood that the title was to be changed, and I shall be glad to know if that is so?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Well, now is the time to make the alteration.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. Watson): I beg to move that in the title the words "ancient church" be substituted for the word "cathedral."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA: I think this is very unjustifiable. What reason

can there be for making this alteration? Really, this is one of the silliest propositions that I have ever known to proceed from the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy. I wonder if he has ever reflected on the meaning of the word "cathedral" or on the meaning of the words "ancient church." If not, let me tell him that they are both Greek, and they have no more controversial signification than if you were to call the place "the House of God" or "large public building." I therefore think we ought not to be asked to agree to this Amendment, which seems to me to be preposterous.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON): I do not in the least disagree with what has been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite; but I would point out that in Committee the alteration was made in dealing with the Preamble, and it is quite right that the title of the Bill should now be made to correspond with the altered Preamble.

*Amendment agreed to.*

*Bill read the third time, and passed.*

#### EXCHEQUER BILLS AND BONDS (No. 2)

BILL.—[BILL 289.]

(*Mr. Raikes, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbotson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

*Bill considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon Monday next.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, an important announcement was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at an early hour this morning, when it was impossible that it could be reported, and it would be some comfort to the country if he would now repeat it. It was as to the terms on which this money was to be raised, and he said that the Exchequer Bonds, except a small part of them, would only be issued for 12 months.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The Bill takes power to issue Bonds for a term not exceeding three years, but that is the ordinary form; and I may say that it is not intended to issue any of these Bonds for more than one year, except a few to replace some Public Works Loans Bonds which have just run out.

#### METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (WATER EXPENSES) BILL.

(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Rodwell.*)

[BILL 204.] CONSIDERATION.

*Bill, as amended, considered.*

SIR JAMES M'GAREL - HOGG moved a further Amendment to the Preamble, omitting the words "any such questions," in line 31.

*Amendment agreed to.*

SIR JAMES M'GAREL - HOGG moved the insertion, in the place of the omitted words, of the words, "such disallowance."

*Amendment agreed to.*

SIR JAMES M'GAREL - HOGG: Perhaps the House, considering the lateness of the Session, will now allow the Bill to be read a third time.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON: I should like to make one observation, as this is the last opportunity which the procedure of the House will allow, and that is to remind my hon. and gallant Friend who has charge of the Bill that there is a process now going on, as is perfectly well known to all those who take an interest in these matters, whereby the Water Companies and Gas Companies of London—I will not say whether within their powers, or by a straining of their powers—are raising the value of their property by ways perfectly unjustifiable, their sole object being to increase the amount of compensation which they will have to receive whenever the question shall again arise of the Metropolitan Board of Works becoming the absolute owners of these undertakings. I mention this in public, because it is forced upon the attention of those who have to deal with these matters in connection with public institutions.

MR. MONK: Before the Bill is read a third time, I wish to state that though it has on two occasions been under discussion, it has never been discussed till between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning; and, therefore, the ratepayers of the Metropolis really know nothing of what has occurred. They know it has been brought in, and they will know to-morrow that it has been passed; but that is all. The ratepayers of the Metropolis take a very great interest in the

Bill; they have petitioned the House against it; and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the City have also held a Court and petitioned against the Bill, and they have stated that the conduct of the Metropolitan Board of Works in expending the money of the ratepayers in the promotion of Bills in Parliament, against the express wishes of the citizen ratepayers, is most unjustifiable. Not only have they said that, but they have stated what is equally true—that the Metropolitan Board of Works exceeded their statutory powers in promoting these Bills. There is no one in this House or out of it, I am sure, who is not anxious that there should be a good supply of water for the Metropolis, and I am perfectly certain that the Metropolitan Board of Works brought forward these Bills in good faith; but anyone who will read the Acts, and especially the principal amending Act—19 & 20 *Vict. c. 112*—will see that the Metropolitan Board of Works had no power to promote a Bill for the water supply of the Metropolis, or for purchasing the existing Water Companies' works. By having done so, and by having expended a large sum of money in preliminary and other expenses, the Board of Works have placed themselves in a very awkward position. They have come before Parliament, and have come to ask to be allowed to pay this sum of £15,000 or £16,000 which they have incurred in preliminary expenses. Well, having admitted their fault, as they have done in the Amendments which were inserted in the Bill last night, the House has consented to pass this measure, and, therefore, I shall offer no opposition to my hon. and gallant Friend taking the last stage of the Bill on this occasion; but I think it right that it should be known that the Bill which leaves this House is not the Bill which came into this House—that Parliament, having decided that the members of the Metropolitan Board should not be called upon personally to pay the costs which they and my hon. and gallant Friend incurred, those costs will now fall upon the ratepayers. But my hon. and gallant Friend has given a pledge to this House, at the instance of the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), that he will bring in no more Bills of this nature, or of a nature to impose further bur-

dens upon the ratepayers, without first consulting the Government.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I wish to say that I think the position of the Metropolitan Board is a very hard one. They are not like any other ordinary local authority—they are not able to bring in a Bill, and to treat it as a Private Bill, and get it referred at once to a Select Committee upstairs; but their Bills must be Public Bills, and the consequence is that any Member may, by a Notice of opposition, prevent their discussion or progress. In the case of any other local authority this would have been a Private Bill, and would have been discussed at the commencement, instead of at the end, of a Sitting; and the question would probably then have been referred to a Select Committee. The Metropolitan Board are in this difficulty—that their Bills are Public Bills. I very much regret that the Chairman of the Board should have given a pledge to a private Member not to introduce the Bill again without the consent of the Government; and I venture to question whether he was justified, in his public capacity, in giving that pledge. No private Member has a right to ask the Chairman to give a public pledge that he would not undertake a certain course without the consent of the Government. I regret that the Chairman gave that pledge, for I think that his position as Chairman of the Metropolitan Board makes him responsible to the whole House, and not to any individual Member. If he thinks it is his duty, as representing the Board, to deal with the question of water supply, the matter should not be made dependent on the will of a private Member.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I thank my hon. Friend for his kindness to the Board. Ever since I occupied the position I now fill, many and many a Session have I brought in Bills, and fought against the difficulties mentioned by my hon. Friend, and I have watched for a whole Session without being able to bring them on at all. As to the pledge I gave to the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), I am glad to be able to point out that I did not give that pledge without consultation with my Colleagues; I had last autumn brought the question of the water supply of the Metropolis before Her Majesty's Go-

*Mr. Monk*

vernment. I went myself and asked Her Majesty's Government whether they would assist us in bringing in a Bill for the purchase of the Water Companies; but they did not see their way to give that pledge. When I was asked by the hon. Member for Midhurst I consulted my Colleagues, and they said they thought that, considering we could not get a Bill without the aid of the Government, or unless Parliament would kindly put the question on a proper basis, I might give such an undertaking not to bring in a Bill without the consent of the Government. As to the observations which have been made by the hon. Member for the West Riding (Mr. C. Beckett-Denison), we have had many complaints as to the conduct of the Water Companies; we are fully alive to the matter, and we are anxious to get rid of the difficulties in our way. I am very much obliged to the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) for removing his opposition; but as to the Petitions sent in against this Bill I would say that, of the two sent in from the City, one was only signed by 18 persons resident in the City.

SIR ANDREW LUSK: The Aldermen never do meet in Common Hall. I hope the hon. and gallant Member will be able to bring in another Bill next Session for giving us a better water supply, and that he will prove more successful with it.

MR. MONK: I may point out that I hold in my hand an advertisement, signed "Monckton," which says—

"At a meeting and assembly of the Metropolitan Aldermen and Liverymen of the several Companies of London in Common Hall assembled on the 24th June 1879,"

it was resolved to oppose this Bill.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: I hope the Government will give their careful consideration to this question of water supply during the Recess. The question is most important, not only as regards the quantity, but also the quality, of the water supplied.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I may mention that the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) has, at my request, agreed to take Wednesday next for the discussion of his Motion on the Metropolitan Water Supply.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

# ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS ACT (1868) EXTENSION BILL—[BILL 236.]

(*Mr. Torrens, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Goldney.*)

## CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Torrens.*)

MR. RYLANDS protested against the Bill having been put down for a Saturday Sitting, as it was a private Member's Bill, and moved that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

MR. W. M. TORRENS hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion. The Sunday Closing Bill, introduced by a private Member, was considered in its amended form last Session. He denied that the measure before the House was a Private Bill, five of the principal clauses having been adopted at the instance of the Government. He hoped the House would not be led away by a technicality, which was neither more nor less than obstruction pure and simple.

MR. COURTNEY thought the Bill was of too great importance to be discussed at half-past 5 o'clock on a Saturday, and in the absence of the hon. Member (Mr. Isaac), who had given Notice of Amendments which involved serious consideration.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON hoped the House would not agree to the hon. Member's (Mr. Rylands') proposal, the measure having been already fully discussed, after re-casting and re-modeling by the Home Secretary and the President of the Local Government Board, in order that it might be rendered harmonious with existing legislation. It was by no means a private Member's Bill, many of the more important clauses having been inserted by the Local Government Board.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE approved the general principle of the Bill.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered*.

A Clause (Application of Act to Ireland,)—(*Mr Attorney General for Ireland*,)—*added*.

Another Clause (Application of Act to Scotland,)—(*The Lord Advocate*,)—*added*.

Other Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

### MOTION.

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RAIKES, Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON. Bill *presented*, and read the first time.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES [EXPENSES].

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Travelling and other Expenses of any additional Judge sitting for the trial of Election Petitions, and of the Cost of receiving such Judge, and of all other incidental Expenses, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session relating to Election Petitions, and to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

#### BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN (EDUCATION) BILL—[Bill 93.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse*, *Sir Andrew Lusk*, *Mr. Scott*, *Mr. Isaac*, *Mr. Benjamin Williams*.)

#### CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Wheelhouse*.)

Mr. RYLANDS: I have a very high appreciation of the motives of my hon. and learned Friend (*Mr. Wheelhouse*) in promoting the Bill; but the Bill itself does not stand in the same position

as the Bill we have just now considered. It has never received any amendment at the hands of the Government, and appears to me to be very objectionable in its present shape. I do not object to the object; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman would draft a Bill on lines to carry out that object in a satisfactory manner I should be the last to oppose it. But the Bill, as it now stands, is in such a form that the Government ought to give him no assistance. It is opposed by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (*Mr. Pell*), whose absence to-day is a thing we ought to consider. He had no expectation that this Bill would come on on a Saturday's Sitting, but he has put down a Notice against the Bill, and, no doubt, to-day he is enjoying a little well-earned relaxation out of London; therefore, I do think, in the absence of the hon. Gentleman, we should not proceed with this stage of the Bill. The Bill, as I have said before, is drawn in a very crude manner. I do not suppose for a moment the hon. and learned Gentleman considers what the proposal amounts to; but, as I read the Bill, he proposes that schools shall be provided for deaf and mute children of the religious denomination to which the parents of the children belong. Thus, if there are half-a-dozen of these children in a parish, and the parents of one are Wesleyans, two, say, Church-people, another a Baptist, and the others Primitive Methodists, then under the Bill the parish will have to provide a school belonging to the religious denomination with which each of these is connected. Of course, if certain benevolent people belonging to these religions are willing to undertake the establishing of schools for the education of these poor children, there can be no objection. But the Bill would provide that where schools are required to be established they shall be built out of the public funds, for the purpose of educating the few deaf and dumb children of the locality. The Bill is quite novel in legislation, and the effect of it would be that we should provide a number of denominational schools for the education of this afflicted class of the children of paupers. I have no desire to interfere with the religious scruples of parents; but there ought to be some arrangement which, while recognizing the rights of conscience, should enable us to congre-



gate these children for instruction and training where it could be carried out more efficiently than is proposed under the Bill. My objection is very strong indeed, while I do not complain of the object—in itself a very estimable one. I have the greatest personal respect for the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Wheelhouse), and I recognize his great benevolence of character; but, in drafting this Bill, he has not shown as much intellectual acuteness as great benevolence of heart. Here is a Bill of which I will venture to say that out of the Members now distributed over the Three Kingdoms and the Continent, I do not suppose one Member in 50 contemplated the prospect of a Bill of this character being brought on at the very last moment when the Session is expiring, and owing to accidental circumstances at a Saturday's Sitting—a Sitting only held for important Business and the convenience of the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to an appeal made to him by my hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), did express his entire concurrence with our opinion that, unless specially appointed, it is undesirable that Private Bills should be taken on Saturday. Therefore, in my judgment, there is not the slightest justification for breaking the rule in the case of this Bill; and I think that the hon. and learned Gentleman might consent to an adjournment of this debate. I will not move that it be considered this day three months, for I have no wish to meet it with an antagonistic Motion; but if he will consult with other Members of the House, and prepare a Bill upon arrangements agreeable to the views of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire, I have no doubt he will carry out his object next Session in an efficient manner for those whose interest he has at heart, instead of in the crude, objectionable fashion which I am sure would never work. I beg leave to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
 —(*Mr. Rylands.*)

MR. CHARLEY was sorry to see the hon. Member, who professed to be a friend of the rights of private Members, obstructing the Bill of a private Member after its principle had been affirmed

on the second reading, and its details settled in Committee.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered*.

Amendments made.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after Six  
 o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 11th August, 1879.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—  
 Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Extension \*  
 (181); Endowed Schools Acts Continuance \*  
 (182); Expiring Laws Continuance \* (183);  
 Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) \* (184); Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) \* (185); Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment \* (186); Prevention of Crime \* (187); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) \* (188); St. Giles' Ancient Church (Edinburgh) \* (189); Lough Erne and River (Continuance) \* (190).

*Second Reading*—Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance \* (176); Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment \* (177); Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice) \* (178); Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing \* (179); Public Offices (Fees) \* (175).

*Third Reading*—Knightsbridge and other Crown Lands \* (166); Mungret Agricultural School, &c. \* (174); Land Tax Commissioners Names \* (173); Municipal Elections (Ireland) \* (169); Commissioners of Woods (Thames Piers) \* (168), and *passed*.

*Royal Assent*—Customs Buildings [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 36]; Highway Accounts (Returns) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 39]; Commons Act (1876) Amendment [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 37]; Railways and Telegraphs in India [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 41]; Slave Trade (East African Courts) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 38]; Conveyancing and Land Transfer (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 40]; Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 42]; Summary Jurisdiction [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 49]; East Indian Railway (Redemption of Annuities) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 43]; Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 44]; East India Loan (Consolidated Fund) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 45]; Turnpike Acts Continuance [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 46]; Industrial Schools (Powers of School Boards) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 48]; Petroleum Act (1871) Amendment [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 47]; Bills of Sale (Ireland) [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 50]; Tramways Orders Confirmation [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. *exciii*]; New Forest Act (1877) Amendment [42 & 43 *Vict.* c. *exciv*].

## PRIVATE BILLS.

On the Motion of the CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES—

Standing Orders 141, 142, 144, and 145 considered, and amended; and to be printed as amended.

Then it was moved to resolve, That on or before the 15th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered, That the said Resolution be declared a Standing Order, and that it be entered on the Roll of Standing Orders, and be printed. (No. 191.)

IRELAND—THE CONSTABULARY AND THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS. — QUESTIONS.

LORD EMLY: I beg to ask the Lord President of the Council, Whether instructions have been given to the Royal Irish Constabulary to assist in carrying out the provisions of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: When this matter was under discussion some time ago, there must have been some misapprehension as to the Act adopted in Ireland, with regard to carrying out the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act as regarded that country. I have been in communication with the Lord Lieutenant since that discussion took place, and I find that there is every disposition on the part of the Government and the Lord Lieutenant that the provisions of that Act should be as thoroughly carried out in Ireland as in England; and that the Constabulary in Ireland are most desirous and willing to co-operate with all the local authorities throughout Ireland in carrying out the provisions of the Act in the best manner they are able.

LORD EMLY: Have there been no special instructions issued to the Constabulary on this subject, with regard to the police assisting as they have done

formerly? I am rather afraid, I confess, there are some special instructions given to the heads of the police, and that the co-operation that is necessary will not be given.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: Special instructions have been issued; but I think it is scarcely necessary, because the Constabulary are bound by the Act itself to render assistance in carrying out the provisions of the Act.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Five o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 11th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation). Committee — Report — Public Works Loans (No. 2) [260]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (*re-comm.*) [288]. Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) [283], and passed. *Third Reading*—East India Loan (Annuities)\* [276]; East India Loan (£5,000,000) [197]; Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2)\* [289], and passed. Withdrawn—Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) [290]; Tipperary Boroughs\* [271]; Trustees Relief\* [146].

## QUESTIONS.

## NAVY—DOCKS AT SIMON'S BAY.

## QUESTION.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether any steps are being taken to provide dock accommodation for Her Majesty's Ships at Simon's Bay, Cape Colony; and, if there is any Correspondence on the subject, either at the Admiralty or Colonial Office, which can, without prejudice to the public service, be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, no steps have been taken to provide further dock accommodation at Simon's Bay, and there is no Correspondence on the subject to produce. There is a patent slip

capable of taking small vessels at Simon's Bay, and there are basins at Table Bay and a dock in progress.

**VICTORIA—NAVAL RESERVE FORCE.  
QUESTION.**

**COLONEL ARBUTHNOT** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will be so good as to supplement his information as to the results of the Colonial Naval Defence Act by stating how many Royal Colonial Naval Reserve men and Volunteers are enrolled under that Act in the Colony of Victoria?

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**, in reply, said, on the 31st of December, 1877, the Naval Reserve Force of Victoria appeared to have numbered 348; but he was unable to state what its present numbers might be.

**NAVAL STATIONS AT YEZO AND  
SEVASTOPOL.—QUESTION.**

**MR. E. J. REED** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state if it be true that the Government of Russia are about to establish a large Naval and Military station opposite to the Yezo coast of Japan; and, whether the Government have any information respecting the rumoured establishment of a Naval station at Sevastopol by the United States Government under a concession from the Government of Russia?

**MR. BOURKE**, in reply, said, he had looked carefully through the Papers in the Foreign Office, but had not been able to find any document containing information on the subject referred to in the hon. Gentleman's Question.

**NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINE CORPS—  
THE ORDER IN COUNCIL, 1878.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it be the fact that the Royal Marine Corps Order in Council of the 15th January, 1878, was founded mainly on the Report of a Departmental Committee; if it be the fact that none of the officers of the corps were examined by that Committee except the Assistant Adjutant General; if he is aware that the result has given dissatisfaction to the other officers of the corps, particularly in the extent to which selection has been substituted for seniority,

in a seniority service; if he is aware that there are cases of peculiar hardship, if not illegality, in the way in which senior officers have been passed over for commands; and, if he will appoint an impartial Committee to ascertain from the officers themselves the grievances of which they complain?

**MR. W. H. SMITH**: Sir, it is the fact that the Royal Marine Corps Order in Council of January 15, 1878, was founded on the Report of a Committee. The Committee did not take evidence, but numerous Memorials from Marine officers were referred to and considered by them. The Deputy Adjutant General of the Marine Corps was a Member of the Committee, and he received assistance also from the Assistant Adjutant General. So far from the result having given dissatisfaction, the reverse is the case, the majority of Marine officers preferring selection for commands of divisions as a substitute for seniority. No doubt, the officers who have not been selected for command view their own individual cases as of peculiar hardship; but there can be no question of legality, the Admiralty having had, previously to the re-organization, full powers to exercise their discretion. I need hardly say that it is not an agreeable duty to have to select officers, and that it is done with the most careful and anxious consideration. There is no intention to appoint another Committee.

**LAW AND JUSTICE—BREWERS AS  
JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. WETHERED** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether instances have not lately occurred of Lords Lieutenants of counties refusing to place in the commission of the peace gentlemen who have been recommended by chairman and petty sessions, and are in every way duly qualified for the office, on the ground that they are connected with the brewing business; and, if this be the case, whether the Government is prepared to issue instructions to Lords Lieutenants of counties to the effect that the fact of gentlemen being engaged in the brewing business shall not be regarded as a disqualification for appointment as a justice of the peace?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER**, in reply, said, the initiative in

recommending gentlemen for the position of county magistrate lay with the Lords Lieutenant of counties, and that the Government had no knowledge of the grounds upon which they recommended or declined to recommend such gentlemen as were referred to in the Question of the hon. Member—namely, gentlemen connected with the brewing business. The Lord Chancellor who, as a rule, appointed any gentleman whom the Lord Lieutenant recommended, unless there was some specific objection to his so doing as regarded the person so submitted, had no means of knowing the grounds on which a Lord Lieutenant declined to make such recommendation. As a matter of fact, many brewers were on the commission of the peace; and, in the opinion of the Government, the fact that a gentleman was engaged in the brewing business was no disqualification for his appointment as a justice.

#### THE RAILWAY COMMISSION—CONTINUANCE.—QUESTION.

MR. ARTHUR PEEL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, considering that a Bill for simply continuing the Railway Commissioners has now passed this House, it is to be understood that no change is contemplated in the functions of the Commissioners; or whether, seeing the urgent necessity for conferring upon them fresh duties and powers, he can state that it is intended to introduce a Bill to that effect before the expiration of the term of extension?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, as I mentioned when the Bill continuing the Railway Commission and their functions was passed, the Government by introducing that Bill in no way pledged itself not to propose changes to Parliament during the three years for which the Commission is prolonged by that Bill. I am fully aware that fresh legislation is called for on this subject, and, as I stated at the beginning of the Session, I had considered the matter very carefully during the last winter, and had prepared a Bill of considerable length respecting it, which the pressure of other Business made it impossible for me to introduce. As to when the Government may be able to deal with this matter, while fully acknowledging its importance I think it wiser to decline to give any pledge.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

#### CUSTOMS OFFICERS (IRELAND).

##### QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the out-door Customs officers employed in Ireland, particularly in Belfast, recently memorialized the Treasury to be placed on an equal footing with those of London and Liverpool, alleging that their duties were equally onerous and responsible, and the cost of living equally high; whether these statements are correct; whether a similar equality exists with reference to the pay and emoluments of all, or nearly all, the out-door out-post officers located in Ireland, as compared with those located in England; and, whether, seeing that the pay of these and other civil servants comes from the Imperial Exchequer, and not from local sources, he will consider the propriety of making their remuneration depend upon the amount and nature of their duties and responsibilities, instead of upon the country where these duties are discharged, or otherwise remedying the inequality complained of?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, on the 12th of February this year, the out-door officers in Belfast memorialized the Treasury in the sense described by the hon. Member in his Question, and about the same time similar Memorials were received from Londonderry, Cork, and Sligo, in Ireland, and from about 20 of the outports in England. All these Memorials are word for word identical—which shows them to be the result of preconcerted arrangement. Speaking generally, I should say that it is certainly not a correct allegation that the duties of out-port officers are as onerous and responsible as those of London and Liverpool officers, or that the cost of living is as high at the outports as it is in those two places. There is no difference between the pay of out-door officers at the outports in Ireland and in the United Kingdom, therefore there is no reason for altering salaries on that account; nor do I see any other sufficient reason for altering the remuneration of the class of officers referred to, especially as their case was considered at the time the re-organization of that class of officers took place, so recently as 1871.

**SPAIN—CUBA—IMPORTATION OF  
COOLIES FROM THE BRITISH WEST  
INDIES.—QUESTION.**

**SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence relating to the attempt made to introduce Coolies from the British West India Colonies into Cuba?

**MR. BOURKE**, in reply, said, he had not yet looked through the Correspondence referred to in the Question of the hon. Baronet; but, of course, there would be no objection to produce it.

**CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)  
ACT—COMPENSATION.—QUESTION.**

**MR. CALLAN** asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the statements of the Right honourable the Recorder of Dublin, on Saturday last, in reserving judgment in the case of Lyons against the Guardians of the North Dublin Union for the recovery of the price of milch cows, which have been slaughtered by order of the cattle Inspectors of the defendants, under the provisions of the Contagious Diseases Animals Act, who said—

“It was a monstrous thing that this Act of Parliament, which deals with the rights of owners of cattle in this Country, where the cattle trade is the staple production of the rural portion of the Country, and which gives boards of guardians the power of summarily destroying the property of these people, for very good reasons, and which provides that under these circumstances the owners are to receive statutory compensation, is wholly silent as to the tribunal which is to decide these matters in case of a dispute. A greater omission from an Act of Parliament could scarcely be conceived, and the sooner the attention of the authorities are drawn to this the better;”

and, whether, in view of this statement, he proposes to introduce a Bill to rectify this important omission, by naming “the tribunal which is to decide the amount of compensation in case of a dispute?”

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON)**: Sir, my attention has been called by the Question to the case referred to by the hon. Member. As I do not know the circumstances under

which the case was brought before the Recorder, and is now actually pending before him, I can, of course, offer no opinion upon it. With regard to the second part of the Question, I have no intention of bringing in any amending Bill, as the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act was carefully framed, and has been found to work well, and provides ample powers—which have been acted on—for making Orders in Council, from time to time, for the purposes of the Act, including the mode of ascertainment of the value of animals slaughtered by order of the local authority.

**MR. CALLAN**: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, whether the Act names the tribunal which is to decide the amount of compensation?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON)**: If the hon. Gentleman will refer to the 32nd section, he will see that it applies to the machinery by which Orders in Council may be made on all the subjects likely to arise.

**LAW OFFICERS OF THE CROWN—  
PROSECUTION OF OFFENCES ACT.**

**QUESTION.**

**SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN** asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether after the 1st of January, 1880, when the Prosecution of Offences Act comes into operation, Her Majesty's Attorney General and Solicitor General will be entitled to undertake the defence of persons prosecuted under this Act, the eighth section of which provides that regulations for carrying the Act into effect may from time to time be made, rescinded, varied, and added to by the Attorney General?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER)**: Sir, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General occasionally defend accused persons; but before they are entitled to do so a licence from the Crown has to be obtained, and if their services are needed for the prosecution such licence is not granted. I do not think the Act referred to will affect the privileges of the Law Officers. There is nothing, in my opinion, in the 8th clause of the Prosecution of Offences Act which entitles them to defend persons prosecuted under it.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.—QUESTIONS.

THE O'DONOGHUE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will inform the House of the names of those constituting the Royal Commission to inquire into the Causes of Agricultural Distress prevailing throughout the United Kingdom; whether the Commission will proceed from place to place in prosecution of its inquiries, or whether it will be stationary; and, whether the Government intend the Commission should examine the nature of the rents at present paid by the occupiers, as well as the mode of fixing the rent of farms, with the view of ascertaining the means possessed by the occupiers of securing for themselves reasonable terms?

MR. CALLAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to place on the Royal Commission to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress prevailing throughout the United Kingdom at least one representative of the tenant farmers of Ireland, so as to avoid confining the representation of Irish interests to that of one section of the community, viz. the landlord class?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, with reference to the second and third parts of the Question of the hon. Member for Tralee, I would say that these are matters which will be left for the Commission to settle amongst themselves. With regard to the names of the Commissioners, I am sorry to say that the list is not yet entirely complete; but I will give the names as far as I am able to do so. The reason that the Commission is not entirely complete is that we have had very great difficulty in finding proper representatives of the different interests which should be represented, and in getting gentlemen to serve upon the Commission whom we should have wished to see on it. I wish especially to express my deep regret that my hon. Friend the Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) has not felt himself able to give us his services. The Commission must be rather a large one, and it is not complete in the respect to which the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan) refers. We are at present in communication with gentlemen in Ireland, with a view to obtain a proper re-

presentation of tenant farmers in Ireland. Therefore, it should be understood that I only give the Commission subject to communications which are still going on, and to the necessity of making an addition for that purpose. Subject to that qualification, the Commission will be as follows:—The Duke of Richmond and Gordon will be the President; the Duke of Buccleuch, Earl Spencer, and Lord Vernon; then several hon. Members of this House, whom, I believe, it will not be out of Order to mention by name—the right hon. G. J. Goschen, Mr. H. Chaplin, Colonel Kingscote, Mr. Hunter Rodwell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Captain Ritchie, and Mr. Mitchell Henry; and then Mr. Jacob Wilson, of Woodhorn Manor, near Morpeth; Mr. Robert Patterson, of Birthwood, Biggar, Scotland; Mr. Chas. Howard, of Biddenham, Bedford; Sir William Stephenson, the Chesnuts, Uxbridge, lately Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue; Professor Bonamy Price, Oxford; and Mr. William Stratton, of Kingston Deverill, near Warminster; and Mr. John Clay, of Purchas, near Chepstow.

CONVOCATION—THE RITUAL COMMISSION.—QUESTION.

MR. HOLT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government have received any report of proceedings recently taken in the Convocation of either Province, under the letters of business issued by the Crown, on the subject of the Fourth Report of the Ritual Commission; whether it is true that the two Convocations are not agreed in the recommendations made in their several reports with reference to the ornaments rubric; whether these reports will be laid before Parliament before the close of the Session; whether any draft Bill has been submitted to the Government for consideration by the Convocation of either Province; and, if so, whether it meets with their approval and will be laid before Parliament before the Recess; and, generally, whether the Government intend to take any, and what further action in respect of these reports of Convocation.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, no Reports had been received by Her Majesty's Government of the proceedings recently taken in the Convoca-

tion of either Province. A committee had been appointed by the Southern Province; but he was not quite certain whether the Northern Province had appointed a similar committee. He believed it was true that the two Convocations had not agreed in the recommendations made in their several Reports with reference to the ornaments rubric. In regard to the Question generally, the hon. Member would not expect him to give an opinion upon it until after the Government had had time to consider the questions involved.

**CYPRUS—LOANS—REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—QUESTION.**

**MR. WHITWELL** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, How it is that the Cyprus Government, a nominated body, has power to issue an ordinance authorizing the High Commissioner to take up a loan of money for £34,000, and to what amount such powers to borrow extend; whether, to borrow this £34,000, at the estimated rate of 3½ per cent, it will be necessary to make the loan a first charge on the revenues of Cyprus next after the rent to the Porte, and in what manner the liquidation of the loan will be effected; and, if the revenues of Cyprus fall short from bad seasons, sickness, or any other cause, British Votes will be liable to meet the expenses for maintaining the government and police, &c. &c. of the island?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I understand that an Ordinance will be passed by the Cyprus Government; but, in point of fact, the authority in the matter is really with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and with the Treasury at home. I think I may just answer the Question of the hon. Gentleman by mentioning the substance of a communication that was made by the Treasury to the Foreign Office on this subject some months ago, when the proposal was sent home, with reference to some provision of this sort being made. The Treasury then expressed their opinion that the sound rule to be followed in borrowing for public works in Cyprus would be to borrow no more than the annual Revenue of the Island, prudently estimated, and with due allowance for uncertain allowance, can bear the interest of without a

deficit, in addition to such annual instalments as will discharge the principal in a period not exceeding, at the outside, 20 years, or, still better, 10 years. They proceeded to say that, subject to that rule, they considered the amount of borrowing and the objects of expenditure might, in the main, be left to the prudence of the High Commissioner, his particular recommendations continuing to require the approval of the Secretary of State and of the Treasury. The sum of £34,000 has been mentioned as the sum that might be required for the works in contemplation; but it is not, as I understand, the intention of the Cyprus Government to ask for power to borrow so large a sum as that. The sum that I have heard mentioned as the sum likely to be borrowed is about £22,000. That amount would be borrowed of the Ottoman or some other bank, and it would, of course, be on the security of the Revenues of Cyprus. There would be no necessity for us to consider what arrangements were made as between the Government of Cyprus and those who might lend. I believe my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State stated this several months ago.

**NEW NORTHERN (VICTORIA) UNIVERSITY—THE CHARTER—POWER TO CONFER DEGREES ON FEMALES.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. BERESFORD HOPE** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there is any foundation for the statement contained in the "Times" of Saturday the 9th, that the draft Charter of the proposed Victoria University contains powers for deferring degrees upon females; and, whether, if the statement be accurate, any opportunity will be afforded for Parliament to pronounce an opinion upon this innovation upon the ancient system of academic degrees, as well as upon other provisions which may be contained in the draft Charter?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, the draft Charter which has been submitted by the promoters of the Victoria University contains a proposal to give power to grant degrees to women as well as to men. That draft Charter has been submitted to the Committee of the Privy Council, and is now under consideration. As my hon. Friend

is, no doubt, aware, it is provided by a recent Act that it will be necessary for the Charter to lie on the Table of the House for a month before it can be granted.

NAVY—TRAINING SHIPS—CASE OF  
MICHAEL REARDON.—QUESTION.

Mr. BLAKE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is true that an Irish boy, named Michael Reardon, a few days ago, deserted from a training ship at Falmouth; that he was captured, brought back to the ship, and placed under arrest, but managed to elude the sentry yesterday morning and, leaping overboard, drowned himself; if it be true that he said a day or two ago to a shipmate that, rather than suffer the punishment of flogging, he would drown himself, and has now done so; if he can state the number of desertions from training ships during the last three years, and also the number of boys who have been flogged during the same period with the birch, cane, or otherwise; and, if it be true that the boys are tied up while undergoing such punishment?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Sir, it is the fact that Michael Reardon, having been granted leave on Sunday, the 3rd instant, did not return to the ship, and that on Monday, the 4th, he was apprehended by the local police and taken on board with another boy who had also deserted. He was to have been birched on the Wednesday, as it was the second time he had deserted; and it appears he did tell the other boy under arrest that he would drown himself rather than suffer punishment; but the boy did not report it, as he did not believe he was in earnest. Reardon was seen in his bed at 3.30 on the Wednesday morning and was missed at 4, and although a reward has been issued for his apprehension and the harbour has been dragged, he has not been found alive or dead up to the present time. He was, however, a very good swimmer, and the officers of the ship are inclined to the belief that he got safely on shore and has again deserted. I am unable to state the number of desertions or of the boys who have been birched or caned. It is true that boys are tied up while undergoing this punishment.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND):—  
DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE—  
CASE OF MR. TAYLOR.

QUESTION.

Mr. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If his attention has been called to the reports in the Dublin papers of the 6th of August to the case of a gentleman, named Taylor, who, for remonstrating with the police against their excessive violence towards a prisoner, was instantly seized by them, and carried off to the station on a charge of drunkenness; whether it is the fact that the magistrate dismissed the charge against Mr. Taylor, it being proved that he was perfectly sober at the time and had been a total abstainer from intoxicating drink for several years; and, whether any and what steps have been taken as to the three policemen who swore to this false charge against Mr. Taylor because of his remonstrances against their violence?

Mr. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said, it appeared from the report to which the hon. and learned Member alluded that a charge was brought against Mr. Taylor for having been drunk and disorderly. The charge was heard before one of the Divisional Justices in Dublin and dismissed. Evidence was adduced by the prosecution in order to show that Mr. Taylor was in a state of intoxication, and counter evidence was brought forward which certainly went to show that Mr. Taylor was not in a state of intoxication at the time. Among other statements that were made was this—that this gentleman was a total abstainer, and also that he was in the habit of lecturing occasionally in support of total abstinence principles. The only way in which he (Mr. J. Lowther) could account charitably for the mistake made by the police was that persons who were accustomed to lecturing sometimes acquired habits of vociferation and gesticulation which might give rise to a perfectly legitimate mistake on the part of the police. Under all the circumstances, as it was a case of personal violence, the Chief Commissioner of Police had come to the conclusion that it was a matter for further inquiry, and such an inquiry would at once be made.



**APPOINTMENTS IN THE 60TH RIFLES.—QUESTION.**

**TRICK O'BRIEN** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it prevails in the 60th Royal Rifles upon the colonel in that corps the right to make appointments in it; and, if so, will it be long that custom has ex-

**L. STANLEY:** Sir, there is no rule in the 60th Rifles conferring authority on the colonel, and, on the other hand, it is inconsistent with the Service. The Commander-in-Chief makes the first appointment, which may have led to the belief of the Colonel that they were made by him in chief.

**THE HORSE GUARDS—THE STAFF.—QUESTION.**

**O'BEIRNE** asked the Secretary of War, If the rule limiting the number of a staff appointment to one applies to the officers on the staff of the Horse Guards; and, if so, how long officers kept on that staff since 1874?

**L. STANLEY,** in reply, said, he could only find one such case in the circumstances were exceptional. As a rule, it was intended to adhere to the five years' rule.

**THE AUXILIARY FORCES — PLANS OF VOLUNTEERS.**

**QUESTION.**

**ALBERT BARTTELOT** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his intention to act upon that which the Report of the Volunteer Committee recommends the offer of an increased rate of pension to the Volunteers appointed under the new scheme; and, if so, when his intention will be carried out?

**L. STANLEY,** in reply, said, that a delay had occurred in the execution of a Warrant relating to the subject mentioned in the

**DEPARTMENTS — SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY.—QUESTION.**

**EDERICK PERKINS** asked the Secretary of Works,

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Whether the Saturday half-holiday is confined to the administrative officers, or is general in all Government Departments, so far as the requirements of the service will permit?

**MR. GERARD NOEL,** in reply, said, that there was no half-holiday in the Ordnance Survey Department at Southampton, and that the Directors had not as yet recommended it.

**ARMY—ORDNANCE STORE DEPARTMENT—RE-ORGANIZATION.**

**QUESTION.**

**SIR FREDERICK PERKINS** asked the Secretary of State for War, When the Royal Warrant for re-organizing the Ordnance Store Department will be issued; and, will the officers of that department be upon a par in every respect with those of the Commissariat Department?

**LORD EUSTACE CECIL,** in reply, said, that as soon as certain small matters of difference between the Treasury and the War Office had been arranged the Warrant referred to would be issued. It would be in the sense mentioned in the Question.

**MERCHANT SHIPPING—RULE OF THE ROAD AT SEA—COLLISION BETWEEN THE "CITY OF MECCA" AND THE "INSULANO."—QUESTIONS.**

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have had under consideration the circumstances of a collision between the British steamer "City of Mecca," and the Portuguese steamer "Insulano," and the decision of the Portuguese Courts in the case which appears to be in violation of the International rules of the road, adopted by Portugal in 1863, notwithstanding that the Portuguese Government have, by a declaration of the King, dated 3rd July 1877, affirmed that there is no room for doubt that the meaning of the rule in Portugal is identical with the British meaning; and, what steps the Government propose to take to obtain redress for the owners of the "City of Mecca?"

**MR. BOURKE,** in reply, said, the question had been before Her Majesty's Government for a long time, and it had

now entered on a new phase. Papers had been sent to the Law Officers of the Crown, and when the Government had read their Report they would consider what steps it was their duty to take.

MR. ANDERSON: Will that Report be in the hands of Her Majesty's Government before the Prorogation of Parliament?

MR. BOURKE: No.

#### THE LATE PRINCE IMPERIAL—COURT MARTIAL ON CAPTAIN CAREY.

##### QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the sentence of the court martial on Captain Carey was one of death; whether that sentence was confirmed by the Horse Guards and set aside by the Cabinet; and, irrespective of the nature of the sentence, whether Her Majesty's Government have remitted or advised the remission of the sentence on Captain Carey, in opposition to the opinion, and against the protest, of the Commander in Chief, or in accordance with his views or recommendation?

COLONEL STANLEY: I am afraid, Sir, that this is a Question which I am not able to answer, consistently with my sense of duty.

#### ARMY—THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.—QUESTION.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will cause to be laid upon the Table of the House, and printed, the Report of the War Office Committee, of which General Lord Airey is president, now engaged in investigating the working of the system of short service and reserves in the Army, in order that the House may be fully informed, before the Army Estimates of next year, on a subject of so much national importance?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, I have not yet seen any of the evidence, nor am I aware whether the Committee have or have not closed the inquiry; but when I have had an opportunity of seeing what the evidence is, if it is not inconsistent with the Public Service to lay it upon the Table of the House, there will be no objection to do so at the proper time. I

*Mr. Bourke*

cannot, however, give a pledge as to the time or the form in which the Report will be presented.

#### HOMES AND HOUSES OF REFUGE FOR CHILDREN.—QUESTION.

MR. WHEELHOUSE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of recent occurrences, it be not possible, either by the exercise of powers now in existence, or, failing them, by statutory enactment, to ensure the due provision of so-called Homes and Houses of Refuge for Children; and, if such powers can not now be enforced, whether he will, early next Session, introduce a Bill having for its object such supervision?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that in May last he sent a Circular to Mayors and other local authorities with regard to the due supervision of so-called Homes and Houses of Refuge for Children, and the answers he had received led him to hope no further legislation would be necessary.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE DERBY MURDER—CONDUCT OF THE JURY.

##### STATEMENT.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to supplement an answer he gave a few days ago to the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan), with regard to the jury in Gerald Mainwaring's case. He had, on the occasion he referred to, said he had no authority for his remark, that he could not conceive the jury would have acted in the manner alleged; but he had since made inquiry, and that day he had received the following letter from the foreman of the jury:—

"Sir,—In reply to your inquiry respecting the mode in which the jury in the Gerald Mainwaring case came to their decision, after the jury had retired and discussed the case, they ascertained that they were equally divided as to the verdict, six being for manslaughter, and six for wilful murder, with a strong recommendation to mercy. We had not then elected a Chairman, and I, as Foreman, declined to act as such, so we agreed to ballot for one, and that the vote of the majority should rule the verdict, and, in case of an equal vote, the Chairman should have the casting vote. There was no tossing or casting of lots, and the only balloting was for the election of a Chairman. I, and others of the jury, wish this to be made

public to the fullest extent, so as to contradict many untrue reports which have been circulated."

He (Mr. Assheton Cross) was bound to say that he could not come to such a conclusion which the foreman appeared to have done with such complacency. When there were six on one side and six on the other, and they drew lots for a Chairman, who should have a casting vote, that seemed to him very like tossing for a verdict.

MR. CALLAN gave Notice that to-morrow he should inquire 'Whether the capital sentence would, under the circumstances, be carried out?'

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he should have thought it was absolutely unnecessary to put such a Question.

#### POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAILS.

##### QUESTION.

In reply to Mr. CALLAN,

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, he should inquire into, and ascertain whether there was any undue delay in the delivery of newspapers from Ireland in the South-Western postal district. Letters which were not in time for the first delivery were sent out by a special delivery. The Irish packets had been detained by fogs.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS — THE

##### "ALBERT EDWARD."—QUESTION.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, When the Report of an inquiry into the accident on board the "Albert Edward" Channel steamer, on the 22nd of July, will be presented to the House and printed?

MR. J. G. TALBOT, in reply, said, that the inquiry into the accident would be held on Thursday next, and that the Report of the inquiry would be published in the usual manner.

#### METROPOLIS WATER SUPPLY.

##### QUESTION.

In reply to Mr. FAWCETT,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER appointed Wednesday next for discussion on this subject.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—AFGHANISTAN — PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—QUESTION.

In answer to Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the second reading of the Appropriation Bill would be taken to-day, and the Committee to-morrow. The third reading must be taken on Wednesday. That, he hoped, would allow Parliament to be prorogued on Friday. With regard to the Question as to Afghanistan, as the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid) was entitled, on the Motion for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, to bring forward a Motion on another subject, he supposed it would not be possible for the hon. Gentleman to take advantage of that stage of the Bill to bring forward the Afghan Question. He would therefore suggest that if the hon. Gentleman desired to raise that question an opportunity would be afforded to him on Thursday. [An hon. MEMBER: At what hour?] At 4 o'clock.

#### IRELAND — DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE—CASE OF MR. TAYLOR.

##### OBSERVATIONS. MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he felt it necessary to trouble the House with a Motion, owing to an answer which had been given to a Question put by himself, with regard to the arrest of Mr. Taylor, in Dublin, on the charge of drunkenness. He must ask the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Question which he had put, and to the answer which he had received from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Taylor, on his way home, observed the police ill-using a young man, and, on remonstrance, he was arrested and taken to the station on a charge of being intoxicated. It was a fact that he was not arrested until he was seen to take out a note-book and pencil to take down the policeman's number. In the opinion of the Leader of the House, was not this a matter to be seriously answered by the Chief Secretary, and not to be answered with jeers and offensively? The charge in due time came before the magistrates, and two policemen came up and supported

the evidence of the arresting officer that Mr. Taylor was drunk. But, happily for him, he was able to account for himself during the entire of the afternoon up to the time when he was arrested, and the main part of the time was spent as a guest at the house of one of the superintendents of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, at whose table he had dined, and where he partook of nothing stronger than water to drink. He put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the magistrates had dismissed the case, whether this did not touch very closely one of the first protections which a citizen should have against the Dublin police; but because the gentleman was a total abstainer the Chief Secretary rose to say that the police naturally fell into a mistake. He resented that conduct from any one on the Treasury Bench as a gross affront. Did the Chief Secretary mean to say that because a man was a teetotaler he was to be subject more than anyone else to violence from the police, or to arrest? What chance had they in Dublin of justice, unless there were some Office higher than the Chief Secretary of State for Ireland? Being sober, what right had the police to arrest Mr. Taylor at all? He was sorry to say the answer of the Chief Secretary was a very strong encouragement to the police of Dublin to persevere in such conduct as that to which he had called attention. He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. FINIGAN seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. Sullivan.)*

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Sullivan) was very unreasonable in making his (Mr. J. Lowther's) reply a subject of complaint. He was asked whether the report was correct that the magistrate dismissed the charge against this gentleman, who had been a total abstainer for several years, and who it was deposed to upon oath had been drunk in the public streets. Several police witnesses deposed on oath at the trial that he was in a state of intoxication. On the other hand, for the defence evidence was called to the effect that the person charged was not only sober, but that he had been drinking, not water, as the hon. Member had just stated, but tea with

the gentleman who made that statement. Well, he (Mr. J. Lowther) had to reconcile that with the evidence of the witnesses who deposed that he was intoxicated, and he had made the charitable suggestion that persons who acted in the capacity of lecturers in public upon this question of total abstinence frequently acquired habits of vociferation and gesticulation which might not unnaturally be mistaken for signs of inebriety. In confirmation of that impression, he (Mr. J. Lowther) might mention that it appeared from the published reports in the newspapers that Mr. Taylor conducted himself in court in such an excited manner that the presiding magistrate was obliged to call him to order in very decided terms. He (Mr. J. Lowther), in his original reply to the hon. and learned Member, had gone on to say that a full inquiry would be made into the whole case, and he must protest against the adjournment of the House being moved on an occasion like this, for he thought the House would be of opinion that the answer he gave was, in the circumstances, a very reasonable one, and afforded no cause of complaint.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTIONS.

Mr. CHILDERS asked, When, and to what extent, it was intended to proceed with the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill?

Mr. ANDERSON suggested that a little more general information as to the Business of the week should be given; and he particularly wished to know, Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to proceed with his Resolutions on the Business of the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, if the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill were not reached that night, it would be taken as the First Order to-morrow (Tuesday). The Government proposed to go on in Committee with the 1st clause, which gave power to unlimited banks to change themselves into limited ones. The next provision related to reserve liability, and he should submit that to the judgment of the Committee, in the hope that they would take a favourable view of it; but he believed the substantial point would be to pass the 1st clause.

*Mr. Sullivan*

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwyn-Ibbetson.*)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

## EGYPT.—OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID, in rising to call attention to the extraordinary interference of the Government in Egyptian internal affairs, and to the serious international complications which had been and were likely to be caused by it, said, that there had been an entire change of policy in the government of that country, and the power of England with regard to Egyptian affairs had diminished instead of increased. Her Majesty's Government, he thought, ought to give some explanation with regard to this subject. The Papers which were published on Saturday last were of considerable importance, relating, as they did, to the Firmans establishing the position of Egypt and its relation to Turkey, and giving a clear account of many points connected with the question. The history of the Firmans was shortly this:—In 1841, a Firman was issued providing that the succession to the Egyptian Throne should follow in the eldest of the male line, and, of course, increasing the tribute. That position lasted some considerable time—namely, until in 1863, Ismail Pasha, an active and energetic Sovereign, succeeded to the Throne. He endeavoured to get greater power from the Porte than had hitherto been known in Egypt. The result was that, in 1866, two Firmans were issued, in which it was arranged that the succession was to be hereditary, the one great advantage being that the Khedive would have to consider not so much the interests of his family as the interests of the country over which he was called upon to rule. The English view of the matter was clearly expressed by Lord Lyons, when writing to Lord Clarendon, on June 6, 1866, he said—

"I observed to His Highness—Ismail Pasha—that the prosperity of Egypt and the main-

tenance of its independence were matters of the highest interest to Great Britain. . . . The tie which connected Egypt with the Porte was, I said, most valuable as a security against foreign aggression, while it did not in any way interfere with His Highness's power in the internal administration of the country. His Highness and his family might, I added, rely on the full support of Her Majesty's Government if . . . they resisted all encroachments and all attempts on the part of any foreign Powers to establish a paramount influence."

The Viceroy, after that, proceeded largely to develop the resources of the country, and also to follow the example of European States, by getting into debt. In 1867, he again applied to Constantinople, and obtained another Firman, which gave him further power over the internal government, enabling him to raise more troops, and which also conferred on him the title of Khedive. A feeling of jealousy, which was subsequently aroused, was caused principally by differences of opinion between the Ministers of the Khedive and the Porte, and the consequence was that, in 1869, there was issued a Firman which somewhat restricted the power of the Khedive to make foreign loans. But the dispute caused Lord Clarendon to send to Lord Bloomfield a most important despatch, containing the following words:—

"On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the Egypt of to-day is not the Egypt of 1841 . . . but Her Majesty's Government would deeply regret if the Porte should overstrain its legitimate prerogatives and its rights as regards the Khedive. As regards this last point, Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to express their opinion that any attempt in the direction of deposing the Khedive would produce a most unfavourable and mischievous effect."

These words show that even at that time, when the Viceroy had less power than after he had obtained the Firmans of 1872 and 1873, we should not have tolerated any such attempt. This is strongly confirmed by a despatch addressed by Mr. Barron, on 15th December, 1869, to Lord Clarendon. Mr. Barron proposed that the Porte should maintain at Cairo an unofficial agent, and then went on to say—

"The only apparent objection to this course is that it would seem to recognize the independence of the Khedive. This objection will prove, however, to be not substantial. The Firmans of 1841, 1866, and 1867 have created the quasi-independence of Egypt."

Moreover, Colonel Stanton, at the same period, wrote to Lord Clarendon—

December 16—that he had assured the Viceroy he need not apprehend any direct interference on the part of the Porte in the internal administration of the country; and went on—

“I remarked to His Highness that I was convinced the Great Powers would not consent to any undue interference on the part of the Porte with the internal administration of Egypt.”

In 1872, the Khedive obtained another Firman, of which he largely availed himself, as it allowed him to contract foreign loans without the consent of the Porte. Every one of these Firmans was obtained on large payments to Constantinople. On one occasion it was £1,000,000; on another it was considerably more. The Porte took care to see that the Egyptian Army did not increase too much; but did nothing to prevent an enormous increase of the National Debt. The Firman of 1873, however, removed in most respects the old badges of servitude, except the payment of tribute, which was on nearly every occasion considerably increased. It gave power to the Khedive to settle the number of his Army without any restriction whatever, and to make contracts with foreign Powers without consulting the Porte. Sir Henry Elliot very clearly defined, in words of which Lord Granville, as Foreign Secretary, entirely approved, the English position at that time. He said—June 27, 1873—

“All that was desired is that Egypt should remain in the position which she actually holds—practically, independent in all matters of internal administration—while still forming an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.”

He further pointed out that we should not allow Egypt to fall into the hands of any other Great Power. It was from this position that the present Government had entirely departed. Such was the story of the Firmans; and down to 1873, and for a couple of years after, the influence of England was paramount in Egypt. Nothing could be done in Egypt without the Viceroy having recourse to Her Majesty's Government. Whenever he was in distress he applied to the British Government. That Government purchased the Suez Canal Shares, partly, we were told, from high reasons of State, and partly to assist the Viceroy in his difficulties. The Viceroy greatly developed the resources of Egypt. A large portion of Egyp-

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tian territory, not previously fertile, was irrigated by him, and produced immense crops. He established sugar factories, and many other industries hitherto unknown in Egypt. He undertook, at the prompting of the great capitalists, through whom he got into difficulties, great public works, which might have been of much utility. His fault was one common to Eastern Sovereigns, that he never calculated where he was going, and whether the resources at his command were equal to the undertaking he had in hand. His Debt was increased so enormously that the result was to hamper his Government exceedingly, and to put him in a most awkward position. He applied to Her Majesty's Government for assistance. The Canal Shares were purchased, and Mr. Cave was sent out to investigate the condition of Egyptian finance. Mr. Cave's Report was, of course, perfectly honest; but much of the information that he gained was derived from persons who were interested in concealing the real state of things and, consequently, it was less trustworthy than Mr. Cave himself would have desired it to be. When Mr. Cave went out the Government had large views with regard to their future course of action in Egypt; but on his return they found that those views would not be acceptable to the country, and nothing was done except that Mr. Rivers Wilson was sent out to Egypt to institute proceedings which proved to be of a temporary character. After that, the bondholders tried their hand in a perfectly legitimate manner, and asked Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert to go to Egypt to establish the basis on which the financial condition of the country should be settled. They prepared an elaborate Report and a scheme, which was adopted by the Viceroy himself. It involved the employment of English officers in connection with the Revenue Department and other important branches of the Egyptian Budget. It was proposed to establish a Finance Board, on which there should be an English member, and an application was made to Lord Derby to nominate a gentleman who should be that member; but Lord Derby declined this responsibility. That was in 1877, and he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) deeply regretted that Her Majesty's Government had not continued the wise policy then laid down by

Lord Derby. Complaints arose on all sides. The Viceroy told Mr. Vivian that matters could not remain as they then were, that the people were overburdened, and that one great cause of grievance was that no European resident in Egypt paid taxes. Well, things went from bad to worse. The taxes were collected in advance, and the people were thus additionally pressed. On the 30th of November, 1877, the Viceroy declared that the state of affairs had grown worse, and that the financial administration of the country was at a dead lock. Notwithstanding the collection of the taxes in advance the Revenue fell off. Mr. Vivian, in one of his excellent despatches, dated November 30, 1877, said:—

“I find the financial position greatly changed for the worse. . . . The troops and Government *employés* are many months in arrears of pay, and among the latter class the greatest distress and misery prevails. . . . This miserable state of affairs is not only bringing the Khedive and his Government into disrepute abroad, but it is also greatly discrediting him among his own people, who murmur at the payment in full of the bondholders, while his *employés* are left unpaid. . . . It is quite impossible that such a state of things . . . can be allowed to continue.”

Nevertheless, it not only continued, but grew worse. Then, in February, 1878, M. Waddington urged upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of joining with France in the demand that an independent Commission should be appointed; and this demand was to be made “in the interest of the French and English bondholders.” This will be found in a letter of Lord Lyons to Lord Derby, of the 5th of February, 1878. Lord Derby replied on the 8th of March, 1878, and, as the result, directed our Representative to urge on the Viceroy the necessity of the appointment of the Commission as suggested by M. Waddington, and to state that Her Majesty's Government thought it very desirable that Captain Baring should be placed on the Commission, and that if the appointment of a second Englishman was deemed necessary, they would name Mr. Rivers Wilson for that purpose. This interference on the part of England and France was not made on behalf of the over-burdened people of Egypt, but solely in the interest of the bondholders of France and England. The policy of the two Governments was the

same, to endeavour to wring the utmost penny from the prostrate and impoverished people on behalf of their creditors. After a good deal of negotiation the Commission was appointed, with M. de Lesseps as President, and Mr. Rivers Wilson as Vice President. Then came an extraordinary act. On the 16th of April, 1878, the Marquess of Salisbury wrote to Mr. Vivian that, in the opinion of the French Government, the institution of the Finance Commission ought not to stand in the way of payment of the coupon then accruing, and that he was to urge that view upon the Khedive—Her Majesty's Government thus adopting and acting on the policy of the French Government, still solely in the interest of the bondholders. The reply of the Khedive was that he would do all in his power to comply with the demand of France and England, at whatever cost to the country; but that the responsibility would not rest with him, as the steps necessary to secure payment of the coupon would entail “ruinous sacrifices.” [See Mr. Vivian's despatch of the 18th April, 1878, published in the Blue Book.] Being so pressed, the Viceroy did pay; but who could say at what cost to the people? Well, he had shown an extraordinary interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government in the financial affairs of Egypt, entirely on behalf of the bondholders. The Viceroy, finding himself thus pressed, thought naturally that if he could obtain the services of some Englishman in whom Her Majesty's Government had confidence, he might be able to put his affairs in order; and in May, 1878, he offered Mr. Rivers Wilson the post of Financial Minister. The Commission sat; the Revenue continued to fall; the Report of the Commission appeared; page after page of their Report described the lamentable state of the country; and he could not help admiring the admirable manner in which this was depicted in the communications of Mr. Vivian to the Government at home. The Commission found great difficulties in their way, because the moment they began to investigate carefully the great sources of Egyptian prosperity they found that taxation was excessive, that there was great corruption, that the tax collectors made large sums, and that many of them had recourse to means of compulsion to which he did not desire

further to refer. In spite of that, the money did not come in as it had come in in previous years. The Commission and Mr. Vivian alike described the sapping of resources which had been going on in order to meet the pressing obligations of the Egyptian Government. Even in 1877, it had been practically impossible to continue the extravagant rate of interest which the Government had hitherto paid its creditors. The Commission of Inquiry showed the Revenue to be diminishing, notwithstanding all the devices to maintain it. The people were overburdened, and the only way to cure the evil was to reduce very largely the interest paid to the creditors of Egypt. The Swedish Representative in Egypt also pointed out with remarkable clearness the total incapacity of the country to pay the large amount of interest claimed from it. Then came a fresh complication. Our acquisition of Cyprus excited the jealousy of the people of France, and the result of communications with the French Government was an arrangement, not stated in our Blue Book, that we should not take action in Egyptian affairs without consulting the French Government, so that the two Governments might act in entire unison. He did not object to a fair understanding between the two Governments. That, when possible, had always been our policy; but that was far from saying we should do nothing in a country in which our interests were largely concerned without the concurrence of the French Government, actuated, as it was, mainly on behalf of the bondholders. But the promise was given, and had since been the cause of many difficulties. But to return to Egypt. The Commission reported that the Khedive accepted, without reserve, all the conclusions of the Commission, including the limitation of his power and the restitution to the State of the family property. The Khedive thereupon renewed his offer to Mr. Rivers Wilson; Nubar Pasha taking care, at the same time, to state that it was the Viceroy's own wish, and that he did not admit that a foreign Government could demand to appoint an Egyptian Minister as a matter of right. And yet we had demanded such an appointment for one of our own Civil servants—a proceeding which did not appear to be justified under any circumstances. Mr. Rivers Wilson accepted; but as that was

done without reference to France there was another manifestation of jealousy, which was allayed by Lord Salisbury in a despatch of September 10, 1878, characterized by considerable judgment and common sense. The final result was that, in consequence of the awkward understanding at the time of the occupation of Cyprus, M. de Blignières was appointed Minister of Public Works, with authority equal to that of Mr. Rivers Wilson. Mr. Rivers Wilson found things as bad as they had been described, and growing from bad to worse. Still, he acted on the old lines of Egyptian finance, and contracted a new loan at high interest to pay the coupons coming due. In connection with that, an arrangement of an unprecedented character was made by the Government with Messrs. Rothschild, who required that the Daira lands should be managed by three persons—one Egyptian, one appointed by France, and one by England—who were to remit the rents, or so much of them as might be required, to meet the new obligation. Messrs. Rothschild, in the interest of those who proposed to subscribe to the new loan, were quite right to endeavour to carry this proposal; but the Government ought never to have agreed to so novel and so serious a responsibility. Nevertheless, they accepted that arrangement, requiring that the English Representative should not be deprived of his function without their consent; and, although they did not pledge themselves to pay the interest, they still undertook a serious responsibility. Mr. Rivers Wilson used at least £1,200,000 of the loan so obtained for the payment of a coupon on November 1, 1878. The House would see how great was the responsibility of the Government in all this. But they went even further, and on the 21st of November Lord Salisbury instructed Mr. Lascelles to draw up, in concert with the French Consul General at Cairo, an Identical Note to the Egyptian Government, advising them to issue a decree suspending the functions of Mr. Goschen's *contrôle*, subject to the understanding that it should be *ipso facto* revived, should either the French or the English Member of the Egyptian Cabinet be dismissed without previous agreement with his Government. [See No. 273 in the Blue Book.] Here was another piece of startling interference; but,

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of course, Nubar Pasha obeyed. But this act of the Government was entirely at variance with the official answers given by the Government in the House of Commons. Now, perhaps, it would be well to say a word about Nubar Pasha, who had been Prime Minister during nearly all the period of lavish Egyptian expenditure. His friends said he was not responsible for it, but had endeavoured to check it. It might, or might not be so; but he could not help bearing in mind that Nubar, a poor Armenian arrived in Egypt 25 years ago perfectly penniless; and that he was now in possession of an enormous fortune. He (Sir Julian Goldsmid) would not say that he had made his fortune out of the expenditure that was going on; but he was not irresponsible for that expenditure, and the fortune was made while it was going on. Nubar Pasha was a man of remarkable ability—he had that versatility of character, that power of adapting himself to circumstances, which was characteristic of the Armenian people; and the result was he was enabled to work in a satisfactory manner with Mr. Rivers Wilson. He and Mr. Rivers Wilson were the two active Ministers. Nevertheless, the position of matters became more serious from day to day; the financial situation was critical. Mr. Rivers Wilson endeavoured to maintain the inordinate rate of interest to the bondholders. More than a year's arrears of pay were due to the Egyptian *employés*, who were in a state of semi-starvation. Nubar Pasha was, consequently, not popular with the Egyptian people, and the Viceroy was encouraged to dismiss him. The Government at this time were constantly pressed for information as to what was going on; but their reply was that they could not give information because they were acting with the French Government and negotiations were still going on. In this the Government had acted not quite fairly with the House of Commons, for, at a later date, M. Waddington had made a statement in the French Assembly without asking the permission of this Government; and the English Government might, therefore, have made a statement to the House of Commons without asking the permission of the French Government. That was a position which he did not like to see the Government take up; he

deeply regretted it. In March, he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) had asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether Mr. Rivers Wilson was the servant of the Khedive, and whether he could be dismissed without the consent of the Government? The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on that one occasion, departed from his usual reserve, and expressly stated that Mr. Rivers Wilson was the servant of the Khedive; that he was under his control; that the Government had no direct communication with him because he was not their *employé*; and, therefore, the Khedive had the right of dismissal. That statement was utterly inconsistent with what appeared in a despatch which had been laid on the Table. The Government would have done well not to publish that despatch, as they had not published many others, if they desired to maintain their character for consistency in this matter. Shortly after, however, encouraged by their unpopularity with the people, the Khedive took the further step of dismissing his European Ministers. There were many reasons why Mr. Rivers Wilson had not been successful. It was thought that he was only working in the interests of the bondholders, by endeavouring to keep up the rate of interest, and by paying all the Europeans their salaries, when many Natives did not receive theirs. It was held, too, that he was of no use in alleviating the oppression of the people, having no more control over the collectors of taxes than he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) had over the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that he had committed many errors of judgment in his relations with the Khedive. Being in the position of a receiver to an estate, he took no care to refrain from wounding the susceptibilities of its owner. These errors hastened his dismissal, which was precipitated by the fact that the arrears of pay due to the Army were very considerable; the officers were, practically, starving; and they came together, as was not uncommon in Eastern countries, to make an appeal to the authorities and the European officials. The consequence was that a disturbance took place, which might have been prevented if Mr. Rivers Wilson had had foresight and anticipated events; but he did not. He was dismissed. There was much excitement on the subject. Never-

theless, the Government left Mr. Rivers Wilson, and the French Government left M. de Blignières in Egypt for some time to form the nucleus of a Party against the new Egyptian Government. Mr. Rivers Wilson was left in Egypt until he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) asked a Question in that House, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer then said that he had sent out a telegram telling Mr. Rivers Wilson to return. He asked for the date of the telegram; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, fortunately, forgot the date. However, Mr. Rivers Wilson was at last re-called, and that was the wisest step the Government had taken. The Government then had an excellent opportunity to retire from the indefensible position they had taken up. That was admirably pointed out in an article in *The Times*, on the 25th of April. Hoping it might prove that the Government would so retire, the noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington) and other hon. Members of the House asked for information from the Government; but very little was vouchsafed. They were told, as usual, that Her Majesty's Government were acting in concert with the French Government, and that in the meantime they could not answer the Questions. But that was not the answer given "elsewhere;" nor was it consistent with the statements previously made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he said that Mr. Rivers Wilson was the servant of the Viceroy. To show the contradiction, he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) would call the attention of hon. Members to passages from a despatch from Lord Salisbury to Mr. Vivian, dated the 25th of April, 1879, in which Lord Salisbury said that the dismissal of Ministers whose services the Khedive had solicited was "a grave and apparently intentional discourtesy to friendly Powers." There was another passage, to the effect that if the Khedive declined the services of the European Ministers whom the Powers had placed at his disposal they must conclude it was the result of a settled plan, and the two Governments reserved to themselves entire freedom of action with a view to secure the good government of Egypt. Obviously, that was entirely at variance with the explanations the Government had given and with the policy which had been previously pursued. The Govern-

ment had stated in that House that they did not consider they had any right to prevent the Khedive from dismissing Mr. Rivers Wilson; whereas, in the despatch from which he had quoted, the Khedive was informed that if he persisted in dismissing the European Ministers the Government would have to take other steps. What happened next? It did not appear from the Papers laid on the Table; but it was well known that the bondholders, who were persons of great influence, especially with the French Government, brought great pressure to bear on the two Governments, which at last culminated in the demand made by the French Government that the Khedive should abdicate. That demand was supported by the British Ministry. Her Majesty's Government had not given the House any reasons for that extraordinary act; and although the House had been promised Papers on the subject, over and over again, no Papers had been given. The Government, in the first place, did a thing entirely beyond their rights—they invited the Ruler of a friendly State to resign. They went beyond even that, for they stated that it might be the duty of the Western Powers to submit certain representations to the Sultan, from whom the Khedive held his power. They appeared, therefore, to have asked the Sultan to abolish his own Firmans, and to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt itself. In that respect, also, the Government had taken upon themselves a most serious responsibility. Having invited the Khedive to resign and threatened that, if he would not do so, they would call upon the Sultan to interfere, and the Khedive having refused, the next information we had was that the Porte had ordered the Khedive to resign—a thing which, under the Firmans, it had no power whatever to do. It was an obvious violation of the privileges Ismail had so dearly purchased. Nevertheless, he obeyed; and Tewfik Pasha was appointed in his place. It was not known exactly what communications had passed between our Government and the Porte. Attempts were made to elicit information. The noble Lord the Member for the Radnor Boroughs asked in that House what were the reasons which had induced Her Majesty's Government to adopt so extraordinary a course as to demand

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the Khedive's abdication? and other Members asked other Questions. As usual, no explanations were given; or, if any, misleading ones. The French Government, on the other hand, had honestly avowed that they had acted solely in the interests of the bondholders, and he believed the English Government followed in their footsteps, because they did not like to be left behind. The Government had thus supported the revival of the most pernicious form of Turkish authority over the internal government of Egypt. Great complications would surely follow, for it should be borne in mind that at Constantinople everything was controlled by the harem, as had been shown recently by the fall of Khairaddin. We had countenanced a very extraordinary proceeding. We had gone to the Government of Turkey because, as the House would doubtless be told, the people of Egypt were oppressed and misgoverned. Surely, it must appear ludicrous to go to the Sultan and ask him to interfere, when he himself had been a far greater offender in the matter of misgovernment than the Khedive. Consequently, he was of opinion that Her Majesty's Government had taken a very fatal step. If the Government of the Sultan could abolish the authority and the power which they granted by one Firman, there was no security against their issuing another Firman to place the new Ruler of Egypt under other influences, in opposition to the wishes of the Governments of England and France. In fact, the difficulty which had occurred with regard to the new Firman which was to be granted to Tewfik Pasha, and the fact that it gave him less authority than his father had enjoyed, proved this. But it was said the Porte really acted under English and French authority. If that were so, then, as far as England and France were concerned, they had assumed a joint responsibility for the government of Egypt which, up to the present time, had led us, and which might lead us hereafter, into serious complications. The interests of the two countries, especially considering that France was guided by the wishes of the bondholders, might possibly diverge, and then a very grave responsibility would have been incurred by the Government. It was now intended to establish a Commission of Liquidation, of

which, despite the errors of judgment and the mistakes he had committed, it was reported that Mr. Rivers Wilson was to be a member. A reliable communication from the correspondent of *The Times* stated that the new Ruler of Egypt did not desire to see that gentleman re-appointed; and, therefore, for that and many other reasons, in his opinion, Her Majesty's Government ought to hold their hands. He hoped that the Government would rather allow someone else two years' leave of absence from the duties of his Office in this country to look after the finances of Egypt. The following had been the general results of the course adopted by Her Majesty's Government during the last three years:—They had brought about the dethronement of the Khedive, who, whatever his faults, and they were many, had appealed to them in times of difficulty and distress. They had endeavoured, indeed, to assist him at the time of the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares; but since then, he feared, the confidence of the Khedive had been misplaced. They had restored the baneful Turkish influence of the harem over Egypt, which it was the interest of this country to abolish, and they had reduced our influence, which was formerly paramount in Egypt, to a position of minor authority dependent on France; and, if the Commission of Liquidation were really appointed, subject to the will, also, of the other great Powers. Her Majesty's Government had been driven by the bondholders into a course of action which was against international courtesy, and also, he believed, against the rights which the Viceroys of Egypt had acquired under the Firmans of the Sultan. The effect upon the population of Egypt had been to reduce them to a state of the greatest misery. The two Governments had taken a position of joint responsibility involving the most awkward questions, which must of necessity hereafter lead to many international complications. Such, then, were the general results of what the Under-Secretary of State was always calling "high policy." That phrase of "high policy" appeared to him (Sir Julian Goldsmid) to be only another expression for constant interference, and the lamentable results he had referred to were caused by constant interference in the affairs of Egypt. It was a

course of action which was deeply to be deplored, and which he thought required, nay demanded, adequate explanation from Her Majesty's Government.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that, as at that period of the year the time of the House was very precious, he should not detain them many minutes. It was all the less necessary to speak at any length on the subject, because his hon. Friend the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid) had gone fully into the history of the question. At the same time, he did not agree with those hon. Members opposite who seemed to show impatience at his hon. Friend's speech, for he could not think they really desired that Session to pass over without something like a full discussion of these Egyptian affairs, and, indeed, in the interest of the Government itself, it was most desirable that that discussion should occur. He contended that the Members of that House had been misled by the action of the Government and by their words, and the few minutes he would occupy would be employed in pointing out the way in which it had been done. His hon. Friend had rather based his speech on what might be called the other side of the question—namely, the deception practised towards the Khedive. For his own part, he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) must at once say that he had not the smallest sympathy with the Khedive, nor did he deplore in the least what had occurred to him. He wished, also, to take that opportunity of saying he was not one of those who thought we had no concern in the affairs of Egypt. On the contrary, he had, perhaps, a higher belief in the necessity of our interesting ourselves with the affairs of that country than had even many of those who sat upon the Treasury Bench. He maintained, however, that that House had been misled by the policy of the Government and by their words. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House several times that the Khedive had a perfect right to dismiss Mr. Rivers Wilson and his French Colleague. Those answers were made not only to the House of Commons, but also to the Khedive, because, of course, they were telegraphed to Egypt, and many persons thought they had a great deal to do with the dismissal of those Ministers. That was the view put forth by

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his hon. Friend; but what he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) particularly rose to complain of was, that the House had been misled throughout by the Government, because it was unaware, and it was even now not officially aware, that the Government had declared in Egypt for a far stronger policy, and had really taken the affairs of the country into their hands, when, in that House, two months later, they were telling it that they had not. In the despatch of the 8th of March, which had never been officially presented to the House by the Government, and which was the foundation of their later policy, but regarding which he could see no reason why the critics of the policy of the Government should not quote it, they expressed themselves in these terms—

"The Governments of France and England accept the expression of the determination of the Khedive to conform to their decisions and they take note thereof. The two European members of the Council are to have the right of generally imposing an absolute veto upon all measures of which they disapprove. In consideration of these concessions, the Powers abstain from insisting on the return to office of Nubar Pasha. The Khedive will understand the serious responsibility which he has assumed by giving rise to these new arrangements, and the gravity of the consequences to which he would expose himself, if he should not prove able to insure their complete execution, and if difficulties should arise subsequently to interfere with the progress of the Government, or if public order should be disturbed."

It would thus be seen that Her Majesty's Government had contemplated all those acts which afterwards happened. They had contemplated the impatience of the Khedive, and had foreseen the possibility of an *émoult* being got up in Cairo. In this despatch, they distinctly told the Khedive that he would be driven from his Throne if he did not act as they wished him to act. But what he complained of was, not the conduct of the Government towards the Khedive, but their conduct to Parliament and the country, in not informing them of the very grave responsibility they were undertaking on behalf of this country. Although it might be contended that there were reasons of high policy, as they were acting in concert with France, for concealment, he maintained that even in that case Her Majesty's Government ought to have said they would not answer; and they had no excuse for giving the House totally misleading

accounts of their policy. In April, however, the Government, on two occasions, gave answers to Questions put in that House which led hon. Members to believe that there was no intention to drive the Khedive from his Throne, and that he would be allowed to dismiss his European Ministers and return to his old courses if he pleased, with nothing from us but remonstrances. But at that very time the Government had decided that, in the event of the Khedive acting as they knew he was likely to act, he should be driven from his Throne. [Mr. BOVARS: Nothing of the sort.] True, the Government never said he should be driven from his Throne. When he was driven from his Throne they did not say so; but they instructed the Turks to say so, and, as his hon. Friend the Member for Rochester had pointed out, in making the Turks take that action the Government had reversed the whole past policy of this country with regard to Egypt. This country had always maintained with other Powers that they were not to act through the Porte, but to foster a virtual independence of the Egyptian Government. Her Majesty's Government, however, as he had stated, said they accepted the determination of the Khedive to conform to the decision of England and France, and took note thereof; they pointed out the serious responsibility which he incurred through the new arrangements, and the gravity of the consequences to which he exposed himself if he failed in their complete execution, or if there was an *émeute* in Cairo. And yet the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State now said that they did not tell him that he was to be driven from the Throne. If they did not tell him that, it was difficult to understand what else the veto of the European Powers could mean.

MR. E. JENKINS said, that he was sorry that the discussion of that important subject had been left till the end of the Session, owing to the neglect of the Government to furnish at an earlier period the information which would have enabled his hon. Friend the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid) to bring the subject forward in a fuller House. For himself, at the same time, he was bound to say, having listened with the very closest attention to the speech of his hon. Friend, which began, one might say, with the Egyptian Deluge, and

brought them down through a long series of years to the last historical fact—that he did not quite share the opinions which that hon. Gentleman had expressed. No doubt, as his hon. Friend had said, great inconvenience had been caused by the undue reticence of the Government with regard to the policy they were pursuing in Egypt. While he sympathized to a great extent with the Government in the action they had taken, he felt all the more sorry that they had not been more candid with the House. Had they been so they would have met with more sympathy and greater support. Egypt was a kind of lottery bag or teetotum for all sorts of swindlers, gamblers, and money-lenders on the Stock Exchange; and, considering that every single act of Her Majesty's Government in regard to that country was, in some way or other, immediately discounted in the Money Market and the Stock Exchange, therefore there was a serious responsibility resting on the Government, and it ought to be very frank and candid as to its policy. We could not at present get any unbiassed opinion with regard to affairs in Egypt, or a true history of events which were taking place there, because, in every single instance, and in the case of every newspaper of influence in this country, the correspondents were biassed, because they represented different interests. He wanted to point, in some way, in direct contradiction of the statement made by his hon. Friend, to two facts with regard to the policy of this country in respect of Egypt. One was that from 1866 there had been, off and on, a joint action between the Governments of France and England with regard to Egypt. That was a very important matter, because it showed that Her Majesty's Government, in the policy they had been pursuing, had only been carrying out, to a certain extent, the policy initiated by their Predecessors. [Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID: No, no!] His hon. Friend said "No, no;" and that compelled him (Mr. E. Jenkins) to prove the truth of what he said. He would take the Papers delivered to them on Saturday, and he found on the 3rd page a reference was made to these words in a letter from Lord Cowley to Lord Clarendon—

"I observe that although England and France might, as far as they were interested in the matter, or it depended upon them, have con-

sent to any arrangement made between the Porte and the Powers, yet it might be as well to abstain from giving any opinion with regard to that arrangement.

That showed that, at that time, conversation was taking place between the French and English Governments as to the policy they ought generally to pursue in Egypt. His hon. Friend was historically incorrect in regard to another statement he had made—namely, that the policy of Great Britain had been, as far as practicable, to make Egypt as independent as possible of the Porte. His hon. Friend could surely have never taken the trouble to read these Papers, because, if there was anything clearly shown, it was that the policy of both Liberal and Conservative Administrations had been rather to preserve the authority of the Porte; to what end it was not necessary to say. The despatches from Sir Henry Elliot to Lord Granville, and Lord Granville's replies to them, conclusively showed that to be the case. A despatch from Sir Henry Elliot to Lord Granville, dated June 27, 1873, stated that any attempt on the part of the Viceroy to weaken the ties which bound Egypt to the Ottoman Empire would always be regarded with unqualified disapprobation; and Lord Granville had not only discouraged the Khedive from seeking to break away from the control of the Sultan, but had warned him that if he attempted to do so the British Government would be prepared to take very strong measures indeed. He (Mr. E. Jenkins) was aware that they could have no very useful debate that night, one cause of which was that the necessary Papers had not been produced. They were, therefore, thrown on old Papers and facts which had leaked out. He hoped, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of his statement with regard to the history and adventures of Mr. Rivers Wilson in Egypt, would give them information which would enable them to arrive at some idea as to the nature of the policy the Government was pursuing. As yet they did not know what the ultimate aim of the Government was, or its motive, for the Government had given them no clue to guide them in the matter. They virtually nominated Mr. Wilson to the post, and, in doing so, accepted a vast responsibility. He (Mr. E. Jenkins)

*Mr. E. Jenkins*

was never more astonished in his life than when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said that Mr. Rivers Wilson went out as a Minister to the Khedive, who had the right to dismiss him from his post. In the same speech the Chancellor of the Exchequer said something which did not quite agree with this statement—namely, that the exceptional interference was due to the fact that this country had not only a large financial interest in Egypt, but was interested in a political sense, and that it was of great importance, in the interests of this country and European peace, that Egypt should not fall into a state of anarchy and bankruptcy. It was impossible to reconcile one part of the speech with the other, any more than it was possible to reconcile one portion of the policy of the Government with another portion. The House, in his opinion, ought to face the question as to the right of the Government to interfere on behalf of the creditors of Egypt. He could not say that it would not be right on any occasion for one Government to interfere with another Government on behalf of the creditors who were subjects of the interfering Government. Occasions might arise when that would be justifiable, and he was not prepared to say that the occasion had not arisen in regard to Egypt. But the question was, had our Government interfered? They would probably hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether this country had adopted the principle laid down by the French Government; but it seemed perfectly clear that the French Government—moved by a strong body, the *Credit Foncier*—acted under the influence which was brought about by financial pressure. He knew from the highest authority that no French Minister could have faced the people if he allowed England to act alone with regard to Egypt. There could be no doubt that the Khedive had obtained from a large number of persons in England vast sums of money; but they did not propose to go so far as to say that we should be justified in supporting those creditors against the Khedive, or taking strong action against him with regard to those creditors. The Khedive had been distinctly told that he must keep Mr. Rivers Wilson in his position, and that serious things would arise if he did not do so. The Khedive, however, did not

keep Mr. Wilson in his position, and serious things did arise, and then the Government did not do what it had threatened. He did not blame them, as his hon. Friend had done, for interfering too much; but he did blame them for not interfering in the case of Mr. Wilson. The Government was bound to carry out its policy with a strong hand. He did not wonder that the public were mystified. It was a toss up whether it was a Stock Exchange intrigue or Imperial policy, and he trusted some information would be afforded by the Government on the subject. He ventured to say that the country was prepared for a strong policy with regard to Egypt. The Government was suffering her to drift into error. Egypt was as badly off now as ever she was. The ex-Khedive had plundered her, and no attempt at recovery had been made, and the present Khedive was as corrupt and intriguing as his father. That was all that had come of the Government policy up to the present moment. The Government had threatened to interfere, but had not interfered with sufficient strength. What they wanted was an earnest, vigorous, and intelligent policy in Egypt. The Government could not ignore the policy it had assumed. Our interests in Egypt were, and our stake in her prosperity had been, vastly increased by our own action, and by the change in the circumstances of Eastern affairs. We were bound boldly and vigorously to assert and vindicate our interests; and he could not help saying that he did not think we should allow Russia or Germany to interfere for political purposes in the affairs of Egypt. The Government ought to declare their policy candidly and clearly; but he saw no signs of definiteness, clearness, or boldness in their existing policy. So far as could be seen, they were only tinkering at a great question, and subordinating public interests to the narrow interests of Party, and, perhaps, to the private advantage of individuals. He would be glad if the Government could clear themselves, at all events, from that charge, and be able to show that in the policy they were carrying out they had a definite and consistent purpose in view, and were moved by motives of Imperial policy, rather than by whims, caprices, and the exigencies of the moment.

MR. GOURLEY regretted that Her Majesty's Government had not pursued an independent policy with regard to Egypt. In the year 1867 the British Government complained that Egyptian affairs were being subjected to the undue influence of France, and in consequence of their remonstrance the Khedive placed his military schools under English direction. At that time there was a jealous co-partnership between England and France in respect of the affairs of Egypt, each country endeavouring to prevent its rival from gaining any undue advantage. A similar state of things existed now, notwithstanding the excellent opportunity the Franco-German War had afforded us of making English influence paramount, for since that war France had ceased to have that interest which she formerly had in Syria. At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was very emphatic in his announcements of the interests of England. Egypt was named by him as one English interest. It was also understood that Batoum was a point with which we should allow no interference; and, as to the Suez Canal, that we should not allow any other country to interfere with that. But on the conclusion of the war the Government abandoned the position they had taken up. Instead of giving us a rubbisy island like Cyprus, they ought to have purchased the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Suez Canal. Such a step would have secured it to this country as a permanent high road to India. As it was, the state of things was this—that in the event of a European complication, if we should happen to be at war with Italy, we could not send our troops to India through the Canal, for Italy could blockade the entrance, and we should have to employ half our Navy to maintain a passage for our troopships through the Canal. In the event of our being at war with any naval Power, we ought to abandon the route to India by the Canal, and send our troops by way of the old one round the Cape, seeing that our Government had failed to secure the passage of the Canal at all times. With fast steamers this would not take much more time than was now required for the passage of slow troopships to India *via* the Canal, while, from a sanitary point of view, the Cape route possessed

great advantages. At present, it took from 30 to 40 days for our troopships to carry troops through the Canal to Bombay, and there were abundance of vessels in which the troops could be conveyed round the Cape in the same time. This latter course would also be beneficial to our soldiers, because they could, both out and home, be landed and acclimatized, so that they should not suffer from any sudden change of climate. The Government ought, therefore, to consider what would be the best route to India, if complications were to arise between us and a maritime Power. The objection to the Cape of Good Hope route on the score of expense was, he believed, not well founded, as the saving in the Canal dues would neutralize the cost of transport for the longer distance. The cost by the Suez Canal route was as much as from £20 to £26 a-head; but probably there were many ship-owning firms that would undertake the conveyance of troops by way of the Cape of Good Hope for about three-fourths of that sum, or from £15 to £16. He would not enlarge on that subject, but had merely thought it right to call the attention of the Government to the possibility of transport round the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. J. MAITLAND said, that having been last winter in Egypt he could bear testimony to the deplorable condition of the people. Nothing he had seen written, or had in that House heard spoken, had given an adequate idea of the state of starvation and destitution to which a very large proportion of the poor inhabitants of Egypt were reduced. It might be said this was not the business of the people or the Government of England. It had been said, particularly on the Liberal side of the House, that we ought to attend to our own business, and not go round the world, looking after the affairs of every people that might be oppressed by a bad Government. But that was an absolute blunder in the case of Egypt. During the time he was in Egypt, and since he had come back, he found our Government had been doing nothing but dunning the Khedive and the people of Egypt, while the Khedive, for whom, by-the-bye, he had nothing to say, had protested their inability to pay the interest on the bonds. It was, in point of fact, impossible for them to do so. The greatest possible sum that

could be got out of the population was extracted from them. Their whole savings had been devoured. Even their clothes and house utensils were seized, and many of them had been bastinadoed, almost to death, for refusing to give up that which was out of their power. Yet our Government was insisting that they should pay to the last farthing. He hoped that before this debate closed they should hear from the Government something that would show they were going to give up that policy. He trusted that they would, in this matter, part company with France, and would begin to have some consideration for the people of Egypt. Instead of seeking to extract more from them than they were able to pay, something should be done for this cruelly-wronged people. As long as Egypt continued to be the prey of foreigners its people would continue in this state; he, therefore, hoped they would hear that the Government of England did not intend any longer to continue those Jewish practices, but would really endeavour to make some arrangement by which these people should pay less.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the Papers before the House had so many blanks in them, and gave so little information on several important points, that it was all but impossible to form a fair judgment of the conduct of Mr. Rivers Wilson. He ventured, therefore, to ask the House to suspend its judgment on that point till it was in possession of fuller information. Not very long before he had made a few observations on the treatment of Mr. Rivers Wilson by the Government, and had complained that he had not had the support of Mr. Vivian, the British Consul at Cairo. As was well known, the French Consul had been dismissed by his Government in consequence of his having adopted the same attitude towards M. de Blignières; but Mr. Rivers Wilson had cause to complain both of the British Consul, and that it did not appear that any notice had been taken of the action of Mr. Vivian. He wished also again to point out that, on March 13, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the Khedive had a perfect right to dismiss Mr. Rivers Wilson. If, on that occasion, the right hon. Gentleman had read to the House the joint Note of Mr. h s, he would have allowed

*Mr. George*



them greater insight into the position of affairs. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) need not quote that Note to the House; but it was clear from it that most serious consequences would follow if the Khedive took upon himself to dismiss Mr. Rivers Wilson—indeed, that was the phrase used in the Note. After that, could it be properly said that the Khedive had a perfect right to dismiss Mr. Wilson? The strength of Mr. Wilson's position in Egypt was due to the ignorance of the Khedive as to the nature of the serious consequences of shaping his policy in disobedience to the joint Note; but, of course, when the Khedive was informed by telegraph of the words used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on March 13, he must have deduced from them that no serious consequences would follow from his dismissing Mr. Wilson; the words must have seemed to him as a hint on which he was to act. What wonder, then, that he took the hint and dismissed the Minister. That was not a bad example of the want of frankness of which he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) complained the other night with regard to Cyprus. In respect to many matters of foreign policy, he thought they had reason to complain of the want of openness on the part of the Government, for which he held the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs responsible.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, it struck him, as a City man, that the Money Market was at the bottom of a good deal of this discussion, and he could see no good in it, except it led to a diminution of the extortionate interest which the people of Egypt had to pay for the loans contracted by their Rulers. The Khedive might be a good man or bad man; but he (Sir Andrew Lusk) remembered the time when, 15 years ago, the great houses in the City were offering the Khedive money at 12 per cent, and now, when what they all foresaw had come, it was not for us to interfere. There ought, he maintained, to be no consideration shown to the Egyptian bondholders, who ought to have known they subscribed to a loan on such unreasonable terms that a time must come when Egypt would be unable to bear the burden. They could not complain of not getting their money, for they had got it back nearly twice over already in the shape of exorbitant interest. He

hoped that they had heard the last of this matter, and that it would settle down into a more quiet state of things.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the difficulty of those who were discussing this question was, that they had not got any official information. He had, therefore, been anxious to postpone his remarks until the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had enlightened the House and the country; but as it was said that the hon. Gentleman did not propose to do anything of the kind, he (Sir George Campbell) was forced to do the best he could. He brought this subject before the House about two months ago, and in consequence of what was then said he put his trust in the Government; but his confidence had received a very rude shock in consequence of what had since taken place, or had been revealed through other than official channels. Appearances, it must be confessed, were very much against the Governments both of England and France, for it seemed as if the action of those two countries had not been taken so much in the interests of the Egyptian people as of the European creditors of the Egyptian Government. If the deposition of the late Khedive were considered entirely by itself, it perhaps might be justified on the ground that he was too clever by half, extravagant, and not to be depended on. He (Sir George Campbell) was rather inclined to believe that the new Khedive would, if he had fair play, do better than his father. It was said that he had one excellent qualification, which was, that he spoke English in its very best form, that of broad Scotch. He was afraid, however, that the question was not the simple one of the propriety of deposing the late Khedive, who, he might point out, by-the-bye, was not an Egyptian, but an Armenian, by birth. It was believed throughout Europe, and with some show of justice, that the interests of Egyptian creditors were solely those which moved the English and French Governments, though he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able in some degree to modify this impression. If it was true, the result would be to establish in Egypt what might be called a "Shylock Government." In the interest of creditors, who were determined to have their pound of flesh from the poor Egyptian

people, and greatly as the interests of England had been neglected in favour of those of the creditors of Egypt, he was afraid that they would be more neglected in future under this Shylock Government. The hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) had disowned any sympathy with the usurers who had made Egypt the field of their operations, and he (Sir George Campbell) was inclined to agree with him. As regarded the future, he was afraid that many efforts were being made to coerce the new Khedive into the belief that if he did not entirely submit himself to the creditors' interest—thus sacrificing the people over whom he ruled—the fate which had befallen his father would befall him. For instance, most persistent efforts had been made to set up Prince Halim as Ruler of Egypt; and the creditors, if displeased with Prince Tewfik, might use Prince Halim as their tool. There was another danger which lurked behind the cry of justice to Nubar Pasha. Up to the present time, the new Khedive had very wisely discouraged Nubar Pasha's return to Egypt; for, no doubt, his return would be accompanied by an attempt to resume his policy. Another form of coercion of the present Khedive, and of triumph for the interest of the Egyptian creditors over that of the Egyptian people, was the return of Mr. Rivers Wilson to that country, and this was a danger which appeared nearer than any other. The very best authority—namely, the present Khedive himself—had stated to the correspondent of *The Times* that efforts were being made to force Mr. Rivers Wilson on him again. Men of all political views condemned the Egyptian career of Mr. Rivers Wilson. The Consuls General of England and France were themselves of opinion that serious faults were committed by Mr. Wilson while he was in Egypt; and he (Sir George Campbell) certainly agreed on this occasion with the diplomatists, and not the financiers, for he thought that the former had the interests of Egypt at heart, while the latter had not. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would not send Mr. Wilson back to Egypt, even as the head of a temporary Commission of Inquiry. If the Government did so, the Egyptians, and everybody else, would believe that the interests of the unfor-

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tunate people were more than ever to be subordinated to those of the financiers. He (Sir George Campbell) was quite ready to accept a Commission of Liquidation fairly and honestly conducted; and he was quite willing that any competent man, who had not committed himself to the side of the creditors, should be placed on it. He was willing that Mr. Romaine, or Mr. Baring, or even M. de Blignières, should be put on the Commission. He hoped that the frank appeal of the new Khedive would be listened to by the Government, and that he would be allowed a fair chance. He now wished to say a word upon the complications which had recently arisen from Her Majesty's Government calling in the intervention of the Sultan in this matter. That seemed to him to be a very grave error. Having heard so recently the testimony of the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) regarding the corruptness of the Court of Constantinople, it would be a terrible misfortune for Egypt and the world if the result of our intervention was that the Sultan and the corrupt Pashas of Turkey should have an opportunity of squeezing Egypt. It was bad enough for it to be squeezed by European creditors. If the Pashas at Constantinople were to give it another squeeze, God help the unfortunate people! He was very much inclined to believe that if Egypt were well-governed, and under a well-regulated system of economy, and if it were connected with Turkey by a fair bargain, it would add much to the strength of Turkey—would supply many things which were wanting to Turkey. Seeing that parts of European Turkey had been granted complete autonomy, and the Dominions of Turkey in Europe had been greatly diminished, he would look with great hope to any arrangement which would extend the Mahomedan Empire in Western Asia and Africa, which had not hitherto been completely conjoined with that Empire. We, at any rate, had no reason to be jealous of a Mahomedan State there. We had always made it a cardinal point in our policy to maintain such an Empire, and by an Empire he meant a great State. He believed a great Mahomedan State would be the best barrier against Russia, and an independent Mahomedan Government would be the best means of

extricating us from those schemes of joint occupation on the part of France and other European Governments with which we were seriously threatened. How could that object be effected? The Turkish Empire was, he believed, as an Empire, effete, and it was impossible of revival in the old form. Still, he thought, by means of this new system of autonomy which Her Majesty's Government had favoured, they had really the means of accomplishing a great Mahomedan revival. Egypt might be made self-governing and independent of the will of the Sultan and Pashas at Constantinople, and constituted a member of this revived Mahomedan State. The right way in establishing her as a self-governing, promising, respectable member of a great Mahomedan Confederation was to give a fair chance to this new Khedive. He ought to get a fair measure of independence, and not be subordinated to England and half-a-dozen other Powers.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, of course I cannot complain that the hon. Member opposite (Sir Julian Goldsmid) should have invited us to discuss this question. That was perfectly right and natural, and the Government are perfectly willing and quite prepared to enter into such a discussion; but I must protest against one or two features which I have observed in the course of the debate this evening. In the first place, it seems to me that there is far too great a tendency on the part of hon. Members to take up all the stories which they hear, to draw inferences from those stories, and to attack the character of one and another of the persons who have played an important part in recent proceedings in regard to Egypt, and who are conspicuous in the eyes of the world. The effect of some of the observations of this nature which have been made has not been, and is not, I think, likely to be, of great advantage either to Egyptian or to English interests. It is a great pity, I think, that we should have had those attacks upon the character and position of Nubar Pasha, Mr. Rivers Wilson, Mr. Vivian, and other persons who might be named, because some of the things which have been stated have been said upon imperfect information. Those statements, be it remembered, go far beyond the walls of the House. They are, to a great ex-

tent, inaccurate; and they are calculated to produce a prejudice which may be seriously mischievous. With regard to Nubar Pasha, I am not prepared to say that, in all ways and in every respect, he has been right and wise in all his policy; but I can say that there is no Eastern statesman, with whom Her Majesty's Government, or, at all events, I am acquainted, who has shown more acuteness, or a more perfectly honest desire to improve the condition of that country to which, whether he was a native of it or not, he has devoted so large a portion of his time and attention than Nubar Pasha. And I say, also, that any reflections which may be cast upon him come exceedingly ill from any Englishman, because there is no doubt that, over and above the anxious wish which I am sure has animated him to do the best he could for his adopted country, Egypt, there has always been in his mind and conduct a strong evidence that he has desired to secure the friendship of, and to work well with the Government of, England. He has played a great part in very difficult circumstances on more than one occasion. It was to his great exertions we owe the foundation of those international tribunals which were established in Egypt, and which, I think, have very beneficially superseded the old system of Consular jurisdiction. He was one of those who always stood up for English interests in all the questions which arose in which we were concerned; and I regret exceedingly that anything should be said, as I think unnecessarily, in this House, which should cast reflections upon his conduct. It certainly is my duty, on behalf of the Government, emphatically to repudiate any such reflections, and to express the great acknowledgments which England, Egypt, and, to a great extent, Europe, also owes to that distinguished man. I am also sorry to have heard the observations which were made with regard to Mr. Rivers Wilson, as to whose abilities and whose position in this country there is no question about. Mr. Wilson devoted himself to a most difficult task in Egypt in a position of the greatest embarrassment; and he has certainly shown great ability in the way in which he has discharged his duties. It is almost impossible for anyone going into a particular position under such circumstances as Mr.

Wilson did to fail to give offence more or less to all parties. Had he made himself a partizan on the one side or the other, he might, although he might have made bitter enemies, have also made strong supporters and friends; but he went straight to his point, looking neither to the right nor to the left, not favouring this class or that class, but doing his best for Egypt, and, by doing so, he has exposed himself to much of the criticism that has been uttered against him. With regard to Mr. Vivian, I think, also, that some of the remarks which have been made in this discussion have been both unfair and ungenerous. He has done his duty well as the Consul General of this country in Egypt, and has endeavoured to do it in the way which seemed to him to be the best; he has given his candid opinion to Her Majesty's Government upon all questions which arose from time to time; and I cannot see that there is any justice whatever in the reflections which have been cast upon him. Hon. Gentlemen who are in the habit of making these criticisms seem to get hold of every rumour on the Stock Exchange, or in the Money Markets of Alexandria or Cairo. These rumours are taken up, paraded as facts, and, ultimately, they culminate in what we are told is the highest authority—the Constantinople Correspondent of *The Times* newspaper—and the result is naturally inconvenient to the parties concerned. Then, what happens? We are pressed for information; questions are put to us as to so-called facts founded upon imperfect evidence, and we are obliged, in that manner, to make certain statements on the subject. If the Government decline to do so, and withhold any information which they possess, they are told that they are keeping the House in the dark, and that it is very wicked of them to do so. The result is that, when we do make a frank and explicit statement, the statements so made are used for personal or Party purposes, and telegraphed out to Egypt, and, it may be, produce consequences of the gravest import. I do trust that in discussing this question—if it is to be discussed much longer—hon. Gentlemen will endeavour to bear this in mind. I hope they will remember that what we say in this House goes far beyond our own walls, and may cause results which it is difficult for us to

foresee. Before going further, I desire to notice the attacks which have been made upon me by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid), and others, of having been wanting in candour and fairness in the statement which I made to the House in the month of March last upon this subject. I entirely dispute that there is any justification for the attacks which have been so made. What was the position of affairs at the time I made the observations which I offered on the 13th of March? It was a very peculiar one, for there had been a tumult in Cairo, in the course of which insults had been offered to Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières. The Khedive had interfered, and, through his authority, had restored order, apparently with great ease. I do not, however, wish to make any remarks upon the point. The Khedive followed this up by dismissing Mr. Rivers Wilson, and the position of affairs then became a matter of natural anxiety. I was questioned upon the subject, and I made a speech which occupies, I see, several pages of *Hansard*. In the course of that speech I said—

“It was not possible now to define the exact position of Mr. Wilson, because, unfortunately, the position of the Egyptian Ministry itself was in a very unsettled state, owing to the crisis through which it had recently passed. When Mr. Wilson went out, he went as the Minister of the Khedive, who had the right to dismiss him from his post whenever he thought fit. . . . It then became a question as to the course which should be taken by Mr. Wilson and M. de Blignières. They consulted their respective Governments, and Her Majesty's Ministers expressed to Mr. Wilson their opinion that it would be undesirable for him to resign, but that he was to be guided very much by the arrangements which might be come to with the Khedive. They had no control over Mr. Wilson, who was then and still remained perfectly free to take his own course; but they gave the advice, and instructed the British Consul in Egypt to give Mr. Wilson his moral support.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlv. 861.]

That was the precise state of the case; it was through the Khedive's own act that Mr. Wilson was appointed, and not from any promptings on the part of the British Government, and all that the Government had done was to advise Mr. Rivers Wilson not to resign, when their advice on the point was asked; but there was no doubt but that the Khedive

had a perfect right to dismiss him. They came to that conclusion in concert with the Government of France, a conclusion, however, in the first instance suggested, I believe, by Consul Vivian, that it was not desirable to interfere so as to try and compel the Khedive to retrace the step he had taken in calling for the resignation of Nubar Pasha, but that, as far as the European Ministers were concerned, they thought it right for them to remain in the Cabinet with a certain right of veto. Her Majesty's Government accompanied that suggestion by what has been quoted by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea in the despatch of the 8th of March. In that despatch, we stated that if the concession which we proposed was made, we would abstain from further pressing Nubar Pasha on the Khedive; but we added to Mr. Vivian—

"It will be your duty to warn him that any further difficulties or disturbances of the public peace will be regarded as the result of his action, and he must expect that the consequences will recoil upon himself."

When the Khedive, in this summary way, had dismissed Nubar Pasha, there were, of course, suggestions of all kinds afloat. It was urged that he should be compelled to retrace his steps and replace Nubar Pasha; but the two Governments came to the conclusion that violent action of that sort was not desirable or necessary, and that the right thing to do was to spare the Khedive's feelings; and we thought the best course would be that a better position should be found for the European Ministers in the Cabinet, at the same time warning him that in the event of any disturbances of the public peace the consequences would prove serious for him. We all know what happened. That arrangement, though accepted in words, was, in a short time, broken in spirit, and the Khedive took the steps which led to what has since occurred. The general principle on which we have acted in these Egyptian matters has been not, as has been suggested, to interfere in the interests of the English or any other creditors of the Khedive. It has been a mere accident, and an incident of the position, that we have been obliged to interfere with the measures taken by the Khedive which were likely to be prejudicial to his creditors. It was not that we were interfering for the

sake of the creditors, but for the sake of preventing anarchy and misrule in Egypt. The cardinal principle of the English policy in Egypt upon which we acted was that Egypt ought to be maintained in a flourishing and, as far as possible, independent position, and that English interests should be, I will not say predominant, but that they should not be overshadowed by the interests of any other Power. I do not wish to weary the House by going into the reasons for that policy, as I think they are sufficiently obvious. Well, when we saw the Khedive getting into great difficulties; when we saw him parting with such politically valuable securities as the Suez Canal Shares, we thought it was time to stir ourselves, in order to see whether any mischief was brewing. There was no knowing to what straits the Khedive might be driven, or what expedients he might not have resort to. We know very well that Egypt could not be independent of European opinion, and we thought it necessary to guard against the evils which were impending; and, therefore, we helped the Khedive by the purchase of these Shares. At the same time, we wished to know whether this help would be sufficient to relieve the Khedive from his embarrassments, and that was the reason for the mission of my right hon. Friend the Member for Shoreham (Mr. Stephen Cave). The Khedive rejected our counsels. Then came upon the scene the bondholders, who referred their interests to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) and M. Joubert. They went to Egypt to see what they could do with regard to bringing about the desired financial arrangements. The Government so far assisted them that they placed at their disposal men who were capable of giving them assistance. That led to the establishment of the system of control. That went on for a short time, and then there was a further inquiry, and Mr. Wilson was allowed to go out to assist the Khedive; and that, in its turn, led to the change which afterwards took place, and to his becoming Finance Minister in the Cabinet of Nubar Pasha. That was not promoted by England; it was the suggestion of the Commission of Inquiry; and when the Khedive, thinking he had better act on this suggestion,

sent for Nubar Pasha and authorized him to form a Ministry, he invited the assistance of Mr. Rivers Wilson, which the Government was willing he should give. He went as the Minister of the Khedive; and at the time the system of control was suspended, because under the new Administration there seemed no reason for it going on; but it was suspended with the understanding that if the new arrangement with a European Minister should fail control was to be renewed at once. That arrangement did fail, and the consequence is that the control is about to revive. I am authorized to state that Major Baring is to represent England on that Body, and that his going out will be acceptable to the Khedive, who has expressed his confidence in Major Baring. He will go as the English Member of the Body of Control. With regard to the suggested temporary Commission to which reference has been made, nothing has at present been decided; but I cannot admit that if Mr. Rivers Wilson was employed on that Commission for definite and well-ascertained purposes there would be any reason to object or to complain of the arrangement. The whole of this difficulty arises very much in this way—European affairs had been conducted in Egypt for a great many years under what are called capitulations. Under that system great power was given to the Consuls, who administered justice in a very exceptional fashion. As matters went on, that was found to give such an advantage to foreigners of all nations resident in Egypt that it greatly interfered with the conduct of the Egyptian Government. With the aid of Nubar Pasha, the Khedive succeeded in bringing about a system of international tribunals, which were established under international agreements, and which, therefore, acquired an international character. These tribunals have laid down certain principles, and have adjudged that certain financial decrees of the Khedive are of importance and matters of contract of which they were bound to take cognizance. It therefore became a matter of international arrangement that these decrees should be maintained, and that they should be considered as having an international force. But these decrees were of such a character as to bring Egypt under obligations which it was

impossible for her to fulfil without some modification, and the great object was to get rid of these difficulties in a way which would get rid of this embarrassment and difficulty. On all sides persons were making claims which were justifiable and were not to be set aside, and it was necessary that a door should be left open for the Government, and that the people should be relieved from cruel exactions, for we were told, with perfect truth, that the unfortunate fellaheen were suffering very much, and were miserably oppressed. I am perfectly aware of that, and it is one of the reasons why we are anxious to see a better system introduced. But you cannot change these things in a day. The exertions which were made by Nubar Pasha during the few months while he was in power were producing a very much better state of affairs; but the whole thing has been broken up, and the re-action has brought about a much worse state of things than that which existed before. We regret it exceedingly, and we cannot help saying that it is absolutely our duty to continue the exertions we have made, and to prevent the ruin which must come upon Egypt if matters are allowed to slide into anarchy. Prince Tewfik may be exceedingly well-intentioned; but we must remember that his position is one of difficulty, and that he really needs the support of powerful friends. We have been told that in all these things we have been acting for the bondholders; but I deny it. The bondholders are a powerful force in various countries, and the action of this force is perfectly certain to bring about more and more complications, and possibly political complications, if we are to stand aside. We know several other Powers who will not take that view. A good deal of observation has been made on the action of Germany; but other Powers will follow the same course as Germany. They cannot stand by and see the Khedive repudiating his international obligations, and we must not stand aside and see it either.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, he desired to point out that the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his point about the revival of Turkish authority.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In regard to the revival of Turkish authority, I really do not know precisely what it is we are accused of.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

The action which was taken was taken by the Porte. We recognized the Khedive's right to dismiss Mr. Rivers Wilson; but, at the same time, we warned him that if he took that line he would be guilty of great discourtesy to us, and that serious consequences might ensue. When he took that step, and it became necessary for us to take some measures, we suggested through the Consuls that he should abdicate as the best means of preventing any more serious consequences which might ensue. He did not take the advice at once; he referred the matter to the Porte; and, subsequently, the Porte sent an order for him to abdicate. It was a matter the two Powers never brought before the Porte, but in which each acted as he thought best; and I am bound to say the Sultan, as the supreme Suzerain of Egypt, was entirely in his right in saying—"This is a dependency of the Porte; the administration of my vassal is bringing Egypt to ruin, and the effect will be prejudicial indeed." [Laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen seem to think there is something wrong in any action of the Sultan done for the purpose of preventing serious evils which everybody recognizes as likely to happen; but what has been the result? The result has been that a new Firman has been formulated; and, perhaps, as it has not been published, I may state what it does. The order of succession will be left untouched; the Khedive is to be prohibited from contracting any foreign loans; before making any convention with foreign Powers he must communicate with his Suzerain; and the Sultan is to have full control over the finances of Egypt. I think, under that new arrangement, there will be a better chance of avoiding the great danger to Egypt which might be threatened in working over a difficult period. I do admit that the difficulties of the situation are not entirely at an end; but I cannot admit that there has been anything in the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government which renders them open to censure.

MR. ALDERMAN W. M'ARTHUR said, that when he was recently in Egypt he was told that Mr. Vivian was informed three weeks beforehand of the intended tumult. What made Mr. Rivers Wilson unpopular, in his opinion, was that he made great efforts to effect economy,

particularly in endeavouring to diminish the number of the Khedive's palaces, of which there were no fewer than 44. Mr. Rivers Wilson was placed in very difficult circumstances, and discharged his duties with great ability. If it were necessary to send someone out again, no one was calculated to render more useful service than Mr. Wilson, considering the experience he had already gained. This was, at least, the impression he had derived from what he had seen and heard on the spot. He quite agreed with what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said with regard to Mr. Rivers Wilson and Nubar Pasha, both of whom had rendered great service to Egypt.

MR. COURTNEY could not help thinking, from what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had read of the new Firman, that matters had become even more complicated than had been feared—if, indeed, the independence of Egypt was not altogether gone. The new Firman had not been published; but it appeared that the Sultan claimed, and had exercised a right of deposition, which might be arbitrarily extended, and a new condition had been introduced, by which the Khedive could not contract a loan without communication with the Sultan. Egypt was thus brought back into subjection to the Sultan, from which she had been for many years striving painfully to emancipate herself. It was now obvious that the Government throughout had no policy. They did not understand the conditions under which they were bound to act, and the consequence was, their action had not been consistent with itself. Two conditions were paramount. First, the peasants should not be recklessly plundered and reduced to misery by extortion; and, secondly, the administration should be efficient and economical. After that, the creditors had a fair claim to consideration; but it was intolerable that the claims of creditors should be put foremost. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) told them the other evening that Turkey must be decentralized; he (Mr. Courtney) would say the true policy was rather disintegration, especially so far as Egypt was concerned; but now they had created a new power on the part of the Sultan, which did not

exist before. The situation was one of considerable embarrassment. The deposition of the late Khedive was altogether a mistake. He was a more able man than the present. Why not have left the Egyptians alone? He would have allowed them to stew in their own juice, and they would have worked out a solution for themselves. He should not have taken any part in this discussion; but after the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he must most strongly protest against the new right of intervention on the part of the Sultan recognized by the new Firman.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—PAUPER CHILDREN IN IRISH WORKHOUSES.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. A. MOORE, referring to the question he had brought before the House on the 27th of June, and the promises which had been given that a Select Committee should be appointed on the Irish Poor Law, wished to have a distinct assurance from the Government that next Session they would consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the subject of the treatment of pauper children in the Irish workhouses. This was a most important subject, and one which was attracting a great deal of attention. There must be a reform of the Poor Law in Ireland, and it was not merely Members of Parliament who were arguing that such reform should take place, but Boards of Guardians in Ireland were themselves discussing the subject. It was, in fact, a question which would not brook delay; therefore, he hoped to receive a distinct assurance that the Government would give him their co-operation next Session to obtain the fullest inquiry into the subject.

WRITERS IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA called attention to the case of the writers in the Civil Service, and urged their claims for higher remuneration. He hoped, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was giving assurances all round, that he would not forget the claims of a very worthy class of men, who were not the less deserving of consideration because they had very few to speak for them.

*Mr. Courtney*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had no right to address the House again, but would simply answer the two questions which had been proposed to him. With regard to the second, he did not think the hon. Gentleman the Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) was quite correct in saying that the class for whom he spoke had few to take an interest in them. He believed that many took an interest in them, and they also commanded the interest and attention of Her Majesty's Government. He would not, however, make any statement on the subject at present. With regard to what had been said by the hon. Member for Clonmel, he forgot what was the precise language he used; but he was quite sure as to what was in his mind. The Report on the subject had not yet been fully considered, and he remembered making up his mind that he would look into it as soon as he had leisure. He would not have an opportunity of considering it in all its bearings till he was able to have a talk with his right hon. Friend near him (Mr. J. Lowther), and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The subject he felt to be one of very great interest, and he would endeavour to find time to consider it. He thought he might say that if nothing was done in regard to it during the Recess, it would be very reasonable that next Session the hon. Member should move for a Select Committee to inquire into the matter, and if the hon. Gentleman did so he would be disposed to agree to it. He thought he ought to discourage such a Motion that Session, because it could hardly have any effect. No doubt, the matter was one that ought to be attended to.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow*.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND)  
(No. 2) BILL [*Lords*—[BILL 283.]

(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

CONSIDERATION, AS AMENDED.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed.  
"That the Bill, as amended, be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)



MR. COURTNEY, who had an Amendment on the Paper, that the Bill be considered that day three months, said, he did not rise for the purpose of moving it, but simply to make a few remarks. In previous discussions they had been engaged in the question of University Education in Ireland, and they were asked to abandon the present system for a more or less denominational plan. This measure of Her Majesty's Government would undoubtedly destroy the undenominational system of education which had existed for many years in Ireland; but he did not intend to go over that ground again. He would merely say that the Amendments on the Paper were directed to the practical improvement of the Bill, without challenging its principle; and he hoped they might receive from Her Majesty's Government an attentive consideration, as they were calculated to improve the details of the measure, and to make it more efficient.

SIR JOHN LESLIE said, he was unwilling to intrude upon the House; but he found himself in a peculiar position, owing to the course the Bill had taken, because he had hitherto had no opportunity of expressing his opinion by his vote; consequently, if he did not make his position clear now, he might be told hereafter that "silence gave consent." Representing, as he did, a very large opinion in the North of Ireland that the principle of national education, as a whole, would be disturbed, and, possibly, overthrown by this scheme, especially by the dissolution of the Queen's University, he was bound to say that, sharing that opinion, he was opposed to the principle of the Bill. It was said that the Intermediate Education Act was based on a similar principle, and that those who supported that Bill should, therefore, support this; but he held a different opinion. He regarded the Intermediate Education Bill as a missing link between the elementary and the higher education as belonging to a national system. It was, therefore, equally advantageous to all creeds, and, consequently, was supported by every Irish Member, as rendering that system complete. He and others held that elementary education was of still greater importance even than higher education; and they asked whether, at that moment, that elementary education was in

an efficient and satisfactory condition? He naturally turned to the Bill now before the House, which was to ameliorate the condition of the National School teachers, and where was it? He found it was the Tenth Order of the Day, without the remotest chance of receiving the consideration of the House. They knew the causes which had led to the difficulty of passing measures in that House; and, consequently, it was pretty clear why that measure, which had the support of the Government, was reduced at that period of the Session to such an extremity. He believed that the policy of the barricade had recoiled, to a certain extent, upon its authors; and, therefore, remedial measures like this, which would have received unanimous assent, were in the greatest possible danger of not being passed at all. He believed that unfortunate result had been, in a great measure, owing to what he called the "policy of the barricade." They would be told, he supposed, that they must look to next Session, and to next Session he supposed they must look; but if that policy was to continue, he saw no hope for any better state of things in any future Session of Parliament; and the remedy of a grievance acknowledged by every thinking man in Ireland, and which had been acquiesced in by every Member from Ireland, was placed at this moment in jeopardy, to their great disadvantage.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID rose to Order. The hon. Member was discussing a Bill which stood No. 10 on the Orders of the Day. It might be a very interesting question; but he had not yet reached it.

SIR JOHN LESLIE said, it was connected with the subject of elementary education. However, he had completed his statement.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, under ordinary circumstances, and if this were an ordinary Bill, he should certainly feel very strongly inclined to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney).

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA pointed out that the hon. Member for Liskeard had not moved his Amendment.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY proceeded to say that it was nothing but the extreme difficulty of any legislation on the subject which prevented him (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) from moving an Amendment to

that effect. They had now got out of Committee, and they had all the Amendments before them, and he must say that the Bill still remained a very inadequate and dangerous Bill. It contained very grave defects. It left the instruction of Roman Catholics who desired University Education in Ireland entirely unprovided for. Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges still existed for their Protestant brethren; but no provision was made for the instruction of Roman Catholics. That was a very great inequality, which could not be defended on any ground whatever. There was a still greater danger under the Bill, a danger which would have to be looked to very carefully by the Senate—namely, that with the Scholarships and prizes to be given to successful students under the Bill, either a system of teaching by cramming, or a system of University teaching in intermediate schools would spring up, and he did not know which of the two would be the worse—that the University Education of the country should fall into the hands of crammers, or that the Intermediate Education of the country should be spoiled and destroyed by its being mixed up with University studies. He trusted the Senate which was to be constituted would endeavour to provide against both these dangers, which were equally destructive to any prospect of success. It was only because the Bill left a good deal to be done by the Senate, and because the work of the Senate would be constantly under the supervision of the House, that he thought the Bill should be allowed to pass.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

MR. NEWDEGATE, in moving the following new clause:—

(Senate to make annual report.)

“And be it enacted, That the Senate of the University shall, once at least in every year, and whenever the Lord Lieutenant shall direct, report their proceedings to the Lord Lieutenant. Each annual report shall include a statement of accounts, and shall be made up to the end of the academical year, and shall include all prizes offered, and all prizes conferred, together with the names of the candidates for and of the recipients of the prizes offered by the University, stating the places of the previous education of such candidate, and a like account with respect to all candidates for and recipients of the degrees and honours to be conferred or

conferred by the University. The name of each member of the Senate, if resident within the United Kingdom, shall be appended to such report, whether assenting thereto or dissenting therefrom, and copy of every report shall be laid before Parliament within six weeks of the same being made, if Parliament be then sitting, and if not, then within three weeks of the next meeting of Parliament.”

said, he desired to propose the clause which stood in his name on the Notice Paper, and which he humbly submitted to the House. He had endeavoured to ascertain whether the House had ever passed an Education Act, such as the Bill contemplated, without requiring an annual Report to be laid before it, and he had been unable to find any instance, in which the House had passed an Education Act of this kind, which contemplated the suppression of a University, appropriated the property of that University, as created under Charter, and applied that property to other purposes; but the Bill went further, for it also contemplated providing for such of the Professors of the suppressed University as might decline to serve in the new University, a different University, which the Bill would create, out of public money to be voted by Parliament. He (Mr. Newdegate) could find no parallel case in which the House had not required an annual Report of the proceedings of the intended establishment. This Bill was drawn in a very unusual manner. In the first part of the measure it contemplated the use of the Royal Prerogative; but, instead of leaving Her Majesty's Prerogative of granting a Charter untouched, by successive clauses the Bill directed and limited the use of the Royal Prerogative, and then, by the 9th clause, totally superseded the Prerogative. With the permission of the House, he would read the terms of this, the 9th clause, which appropriated to the purposes of the Bill the establishment now existing, the Queen's University, and superseded the appointments which had been made by Prerogative, and then undertook to provide funds for paying the appointees. Altogether it was a most anomalous Bill, and especially this 9th clause, the first part of which the House would forgive him for reading. It ran in these words—

“And whereas it is desirable to promote the advancement of learning in Ireland by means of the creation, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of exhibitions, scholarships, fellow-

Mr. O'Shaughnessy

ships, and other prizes, and also by the erection of suitable buildings in connection with the University to be established under the said charter."

Under these words the House was invited to appropriate by Act of Parliament all that had been done by Prerogative, and to apply it to such uses as Parliament might think fit; and not only that, but the Bill undertook to provide public funds. He had taken the trouble of looking through the more recent precedents, and found that, in the year 1845, when the College of Maynooth was re-established, and the Queen's Colleges were created, for the first time each House of Parliament required that annual Reports should be presented to it. He then came to the Queen's University. Now, the Queen's University was established by Charter; but by that Charter the Colleges, established by Act of Parliament, were incorporated. Her Majesty, in an ordinary case, would have directed by Charter that new Colleges should be formed, and no Reports would have been presented to Parliament; but in consequence of the use of the Prerogative for incorporating the Colleges, already established by Parliament, an annual Report from that University had been presented to both Houses of Parliament. In this No 2 University Education Bill, however, up to the present time, although it contained this 9th clause, of which he had ventured to read the first part, there was no provision whatever for a Report to both Houses of Parliament. It appeared to him that the Prerogative had, in this case, been used only to invest Her Majesty's Advisers, Her present Ministers, with an option as to the time, at which this new University should be created. He could not otherwise understand the purpose of the Bill, because, under this very Bill, after the scheme had been matured, that scheme was to be submitted to Parliament. There were very grave reasons why this University should be regarded as a Parliamentary University. It was practically to be created by Parliament. It was to be supplied with funds by Parliament, and there were very grave Constitutional reasons why Parliament should relieve Her Majesty, who held the Throne as a Protestant Sovereign of these Realms, and on the condition of her and her successors being Protestants, from the responsibility, which

might thus rest upon her, if it were afterwards discovered that Her Majesty had by Charter erected a Roman Catholic University. It was for these reasons that he ventured to propose the clause, which stood upon the Notice Paper in his name. That clause he had drawn, to the best of his ability, after reference to Clauses 15 and 19 of the Maynooth Act, 8 & 9 *Vict.*, c. 25, after reference to the Queen's Colleges Act of the same Session, 1845, 8 & 9 *Vict.*, c. 66; and also after reference to the Intermediate Education Act of last Session, c. 66, s. 10. All of those Acts required an audit and a Report with respect to the funds, that were appropriated to the purposes of those several measures. Under the 12th section of the Bill, the whole of the property derived under the Act of 1845, the Queen's Colleges Act, and under the Charter of 1850, was to be transferred to this new Body, and that was accompanied by a promise on the part of Parliament, that Parliament would, out of public money, make good any deficiency, or meet any requirements, that might arise from the changes which Parliament was, under this Bill, asked to effect. With regard to the terms of his proposed clause, he had been told that the Report ought not to include the names of the candidates for, and of the recipients of, the honours and prizes to be conferred. But he held in his hand Reports made under the Charter of the Queen's University, and there he found that all the students' names, as well as those of the successful candidates, were given. He had adopted this form, therefore, from the Report for 1878. He wished now to leave his clause in the hands of the House; and he trusted that, in the few observations he had made, he had stated his argument and explained his object with sufficient clearness. If Parliament or this House had come to the conclusion that it was committed to the Bill—if the House of Commons concurred in creating this new University—then he would ask the Members of the House as loyal subjects, as gentlemen, and as men, to require that Reports should be made to themselves, so as to relieve Her Majesty from the responsibility, which the Bill seemed to impose upon her, while Parliament arrogated to themselves the power, which ought to entail responsibility. Thanking the House for allow-

ing him to explain the object of his clause, he would now move it according to Notice.

New Clause (Senate to make annual report,)—(*Mr. Newdegate*,)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he sympathized with the object of his hon. Friend (*Mr. Newdegate*), in proposing the clause, that a Report should be annually made to Parliament on the subject of this University. It was the intention of the Government that such a Report should be made; but he (*Mr. J. Lowther*) thought it would be more in accordance with the precedent that the provision for it should be in the Charter. The Charter of the Queen's University provided that the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor should annually furnish a Report to the Lord Lieutenant on the condition and progress of the University. His hon. Friend the Member for North Warwickshire desired that such a Report should be laid before Parliament with regard to the new University; and, no doubt, under the exceptional circumstances of the Bill, on which the House was engaged, that was not unreasonable. He would suggest, however, as a better and more convenient means of attaining the object in view, that words should be introduced, at the end of the 10th clause, carrying out the principle contained in the Charter for the Queen's University. At the end of Clause 10, then, he should move, in due time, to insert words providing as follows:—

"The Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor of the University to annually furnish a Report to the Lord Lieutenant on the condition or progress of the University, such Report to be laid before Parliament within six weeks, if Parliament be then sitting, and, if not, within three weeks in the next Session of Parliament."

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland appeared to contain great part of the substance of that which he (*Mr. Newdegate*) desired by his Amendment, or, rather, proposed clause. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would follow the precedent of the Reports furnished to both

Houses of Parliament under the Charter of the Queen's University, the Charter of 1850. He, therefore, asked leave to withdraw his clause.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause 3 (Constitution of the University).

MR. COURTNEY moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 25, to leave out "six" and insert "twelve." He explained that the Amendment referred to the composition of the Senate of the new University. By the Bill the Senate was constituted of 36 members to be appointed by the Crown. Therefore, they started with 36 nominees, the appointment being for life. When vacancies occurred by death or resignation every alternate vacancy was to be filled up by election by Convocation until there were six elected members, which would be the total number elected under the scheme of the Bill, or one-sixth of the entire number comprising the Senate. In the constitution of the Senate of the Queen's University one-fourth were elected members. He now proposed, by his Amendment, to increase the proportion of elected members from 6 to 12, or one-third of the whole body. These alterations would not come into effect for some considerable time, as it would be observed the whole of the 36 members of the Senate were named for life. He, therefore, did not propose to alter the working of the scheme of the Bill until at least 12 vacancies occurred. The alteration involved no present element of danger; but, on the other hand, it would tend to make the University self-constituted, and would give it a more independent life. In that respect it deserved the support of everyone interested in University Education. It would be impossible to conduct University Education if it was again and again to be interfered with by the introduction of Party politics. He had on the Paper a further Amendment, providing that there should be an election once every year to fill up vacancies among the elected members, and that at such elections each member of Convocation should have as many votes as there were persons to be elected, and be entitled to accumulate or distribute them as he pleased. This would have a valuable effect, because it would give to the

*Mr. Newdegate*

minority sure and absolute representation on the Governing Body. The hon. Member concluded by moving the first of his Amendments.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 25, to leave out the word "six," in order to insert the word "twelve."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'six' stand part of the Bill."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would not agree to this Amendment. It would be a new departure from the policy of the Bill, and throw the power into the hands of the present graduates of the Queen's Colleges for a considerable time, rather than into the hands of the graduates of the new University. This was a circumstance which they wished to avoid, and in taking that new departure the Irish Members came forward to say that they preferred being left to the mercy of Her Majesty's Government, rather than to the mercy of a coterie in Dublin. He thought this was one of those subjects on which it was better not to say too much. The Bill itself recognized a new departure, and he ventured to think that it was a departure in the right direction. He believed that in Ireland they were all disposed to give this Bill, if it became law, a fair trial; and although he confessed he sympathized somewhat with the considerations which his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (*Mr. Courtney*) gave expression to, he could not help thinking that the fears of his hon. Friend were groundless. He (*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*) believed it was the intention of the Nobleman now at the head of affairs in that country to work the scheme out in a thoroughly national and comprehensive spirit. He could only say that he hoped that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would abide by the number of elected members fixed in the Bill.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Liskeard (*Mr. Courtney*), which would have been still more in the interest of the University if it had gone further. At least one-half of the members of the Senate ought to be elected by the graduates. In the case of the University

of London, which comprised a somewhat larger number than the body to which the present Bill applied, they had felt that they were too much under Government tutelage—that they were not left with sufficient authority to control their own proceedings, and that it would be for the benefit of the University if a greater number of graduates were elected by the Convocation to the Senate. The objection of the hon. Member for Youghal (*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*) was one which would equally apply to the existing state of affairs. He (*Sir Julian Goldsmid*) held that one of the worst things that could possibly occur in University life was to have the Government of the day constantly interfering; and, therefore, he should support the Amendment, and thought that Irish Members, if they studied their own interests, would also support it.

MR. SHAW said, it struck him, as this Amendment, if carried, could not possibly come into operation for the next 12 years, that they might just as well wait for a time and see how the clause operated first. The difference between this case and the London University was, that here they were beginning with a very large constituency already made, and it might be a dangerous thing to enlarge the powers of the constituency. He believed there could be nothing more unfortunate than to introduce any element which might make it seem that the present students of the Queen's University had any interests against this Bill, and he feared very much that by enlarging the scope of the elected members they might introduce that element. He hoped that in the course of a few years there would be an amended Bill brought in; and if that was done there would be then no difficulty in considering this question. Before he sat down there was one point he would like to allude to. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Warwickshire (*Mr. Newdegate*) said something about loyal Members, and that they objected to the name of "Queen's University." That had nothing at all to do with the matter. He did not believe that there was a single sane man in Ireland who would object to the name of Queen's University. What they did object to was the thing, and not the name, and they thought—and he believed the Government thought with them—

that it would be better to change the name, so as to prevent misapprehension.

Mr. SYNAN said, the matter was discussed in Committee and a Division taken upon it, when the Amendment was defeated by a majority of about 100. He was, therefore, rather surprised at, he would not say the pertinacity of, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) bringing the matter forward again. If this were a new foundation, no Irish Member would stand up for the nominee of the Lord Lieutenant against the graduates of that foundation; but it was not. There were already 1,200 graduates, and it was into their hands that the hon. Member for Liskeard wanted to throw the whole power. So far as election was concerned, if the system which had been proposed to the House upon the second reading of the Bill had been adopted, and affiliated Catholic Colleges had been connected with the University, the hon. Member might have had some reason for moving his Amendment; but, under the present circumstances, he (Mr. Synan) called upon the Government to stand firm and not accept the Amendment.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment (Mr. Courtney) would see that the matter had resolved itself into a contest between hon. Members who represented the interests of the London University, and hon. Members from Ireland looking after the interests of the scheme as represented in the Bill—a sort of trial race, in fact, between the two Universities. The former wished to use the new University as a *corpus vile*, on which to try an experiment for the benefit of the London University. It was evident, he thought, that there was no wish on the part of Irish Representatives to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for Liskeard, and he, therefore, hoped the House would not accept it.

Mr. FAWCETT had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would have found some argument more deserving of the consideration of the House than the statement that it was a contest between the London University and the Irish Universities. The London University had nothing whatever to do with the question. It had only been brought forward by his hon. Friend the Member for Roches-

ter (Sir Julian Goldsmid) as an argument in favour of the Amendment, and seeing that the Government had referred so much to the London University, the hon. Member for Rochester was quite justified in doing so. The Irish Members supplied the most unanswerable arguments in favour of the Amendment, because they seemed to anticipate the predominance of one class of graduates, which it was the very object of the Amendment to prevent. The only argument advanced against the Amendment was that the question had been discussed in Committee; but he would point out that the Committee had been galloped through on the Bill, and several important questions were reserved for consideration upon Report. He should support the Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 104; Noes 32: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 221.)

Further Amendments (*Mr. Courtney*), by leave, *withdrawn*.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 6, that after "Majesty," these words be inserted—

"Provided always, That one-half of such persons so nominated by Her Majesty shall be graduates of the said University:"

the intention being to secure a due representation of the graduates on the Senate.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 6, after the first word "Majesty," to insert the words "Provided always, That one-half of such persons so nominated by Her Majesty shall be graduates of such University."—(*Sir Julian Goldsmid*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he could not, on behalf of the Government, accept the Amendment. It was unnecessary, and unduly trenching on the Royal Prerogative. It was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day that the Government intended to retain the services, as far as possible, of the existing members of the University.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Clause *agreed to*.

*Mr. Shaw*

§ 4 (Convocation).

J. LOWTHER, in moving the Amendments:—In page 2, before "graduates," insert "page 2, line 18, at end of add—

ided that any other persons who shall date of the said Charter members of vocation of the Queen's University complying with such conditions, be- l continue members of the Convocation niversity to be established under the ter;"

e object which the Government view was to place women in the ception as in England, with re- University Education, as men.

ndment agreed to; words added.

se, as amended, agreed to.

§ 8 (Examinations).

COURTNEY moved, as an ment, in page 3, line 1, after to insert the words "degrees and 1."

J. LOWTHER, on behalf of the ment, said, he would accept this ment.

ndment agreed to; words added.

se, as amended, agreed to.

§ 9 (Senate to prepare scheme).

COURTNEY, in moving, as an ment, in page 3, line 29, to leave e words "that they shall be d in respect of either relative or e proficiency and," said, the sys- posed was that of paying result students who passed any examina- a decent manner—a system which degrade education and develop rst forms of cramming. He ap- led that it would also affect the d of University Education, by ing a competition between the niversity and that of London. ew University would correspond

se London University in so far as ld not require residence, and it attract students under the condi- roposed. He apprehended a con- le influx to the number of students ing to obtain the result fees, and passing of moderate examina- hey would certainly obtain those Education would thus be very ally injured. He would take the f the House upon the principle of oposition.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 29, to leave out the words "that they shall be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency and."—(Mr. Courtney.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. CHARLEY said, there was no- thing analogous to the proposal in any University which he knew of.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he was in hopes that a discussion would have taken place the other day on this point. In that case, it would not again have been adverted to; but he would remind the House that it would be the duty of the new Senate to establish a standard which would by no means come under the category described.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 117; Noes 26: Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 222.)

MR. ERRINGTON moved the inser- tion in page 3, line 33, after sub-section 2, of the following words:—

"Provided always, That such exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes as may be awarded in respect of absolute proficiency shall be paid only to students who shall have pursued their studies in a college for at least six months of the twelve months imme- diately preceding the period of the examina- tions. A college for the purposes of this rule shall mean, in the case of prizes for matricula- tion, any educational institution which affords classical or scientific education to students, of whom not less than thirty shall have made at least one hundred attendances during six of the nine months immediately preceding the period of the examinations. In the case of prizes for any degree examination, a college shall mean any educational institution in which not less than ten matriculated students of the Univer- sity shall have pursued a course of University studies during at least six months of the twelve months immediately preceding the period of the examinations."

By the Amendment he proposed to remedy an evil in the Bill so serious that, though it received some discussion in Committee, he felt justified in raising the point now. The Bill had, as it stood, this one great drawback—that, though it preferred to have for its object the spread of University Education in Ire- land, it would really do more to en- courage a system of private tuition. He regarded the Collegiate Education as an essential part of a University system;

but here the Bill was a direct encouragement by these prizes of a system of cram and superficial knowledge. The evils of cramming had been brought out distinctly the other day by an investigation to which he need not further refer, and, not to take up the time of the House further, he would move the Amendment.

**Amendment proposed,**

In page 3, line 33, after the word "expedient" to insert the words "Provided always. That such exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes as may be awarded in respect of absolute proficiency, shall be paid only to students who shall have pursued their studies in a college for at least six months of the twelve months immediately preceding the period of the examinations. A college for the purposes of this rule shall mean, in the case of prizes for matriculation, any educational institution which affords classical or scientific education to students, of whom not less than thirty shall have made at least one hundred attendances during six of the nine months immediately preceding the period of the examinations. In the case of prizes for any degree examination, a college shall mean any educational institution in which not less than ten matriculated students of the University shall have pursued a course of University studies during at least six months of the twelve months immediately preceding the period of the examinations."—(*Mr. Errington.*)

**Question proposed,** "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that undoubtedly the subject was of great importance, and one which the hon. Gentleman was perfectly justified in raising. But the House would see at once that if they adopted the Amendment it would completely alter the whole aspect of the Bill, and it would be necessary to set on foot a system of affiliated Colleges, and, at the same time, lay down the principle that no person having been educated privately should avail himself of the offer of these prizes. That was altogether contrary to what had been contemplated in the Bill, and he hoped it would not be accepted.

MR. SYNAN said, the object of the Amendment was to secure that for some period, at all events, the student should have Collegiate Education. He was astonished that the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) the advocate of Collegiate Education and a high University scheme, had not spoken in favour of it. As it appeared that the Irish Party would be left to go into the Lobby alone, both sides of the House being

against them, he recommended his hon. Friend (Mr. Errington) not to divide.

MR. ERRINGTON said, he would withdraw his Amendment.

**Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.**

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK in moving, as an Amendment, the omission of sub-section 4, which provided that holders of prizes in other Universities should not compete without the value of such prizes being taken into account, said, that there should be a reciprocal provision by which students in the new University should equally be debarred from taking prizes in this and other Universities. As it stood, the Bill was one-sided and unjust, placing English and Scotch Universities at a disadvantage, for their prizes would be open to all Irish students, while, on their side, their students would be prevented from competing in Dublin. Failing such a provision as would put all Universities on the same footing, he would move the omission of the sub-section. If, however, the Government would give some promise that such a provision should be inserted, he would withdraw the Amendment.

**Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 41, to leave out sub-section 4 of Clause 9.**—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

**Question proposed,** "That the said sub-section stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he could not give any such promise. If the arrangements in other Universities were not so perfect as he hoped to make this, the responsibility rested with those who conducted those Universities.

**Question put.**

The House divided:—Ayes 111; Noes 30: Majority 81.—(*Div. List, No. 223.*)

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (General powers of Senate and Convocation).

MR. J. LOWTHER moved, as an Amendment, to add to the clause words providing that the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University shall draw up annually a Report to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant, and afterwards placed before Parliament.

**Amendment agreed to; words added.**

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

*Mr. Errington*



*Queen's University.*

Clause 11 (Dissolution of Queen's University).

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Amendment which he had to propose was one of so simple a character, that he thought it ought to recommend itself to the Government without any argument; indeed, he believed it to embody the plan which they themselves had formed. Hon. Members would be aware that this part of the Bill provided for the dissolution of the Queen's University within a period of two years from the granting of the Charter to the new University. It was a necessary condition that this dissolution should not take place before the Charter was given; but it was a fact that, as the clause stood, within a period of two years, the Queen's University would be sacrificed. Now, the object of his proposal was to provide that no Charter should be given to the new University until the scheme to be prepared by the Senate had been laid before Parliament. It was, in his opinion, essential that that should be done. They were going to sacrifice the Queen's University; but he urged upon the Government not to do so until they had something substantial to put in its place. Merely chartering the new University supplied nothing, inasmuch as the constitution of the new University depended upon what was going to be put into it, in furtherance of the scheme to be drawn up by the Senate. The extinction of the Queen's University, therefore, should be suspended until that scheme was placed before Parliament. He would be reluctant to take another Division; but, with the object he had described, he begged to move the addition to the clause of the words—

"But not until the expiration of a month after the aforesaid scheme shall have been laid before both Houses of Parliament."

*Amendment proposed.*

In page 4, line 23, after the word "charter," to insert the words "But not until the expiration of a month after the aforesaid scheme shall have been laid before both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the House should not embrace the proposal

of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), unless they wished to continue the foundation of the Queen's University up to the very day on which the new University was constituted. If accepted, the Amendment would lead to a chronic war between the two bodies. He, therefore, hoped the Amendment would not be entertained.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he could not accept the Amendment. The object of the Bill was to make provision for the institution of a new University, and it would be impossible to do that until the old one was dissolved. It would perpetuate the old University, and leave the two, more or less, side by side.

MR. SYNAN said, he was astonished at the proposal of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), which meant no other than that the Senate, which was to prepare the scheme for the new University, should not come into existence until after their scheme had been put forward.

MR. FAWCETT said, it appeared to him that some hon. Members from Ireland, and amongst them the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan), had entirely misunderstood the object of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), which raised an important practical question. He (Mr. Fawcett) thought that the Government should give some kind of answer to two questions which he had to put. One of those arose out of an answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that afternoon. The question was—would it be necessary to place the Charter on the Table of the House for ratification, in accordance with the provisions of the Act to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred, in the same way as it would be necessary to place the Charter of the proposed University in the North of England upon the Table of the House? The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan) had said that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard proposed that two Universities should exist together. But he (Mr. Fawcett) wished to point out to the House that the object of the hon. Member was that there should be no injustice done to the students now studying in the Queen's Colleges. It seemed quite possible to him (Mr. Fawcett) that the Queen's University might be abolished at such a time as would leave those new students

who were preparing to take degrees in the position of having no University in which to take them; because, on the supposition that the Queen's University was abolished immediately, the Charter for this new University was granted, and before the scheme to be presented by the Senate of the new University came into operation, where would be the University under which those students could obtain their degrees? That was his second question. It appeared to him that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard, taking into consideration the case of those undergraduates, afforded the best security that this proposed new University should not place in their way such an obstacle to the obtaining of their degrees. Unless the clause was made clearer than at present, it was quite possible that, the Queen's University being abolished before the completion of the scheme of examination to be presented by the Senate, the preparation of which would necessarily occupy some time, there might be no University in existence where the undergraduates who belonged to the Queen's University at the time of its dissolution could take their degrees. That would inflict upon them an injustice which he was quite sure the Government had no intention of inflicting. The object of his hon. Friend was to make the matter more clear, and he trusted the Amendment would be accepted by the Government.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON), pointed out that the 2nd clause of the Bill provided for the creation of a new University by Charter, and that the 11th clause, then under discussion, merely provided that—

"On a day within a period of two years from the granting of any such Charter, to be fixed by the Lord Lieutenant by Order made by and with the advice and consent of the Privy Council in Ireland, the Queen's University in Ireland shall be dissolved."

The only thing left open was the day on which the dissolution would take place, and that would be met by the words of the clause now being passed by Parliament, after due consideration, which provided that the day should be fixed by the Lord Lieutenant by Order made by, and with the advice and consent of, the Privy Council in Ireland. It would then be submitted to Parliament.

*Mr. Fawcett*

Mr. HOPWOOD thought there was still some misconception. The question was not one of fixing the date by the Houses of Parliament. Whereas the Bill provided that within two years after the Charter was granted the Lord Lieutenant should fix the date of dissolution, his hon. Friend said that this might happen within a week or two of the granting of such Charter, and that he wanted to insure that provision should be made for scholars and persons who might be students at that time of the old existing University. Therefore, his hon. Friend asked, by a simple expedient, that the Lord Lieutenant should not exercise that power of dissolution, until the scheme of the Senate had been laid for a month upon the Table of the House. There was every precedent in favour of such a course, and he (Mr. Hopwood) could not conceive how any misunderstanding could exist upon so simple a matter. The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan) had clearly made a mistake as to the effect of the Amendment proposed. But sometimes the indisputable and self-evident nature of a proposition excited something like mirth. The Houses of Parliament had nothing to do with fixing the date of dissolution.

Mr. FAWCETT requested to know, whether he would be in Order in moving, as an Amendment—

"That the Queen's University should not be dissolved until the New University was in a position to confer degrees?"

Mr. SPEAKER pointed out to the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) that there was already an Amendment before the House.

Mr. SHAW said, that the hon. Members who put forward these Amendments seemed to think that those who were to carry out the scheme of the new University in Ireland were very foolish people. The idea of their shutting up one University, before the other was opened, and leaving the students without the means of getting their degrees, would not be likely to be carried out by the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council. Besides, it might happen that when the University was dissolved no Parliament might be sitting for months, so that if the Amendment was carried the very thing which the hon. Member for Liskeard wished to avoid would be brought

but. He could not at all understand the necessity for this Amendment.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, it was intended that the scheme should be laid before Parliament, so that it might express an opinion upon it before the same took effect. If the existing University were dissolved before Parliament could express an opinion, a hardship would be inflicted upon the students of the Queen's University. It seemed to him that the effect of not having some words introduced as were proposed in the Amendment of the hon. Member Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), an impediment would be placed in the way of Parliament exercising its discretion by expressing an opinion upon the scheme. He did not see what practical inconvenience could ensue from the adoption of these words. On the other hand, not to report them would interfere with the distinction of the House, inasmuch as hon. members would feel that by interposing they would inflict a certain degree of dishonour upon the pupils, who were waiting to take their degrees, especially if Parliament were to interrupt the proceedings of the University by the expression of any adverse opinion. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government would admit these, or similar words.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was willing to withdraw his Amendment in favour of that suggested by the hon. Member Hackney, which would secure the effect he had in view.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he would not trouble the House by repeating the arguments which he had already stated. The possible harm could come from the adoption of the Amendment he was about to move. It had been well pointed out by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) that as time might elapse, and, as it were, the status caused by the possible rejection of the scheme by Parliament, during which the students of the existing Queen's University might suffer considerable inconvenience. He would, therefore, move, in page 4, line 25, to "dissolved," to add the words—

Provided, That the Queen's University be dissolved until the new University is in a position to confer degrees."

Mr. J. LOWTHER thought the words necessary, because the Bill already

carried out their intention. But as there could be no harm in doing so he was ready to admit the words.

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 13 (Saving for Queen's Colleges).

Mr. J. LOWTHER moved the addition to the clause of the words—

"And the Professors of the Queen's Colleges who are in office at the date of the said Charter shall, so long as they hold office as such Professors, continue to be styled University Professors."

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 14 (Saving of rights of officers of Queen's University).

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had a very simple Amendment to propose to the clause, which he hoped the Government would accept. The clause provided that if the existing officers should not be appointed to the new University, they should be entitled to receive during life, by way of retiring pensions, the full amount of their salaries. That, it appeared to him, was carrying vested rights to an extreme. It must be remembered that although a man's office might be abolished his labour was still worth something, and this he could carry to another market. He trusted it would not be necessary to dispense with the services of any of the existing officers; but it might be necessary to do so, and in that case they would receive their full pay for life, *plus* the pay they might receive for other labours. He did not agree that the application of this principle was desirable, and, therefore, moved that the words "full amount," in page 5, line 23, be struck out, in order to insert the words—

"Such portion as the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury shall deem to be equitable."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 23, to leave out the words "full amount," in order to insert the words "such portion of."—(*Sir George Campbell*.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'full amount,' stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. LOWTHER thought if the hon. Gentleman had read to the end of the clause he would have seen that his Amendment was perfectly unnecessary. The words he referred to were—

"Any such person who shall decline to accept any such office as aforesaid if tendered to him, shall be deemed to have resigned his office in the Queen's University, and shall not be entitled to any pension or compensation."

As these words were sufficient, he could not agree to the Amendment, which he trusted the hon. Gentleman would not press.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL had a strong opinion on the point contained in his Amendment, and would prefer a negative to its withdrawal.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause *agreed to*.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he would now make an appeal to the House, that they would consent to the third reading of the Bill. It had to go back to "another place," in order that the Amendments should be considered; and there was, for that reason, no time to be lost.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. James Lowther*),—put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (No. 2) BILL.  
(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwyn-Ibbetson.*)

[BILL 260.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. RYLANDS, in moving, as an Amendment—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the whole subject of local loans, before any alteration is made in the terms under which the Public Works Loans Commissioners are authorized to advance loans to local bodies."

said, this was a measure which gave the Public Works Loans Commissioners authority to issue a definite sum on loans for public works. It was also a Bill which proposed to make extensive alterations in the terms upon which these

loans should be advanced by the Commissioners. The former part of the Bill was unobjectionable; but the latter part was of an extraordinary character and open to serious question. That was the justification of the hon. Member for Birmingham (*Mr. Chamberlain*) in not dividing the House upon the second reading, because it was impossible to vote against the necessary provisions of the Bill. The Amendment, however, which he (*Mr. Rylands*) himself was about to make was one that would not be fatal to the Bill. It was simply to the effect that before any great change was made in the conditions upon which public works loans were to be advanced the whole subject should be referred to a Select Committee, with a view to securing from Parliament a decision which was likely to be satisfactory, and to meet the requirements of the case. He thought the House had reason to complain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have, by bringing forward the Bill at so late a period of the Session, placed them in some difficulty in dealing with it. Another reason was, that the right hon. Gentleman, in proposing these new provisions, had advanced arguments in their support which were scarcely justified by the circumstances of the case. The right hon. Gentleman gave a very important justification of this Bill by stating the amount of the losses that had been experienced by the Commissioners in advancing money for local purposes, and said that he proposed by this Bill to save the country from such losses in the future. But he (*Mr. Rylands*) ventured to say that the right hon. Gentleman's case had entirely failed, because the losses he quoted were on a class of loans advanced at a rate to cover the risk of any such losses. From a Return issued by the Secretary to the Treasury, he found that many of the losses were on loans advanced at the full rate of 5 per cent interest; and he wished to point out that the losses were, in the main, upon advances upon what were called "undertakings." They were undertakings got up by localities with a view to making a certain profit on the outlay, and the security had been practically dependent upon the profit so anticipated, and in places where the profit had not been made the undertaking had not furnished a sufficient security, and the Commissioners had

met with a loss. But he had also to observe that the very largest loss in that Return was on loans for workhouses in Ireland; and that loss, he believed, was entirely occasioned by the course which the House itself took, and was not a matter within the discretion or responsibility of the Loan Commissioners. It was imposed upon them by the action of the Executive Government, supported by Parliament, and there could be no doubt whatever that the loan was almost in the nature of a gift, and when it was found impossible to obtain repayment of the money it was written off as a bad debt. However, what he wished to call the attention of the House to was the effect of the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bill struck mainly at two great operations under the Public Works Loans system—one was the loans under the Education Acts, and the other was the loans under the Public Health Acts. These two classes of loans mounted up to by far the largest portion of the money advanced by the Commissioners. In the case of education loans, under the Act they were to be granted at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and to be repayable within 50 years. In the case of sanitary loans, the rate of interest was to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or such other rate as might, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury, be necessary in order to enable the loan to be made without loss to the Treasury. With regard to the Education Act, it was quite clear that the terms upon which loans should be advanced were part of a deliberate arrangement, by which Parliament sought to facilitate the working of the Act, and the building of schools at the heavy expense which must be incurred within the first few years. The same argument applied to loans for sanitary purposes; the terms were part of the conditions under which the Public Health Acts were passed. Now, with regard to these two great branches of public loans, against which only this Bill would be effectually aimed, he ventured to say that they were for objects of a national character, about which it was not for them to inquire whether the Treasury made a profit or not. When they had an object in which the people all over the Kingdom had an equal interest it was a matter of very little concern whether the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent which was

charged by the Treasury did, or did not, exactly cover the amount the Treasury had to pay. Practically, the rate charged by the Treasury had been sufficient to recoup its outlay. The Commissioners' Report for 1877-8 showed that, although the loans for educational and sanitary purposes totalled £13,000,000, there were really no losses, because the local authorities paid up their instalments with great regularity. Therefore, the reason given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was no justification for the provisions in this Bill, which would interfere with the action of the Commissioners in the matter. He (Mr. Rylands) wished to draw a great distinction between loans for national objects and loans for purely local objects; but the Bill did not make that distinction, and that was his chief objection to the measure. He did not object to the Chancellor of the Exchequer taking means to protect the public from a class of loans on which there had been losses. He did not object to stringency being applied with regard to loans for local purposes, which might be in themselves good objects, but still were not objects of a national character. The Commissioners at present were authorized to lend money for all sorts of purposes—for baths and washhouses, bridges, ferries, burial boards, canals, rivers, cattle diseases prevention, churches and parochial chapels, Colleges, emigration, fisheries, harbours, railroads, Law Courts, lunatic asylums, and a number of other objects. He thought there could be no doubt of the propriety of a Committee investigating the desirability of lending money for many of these purposes, which might be properly dealt with by the locality themselves, who might have power to issue debenture stock, and to contract loans on their own responsibility. To show the necessity of some revision of the list of these objects he had quoted, he would mention that on the loans for churches and parochial chapels, amounting to £448,918, a loss had been made of £8,289. He thought that was a class of loans which the Commissioners ought never to have touched, and which ought now to be struck off. [THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: They are struck off.] He was very glad to hear that statement from the right hon. Gentleman; but, at all events, the striking off of these loans was a recent

event. His reason for referring to these miscellaneous objects was simply to urge that a Committee might, with great advantage, go through the list, with the design of removing such as they thought unfit to be continued under the Public Works Loans Act. But he wished to point out, with regard to these proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they did not at all meet the object the right hon. Gentleman had in view. Of course, if his object was to strike at the operation of the Education and Sanitary Acts, he had succeeded; for there was no doubt that, in carrying out the provisions of those Acts, local bodies would be placed at great disadvantage under this Bill. But his Bill, the right hon. Gentleman said, was to protect the country from loss. But it did not do anything of the kind. He proposed to obtain the protection by charging a high rate of interest, which experience had shown to be entirely inoperative in preventing previous losses; and he also proposed that no single body should receive more than £100,000 in advance within a single year. That limitation would probably lead to some inconvenience, and render more difficult the carrying out of certain objects which local authorities had in view; but he (Mr. Rylands) could not see how it would in any way prevent loss and protect the Exchequer. He proposed to refer the subject to a Select Committee, simply because he thought they ought not, without the greatest consideration, to do anything likely to interfere with the operation of the Sanitary Act, or of the Education Act. It would be altogether improper for them, by a Bill of that character, to practically repeal important provisions in those two important Acts. He thought, also, a Select Committee would be of the greatest use to determine, after inquiry, how far local loans should be advanced for public objects, and how far facilities should be offered to local bodies for obtaining the means to carry out public objects. He begged, in conclusion, to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the whole subject

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of local loans before any alteration is made in the terms under which the Public Works Loan Commissioners are authorized to advance loans to local bodies,"—(Mr. Rylands.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. THOMSON HANKEY said, if there was any hon. Member on the Opposition side of the House whom he should have thought would never have made that proposal it was his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). His hon. Friend was the very last man he should have thought would have made it, because, as he (Mr. Hankey) understood, the sole object of the Bill was to save public money, and to prevent its being lent to an undue extent. There was no reasonable risk involved to any measures proposed by Parliament, such as public education and harbours of refuge. All those matters would go on as nearly as possible as heretofore. But there were other questions which were pressed before Parliament, and among them were sanitary and other works relating to the improvement of towns; and what frightened him was the assertion of the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), who tried to prove to them the other day that as long as they lent money on the security of the rates of large towns no possible risk would be incurred. He would not say that the hon. Gentleman actually used the words "to whatever extent we lend;" but he put it that there was no fear of any application being made which could not fairly be granted, as long as they took those securities. Well, now, he (Mr. Hankey) contended those grants were not for the kind of objects that the Government of this country should borrow money for to lend to private Corporations. There was plenty of capital always ready in this country seeking investment, for all good and useful purposes—that was, all purposes from which the capitalist believed that his money would be returned with interest. But when application was made to the Public Works Loans Commissioners nine times out of ten it was because the money could be got cheaper from the State than from the public. That showed that the public did not think

the security so good as Parliament thought it, and he thought the public were very much better judges of what was good security. It had been stated that it was all the same whether money was lent for 20, 30, 40, or 50 years; but he (Mr. Hankey) said there was a very great difference. There was a great risk of what might happen in 30 or 40 years time, which they were not now competent to judge. Flourishing towns had risen up of late years—take Middlesborough, for instance—but who was to say that their prosperity would continue, and that no changes in that respect would take place? Changes were taking place at the present moment. They heard of great difficulties in the manufacturing districts, and those were the very towns which were anxious to borrow money. He did not allude to such towns as Birmingham, which had been established for centuries; but it did not follow, because money might be safely lent to Birmingham, that it might be safely lent to other parts of the country. The object of this Bill was to give the Government the power of imposing some restrictions, which would make people hesitate a little before they borrowed money. He said that hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House ought to hail such a measure, because they were the parties who were anxious to impose restrictions on the Government of the country becoming great lenders of money, and encouraging speculations of various kinds which he did not think required any assistance. There was no difficulty whatever in all the money that was required for public purposes being found by individuals, except in those cases which were alluded to the other day—cases of a peculiar nature, in which the whole country was interested, such as harbours of refuge, and education. There might be other cases that might spring up from time to time, and in such cases the Commissioners were not likely to act indiscreetly. He should be sorry to see any difficulty thrown in the way of this Bill. He thought it was an extremely right measure, and he was extremely sorry to see it opposed, especially by Members on that side of the House.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the objection of his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Thomson Hankey) practically amounted to this—that it would be wise

for the Government to make no loans at all. If they followed his advice, they would shut up the system, and practically get rid of all loans. For his own part, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) earnestly hoped the Government would accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), and postpone the contentious clauses of the Bill to next Session, and then appoint a Committee to consider the measure. He believed that the more the subject was considered the more it would appear that the groundwork on which the Bill originally rested did not sustain the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also that the details of the Bill were not well considered. The main ground on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer founded the Bill was that there had been losses on loans; but those losses were only arrived at by including in the calculation a number of old loans which were made to all kinds of institutions, and which ought not fairly to be included in any such account. The only fair way was to see whether there had been a loss on loans of the same nature as were now being made for education and sanitary purposes. Taking seven classes of loans of old date, made to local authorities on the security of the rates, he found the losses had been very trivial indeed. The loans he referred to were loans to burial boards, loans under the Cattle Diseases Act, loans in respect of Law Courts, loans to local boards, loans for lunatic asylums, loans for public works in municipal districts, and loans for work-houses. They amounted to £9,000,000, of which £2,000,000 remained due, and the only loss had been £1,100. The more modern loans might be reckoned under five classes—Artizans' Dwellings Act, Sanitary Acts, Education, Irish Land Act, and the Land Improvement Acts of Ireland. Altogether they amounted to £17,000,000, of which £16,600,000 was still outstanding; and if they were to draw any analogy from the past he said there was no insecurity whatever in these loans. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had already quoted the last Report of the Commissioners, stating that the instalments were being paid with punctuality. Therefore, there was no groundwork for the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But it appeared to him

(Mr. Shaw Lefevre) that the Government itself was in very considerable doubt as to the policy of this measure, because it had consented to withdraw three very important classes of loans from the operation of the Act. So far as he could understand, there were only about seven important classes of loans to which the Bill would apply—namely, Artizans' Dwellings Act, Sanitary Acts, Education, Harbours, Labourers' Dwellings Act, Irish Land Act, and Irish Land Improvement Acts. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had now agreed to withdraw from the operation of the Bill loans under the Labourers' Dwellings Act and the Irish Land Acts. Practically, therefore, the Act would only apply to four classes of loans. There was one other point he would venture to bring under the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He referred the other day to the final effect of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he could lay upon the Table a statement showing the effect of the four alternative proposals made under the Bill? The right hon. Gentleman had not, apparently, been able to do that; but he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had been able privately to ascertain what the effect of those four alternative proposals was, and he would quote them to the House. Under the 2nd clause of the Bill there were four alternative proposals, under which borrowers could obtain money. The first was that they might obtain it at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for 20 years; the second was that they might obtain it at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for 30 years; the third, at 4 per cent for 40 years; and the fourth, at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for 50 years. The first proposal would involve the payment of an annuity of £7 a-year. He did not think many local authorities would wish at present to burden the ratepayers with an annuity of £7 for every £100; and, therefore, he did not think they were likely to avail themselves very largely of that proposition. The second proposal involved an annuity of £5 12s.; the third, an annuity of £5 1s.; and the fourth, an annuity of £4 17s. 2d. Looking carefully at the list, he had very little doubt that local authorities would most largely, if not wholly, avail themselves of the third proposal—namely, repayment by an annuity of £5 1s. If he was right in

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that supposition, the effect of the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be, in almost every case, to shorten the term of the loan by 10 years, and to increase the rate of interest from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent. Practically, therefore, it would throw an additional burden on the future in respect of education and sanitary loans of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. That was a very serious addition to local burdens, and it was the more serious, inasmuch as it would be the more felt by the present generation, and a less portion of it would fall upon future ratepayers. He must say he thought the proposal was an extremely inexpedient and unwise one. The policy of those Acts of Parliament was wisely to lessen the present burden for improvements, and to throw a somewhat greater burden upon the future. Fifty years might be a long term in some cases; but it certainly was not in the case of education loans, under which land was bought and buildings erected. He presumed those buildings would last more than 50 years; if not, they had been very unwisely built; and if they shortened the term they encouraged people to erect buildings slightly, so that they might not last. Take, again, the case of loans under the Artizans' Dwellings Act. Those were for permanent improvements in the clearing away of "rookeries;" and he could not see why the burden of those improvements should fall wholly upon the people of the present day. The more the subject was looked into, it seemed to him, the more it required investigation, and the more careless were the proposals of this Bill. Certainly, the financial part of it would require careful consideration by a Committee. He was quite certain that the alternative scale proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not work, and that the scale must be altered, after careful consideration, by the House; but at that hour, and at that period of the Session, it was perfectly impossible to give the necessary attention to the details. Therefore, he again pressed upon the Government the desirability of postponing the contentious clauses, and proceeding only with the non-contentious portion of the Bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN rose to support the Motion of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), having withdrawn his own Motion against the second



reading with that intention. He was perfectly aware that they were in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he should not trouble himself to repeat the arguments in favour of the Motion, because many hon. Members came down only to vote with the Government, and not to listen to arguments. At the same time, he ventured to assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if he legislated in haste in this matter he would repent at leisure. There was sufficient proof that throughout this business the complicated details which it involved had not been sufficiently considered by the Government. An additional illustration of that fact was given in this circumstance — that since the second reading on Saturday another important alteration in the Bill had been made by the Government, by the exclusion from the operation of the Bill of an important series of Acts. He waited to hear the reasons for their exclusion. He was very much interested in labourers' dwellings, and was glad to hear of any assistance being given to so good a work; but why was the Labourers' Dwellings Act excluded from the operation of the Bill, while the Artizans' Dwellings Act remained subject to it? They were told, the other day, that inasmuch as, under the Labourers' Dwellings Act, private Companies borrowed money at 4 per cent, it was very undesirable that Corporations should ask for money at a less rate. The argument really told the other way, because it might be said, if private Companies could make a profit of 5 or 6 per cent upon their capital, they, at least, had no claim upon the Public Exchequer; but in the case of Corporations, they not only never made a profit, but they always contemplated a loss. In the case of Birmingham, which was the largest scheme at present undertaken under the Act, the Corporation contemplated a loss of something like £400,000. That had been submitted to the ratepayers, and definitely approved by them, in consideration of the advantages which they hoped to obtain; but supposing this Bill had been in operation when that scheme was discussed the additional charge to the rates, owing to the increased interest of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, would have been something like £7,500 per annum; and that, capitalized for 25 years, would amount to nearly £200,000

extra loss. The result would have been simply this. The Corporation of Birmingham had now strained their resources to the utmost that they thought, as prudent men, and as trustees for the future, they could go. In order to improve the condition of the labouring population, and to make a great improvement in the town, they were willing to sacrifice £400,000. But if they had been told they must sacrifice £600,000 they would not have looked at the scheme. He ventured to make a prediction, and to tell the Government that by this Bill they were killing the Artizans' Dwellings Act. They had paraded that Bill throughout the country as a proof of their interest in domestic legislation, and especially in sanitary legislation. They passed it with great pomp and professions, and within two or three years they would now pass another Bill, which, to all intents and purposes, repealed it, and under which, he ventured to say, there never would be again any considerable scheme in connection with the Artizans' Dwellings Act. And then the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Thomson Hankey) told the House that Corporations came to the Exchequer because they could borrow money cheaper with the credit of the nation. Of course they did. Nobody doubted for a moment that the credit of the nation was better than that of any Corporation. He was not certain whether the security was better; but in the market it was better, for this reason. Its demands were so much larger; there was a more continuous stream of buyers and sellers. They could sell Consols even on a Black Friday; and he doubted whether they could sell Birmingham Corporation stock under those circumstances. Inasmuch, then, as the credit of the nation was better than that of any Corporation, the nation could, without loss, provided the security was indefeasible, lend money to Corporations at lower rates than Corporations could borrow it for themselves. He did not say it should be done for all the purposes of a Corporation; but he said that under the Public Works Loans Act this had been a matter of distinct bargain in all cases. In the case of the Artizans' Dwellings Act, Parliament went to Corporations, and said—"If you will carry out these schemes we will assist you with money at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent;" and then the hon. Member for Peterborough

"The Government are extending 10 years of the 5 per cent. If they were to limit the Government borrowing at more than the expiration of the 10 years, that would be a disadvantage to the local authorities. The Government would not be able to limit the rate of interest on the proceeds of the loan proposed to issue in the 10 years' extension of a period of 4 years. Their proposal would allow them to limit the duration of the extension of 10 years, 15 years, 20 years, and extending to 25 years or more. That has, though, to be subject to a limit of interest on the money represented by the loan, because the Government are anxious to fix a ceiling. However, the same point has been given to the House. With regard to the interest, it was thought that if the Government were charged for a varying amount of a very few pence, such as the 10 pence and 5 pence rate that had been referred to, 5 per cent had been raised as the interest. When the Education Act was passed, it was supposed that about 25,000,000 would be required by the whole country, but now that sum was required by the London School Board alone. With regard to the larger question that had been raised—namely, as to the erection of dwellings under the Artizans Dwellings Act, and sanitary improvements in towns, it was necessary to prevent borrowing from the Treasury to the enormous extent which was now going on—only single town having had already £1,500,000—and the provision would not operate injuriously to any particular object or interest. As he had said before, the Government would be ready next Session to appoint a Committee to consider what should be done with respect to loans to local bodies generally. He hoped the House would consent to go into Committee.

Mr. GOURLEY wished to make some observations with reference to what had been said respecting the loans to harbour authorities. He considered the loans to the harbour authorities to be made upon as good a security as could be given by the Corporation of Birmingham, or by any other body. The construction of harbours was a very important work, and in 1858 it was recommended that money should be taken from the National Insurance Fund for that purpose. He thought that the Government would not object to the loans being made from the National Insurance Fund.

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which required to be made in many instances. If the money was not made in the 1938-1939 financial year, it would have to be contributed by the company or different parts of the plant.

Mr. GARDNER said that the principal object of the opponents of the Bill seemed to be delay and the appointment of a Select Committee. But the question had been for a long time before the country and they had a great many Acts of Parliament upon it. For his part, he could not see that any good would be done by postponement and the appointment of a Select Committee. The hon. Member for Birmingham Mr. Chamberlain had endeavoured to distinguish between large and small loans, the first of which he called "national," and the second "local." But if small places borrowed small sums, and large places greater amounts, yet the objects for which the money was applied was not entirely national, but local. The hon. Member for Birmingham seemed to think that because the town with which he was connected had been the largest customer of the Exchequer, that, therefore, it was the best. It was a rule in commercial transactions that the best customers were those that paid the best, and he did not think that in that light Birmingham could be looked upon as the best customer of the Treasury. It was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, at the present time, it did not pay to make the loans; and he did not see that there was any other course to pursue, under those circumstances, than to raise the rate of interest. He had heard no argument which, in his opinion, in any way met the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. BARRAN was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been able to accept the proposition of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. E. Forster). They had been a considerable loss had been made to the Treasury; but they had not been the items upon which that they had ascertained that the money had not been in respect of the security of the bank any instance.

for them to consider what proportion the loans should bear to the security which was offered. For his part, he would be willing to consent that no loan at all—he did not say loans at a particular rate—but no loan should be granted to bodies whose rates had been pledged to a certain amount. In the case of Middlesbrough, for instance, it would be perfectly safe to lend money to that town to the extent of one-tenth of its rateable value, although the value of the property in the town, from exceptional circumstances, had recently become reduced. So long as they found that the rateable value of the property was some reasonable multiple of the amount lent, then they would have an indefeasible security. He had never contended that loans should be made to any amount without any reference to the security offered. It would be for the Committee to consider what would form a sound security, and also what objects were really national, and to carry out which it was desirable to assist the local authorities. They were now, however, proposing to legislate in a hurry, without any reference to the circumstances of the different cases, and without any regard to the considerations that were involved. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that no sum exceeding £100,000 should be lent to any single local body. The School Board for London, for instance, had an income larger than many a small Continental State; and it was proposed to apply the same rule to the School Board for London as to the local authorities of Little Peddlington. They had lent £100,000 to the Thames Tunnel and Battersea Park, and they deserved to lose that money. But now it was said, without any reference to the circumstances of the case, that £100,000 was to be the largest sum to be lent to the Corporation of Manchester, or the London School Board; and that seemed to him to be such financial pedantry, that he could scarcely believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would sanction it. If a Committee were appointed, it might arrange a scale to limit the amount of loans made in any one year in the proportion of the rateable value of the places to which they were advanced. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer

had stated that he would be willing, in the next Session, to refer the subject of local loans to a Select Committee. But why not refer the whole subject to a Select Committee at the same time? He (Mr. Chamberlain) was inclined to think that if Parliament made an arrangement in respect to these loans the Committee might consider that it should not interfere with the arrangements made. What harm could be done by allowing the whole subject to stand over? There were no great schemes in progress; and the greater amount of school accommodation required throughout the country had been provided. He thought that next year very few loans would be taken at the rate which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed. He must protest against the insinuation in the remarks of the hon. Member for Peterborough, and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that those interested in the subject, like the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) and himself, were personally interested in the question of loans and were speaking on behalf of local bodies that desired subsidies from the Exchequer. He repudiated the idea of a subsidy with contempt—they did not want eleemosynary assistance from the Government, or from anyone else. What they had done was done, and they were not then appealing for any further consideration. They would not be injured in the slightest degree by the Bill at Birmingham, for the sums which they were likely to require in the future would be very slight. There were two sides to the bargain. If, on the one side, the nation lent its credit to enable local bodies to obtain considerable sums of money on much better terms than they could obtain it elsewhere; yet, on the other hand, those local bodies were carrying out national objects, and they were expending money on schools and sanitary reforms which Parliament had expressed its earnest desire to see carried out. It was not fair to imply that the Representatives of large constituencies were personally interested in these matters. He did hope that, considering the great complexity of details that was involved in the question, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might, at the eleventh hour, see his way to refer the contentious clauses to a Select Committee.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD agreed with the general proposition that it was necessary to save the State from loss in respect of loans to local bodies; but in order to show that there had been a loss, and to bring up the expenditure upon public works to the sum of £85,000,000, it had been necessary to go back to the year 1. A great many matters had been dragged into the controversy which had no reference to the matter in hand. He wished to call attention to the fact that the Public Works Loans Commissioners, by their Report, showed that they had a perfect discretion at present in the matter of the loans. The Commissioners stated that when application was made to them for loans they considered the nature of the work and the expenses connected with it, before granting the loan demanded. He held in his hand evidence that the Public Works Loans Commissioners did take considerable latitude upon all questions connected with the loans. The object of the Government was not, he assumed, to make a large profit by these operations, but only to save the Exchequer from loss. He did not, however, feel the slightest doubt that in the case of many of those loans the money might be provided out of the deposits in the Government Savings Banks with very considerable profit to the Exchequer. He wished to mention another incident connected with this very large question. Borrowing by local bodies was not confined to loans made from the Public Works Loans Commissioners. He held in his hand a most interesting Report of the Local Government Board, which contained valuable information upon the subject. The Local Government Board stated that £20,480,000 had been borrowed by the local authorities, irrespective of the Public Works Loans Commissioners, by virtue of the authority of Parliament, and under powers contained in Private Bills. The House should look to the periods during which those loans were taken. He found that, in many cases, repayment was contemplated in 40 years, sometimes in 55 years, sometimes in 70 years, and sometimes in 95 years; and the borough of Bradford had recently borrowed considerable sums, repayable in the course of 100 years. In his opinion, an inquiry into the system of loans, if confined to the operation of the Public Works Loans

Commissioners, would only be half an inquiry. There was a very much larger question connected with the loans now obtained by local authorities to an almost unlimited extent under private legislation. He was as anxious as anyone for economy in all matters connected with local expenditure; but he did not think that object would be sufficiently attained by the measure before the House.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH said, that it seemed to him it would be especially futile for his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make a statement at that time upon the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) seemed to entertain the idea that the question before the House was as to the extent to which local bodies had contracted debts in former years. In point of fact, it was only a question as to how far the local authorities should be allowed to contract debts in the future with the Public Works Loans Commissioners. On the average of the last few years, the amount of money applied for by the local authorities to the Public Works Loans Commissioners, under 200 or 300 Acts of Parliament, might be roughly set down at £4,000,000 a-year; and the amount of money which had been lent was scarcely the amount which had been applied for by the local authorities. The amount of money authorized by the Bill to be lent, which was £6,000,000, was scarcely half the sum applied for by the local authorities. Between £11,000,000 and £12,000,000 was the sum that various local authorities had estimated that they would have to apply for before the 31st December next. It was necessary to put some check upon the enormous amount which the local bodies applied to borrow from the Exchequer; but he would caution the House that in dealing with the borrowing powers of local authorities they were entering into a very large question.

MR. W. E. FORSTER would appeal very strongly to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if not to the Government, whether it was wise or prudent to push that Bill through the House so late in the Session, when it was obliged to be taken in the middle of the night, or early in the morning? It was not usual for a Bill to be pushed forward so late in the

Session—he did not think it at all usual to take contentious Business after Supply was closed. Some Bills must be passed, no doubt, and this Bill could be well taken if the contentious clauses were withdrawn. Questions were raised by the disputed part of the Bill, which, at an earlier period of the Session, would have excited very great differences of opinion. The Government had put the question as if it were one between the rates and Imperial taxation. They knew what important questions were raised by the Bill, and how deeply they affected the interests of the country. The Bill would very largely affect the operation of the Education Act, and the Artizans' Dwellings Act, and involved much larger considerations than the mere question of rates and taxes. Surely, it was not right that such important matters should be decided at half-past 1 in the morning. It had become evident, from what had been said in the course of the debate, that two or three very important Bills would be affected by the present measure, if their operation was not entirely hampered, and he did not think that it was right that legislation of that sort should be hurried on. With regard to the Education Act, he spoke from his own knowledge, and could confirm his hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) in the statement that the Bill, as it stood, would affect, in a very large degree, the proper application of the Education Act. When the Education Act was first brought in it was not contemplated that loans should be for a longer period than 30 years; but it had been necessary to change that system, and the House had accepted the change. Grants had been made to the school boards since that time for longer periods of years. The effect of the Bill would be to make it more onerous upon school boards to build schools than before, and although a great number of schools were already built there was still a large amount of work to be done. In many large towns, especially, considerably more expenditure would be required, and the school boards had a right to complain that the original bargain had been departed from. He did not wish to say anything which should be taken as a final opinion upon this question; but he thought that the subject could not be properly discussed at that period of the Session.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER could not agree with the observation of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster), that the questions raised by the Bill between rates and taxes were not important. He did not think that too great a latitude to obtain money at less than cost price would be altogether an advantage to the rate-payers. It must be borne in mind, with reference to the Bill, that it did not make much material alteration in the powers for borrowing money which had already been sanctioned by Parliament. In most of the English Acts under which money could be borrowed, there was an express provision that the money should be advanced from the Exchequer at 3½ per cent, or such other rate as, in the judgment of the Treasury, might protect the Treasury from loss. The Treasury was placed in a most embarrassing position with regard to the matter. They were of opinion that to protect the Treasury from loss a higher rate of interest ought to be charged, for the present rate did not leave sufficient margin for insurance against loss. By that he meant that in charging for these loans it was desirable to have some margin that would cover the losses that might be incurred. Losses had been made in respect of some advances upon the security of rates, and it was necessary to make some provision to protect the Exchequer from such losses in future. What was proposed was, that instead of leaving it to the unfettered judgment of the Treasury, which could only be exercised in particular cases, they should lay down, for the future, a general rule. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had asked whether they did not stultify themselves by proposing to omit two classes of loans from the operation of the Bill. With regard to the Irish loans, they stood on a different footing; they were for a different object, and were dealt with under other Acts. That being the case, they had thought it undesirable to introduce loans under the Irish Land Act into the Bill. Then, with regard to dwellings for the labouring classes, they also stood in a different position. He proposed to adopt a clause which would give power to the Public Works Loans Commissioners to do what they had not the power to do at present—namely, to lend money for the purpose of erecting dwellings for the labouring

classes, for periods not exceeding 15 years, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. If they were to omit the Labourers' Dwellings Act from the operation of the Bill, then those dwellings would not be built at all. The Act passed in 1866 proposed to lend money for this purpose for a period of 40 years. They proposed now to allow money to be spent for the erection of labourers' dwellings for a period not exceeding 15 years only. They also thought it would be right to extend to the bodies represented by the hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir Sydney Waterlow) the same power as was given to the trustees. With regard to the interest, it was thought that 5 per cent ought to be charged; for it was only in the case of a very few Acts, such as the Education and Sanitary Acts that had been referred to,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent had been named as the interest. When the Education Act was passed it was supposed that about £4,000,000 would be required by the whole country; but now that sum was required by the London School Board alone. With regard to the larger question that had been raised — namely, as to the erection of dwellings under the Artizans' Dwellings Act, and sanitary improvements in towns, it was necessary to prevent borrowing from the Treasury to the enormous extent which was now going on — one single town having had already £1,500,000 — and the provision would not operate injuriously to any particular object or interest. As he had said before, the Government would be ready next Session to appoint a Committee to consider what should be done with respect to loans to local bodies generally. He hoped the House would consent to go into Committee.

Mr. GOURLEY wished to make some observations with reference to what had been said respecting the loans to harbour authorities. He considered the loans to the harbour authorities to be made upon as good a security as could be given by the Corporation of Birmingham, or by any other town. The construction of harbours of refuge was a very important work, and in 1857 and in 1858 it was recommended by Parliament that money should be advanced from the National Exchequer for that purpose. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see the wisdom of excepting from the operation of the Bill the loans

which required to be made to harbour authorities. If the money was not lent to the local authorities, harbours of refuge would have to be constructed by the country on different parts of the coast.

Mr. GARFIT said, that the principal object of the opponents of the Bill seemed to be delay and the appointment of a Select Committee. But the question had been for a long time before the country, and they had a great many Acts of Parliament upon it. For his part, he could not see that any good would be done by postponement and the appointment of a Select Committee. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had endeavoured to discriminate between large and small loans, the first of which he called "national," and the second "local." But if small places borrowed small sums, and large places greater amounts, yet the objects for which the money was applied was not entirely national, but local. The hon. Member for Birmingham seemed to think that because the town with which he was connected had been the largest customer of the Exchequer, that, therefore, it was the best. It was a rule in commercial transactions that the best customers were those that paid the best, and he did not think that in that light Birmingham could be looked upon as the best customer of the Treasury. It was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, at the present time, it did not pay to make the loans; and he did not see that there was any other course to pursue, under those circumstances, than to raise the rate of interest. He had heard no argument which, in his opinion, in any way met the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. BARRAN was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been able to adopt the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). They had been told that considerable loss had been made by the Treasury; but they had not been told the items upon which that loss had arisen. But they had ascertained from the Report that the money which had been lost had not been in respect of loans made on the security of the rates. He did not think any instance

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had been given in which those responsible bodies had failed to fulfil their engagements. That being so, he thought they were justified in asking the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer why loss should have been sustained by the Treasury, or why money had been lent at too low a rate of interest? It should be remembered that the municipal bodies and Corporations had obtained the money for the purpose of carrying out improvements which were for the general benefit of the nation. The Education Act was passed with the view of providing for the educational wants of the people, and the people had been much benefited by the improved education that had been given. These towns had laid down systems of sewerage, and had taken measures to supply their own, and perhaps a neighbouring town, with pure water; and he thought they were entitled to some consideration from the Government. Those improvements were of national importance, and, in many instances, pressed very heavily upon the ratepayers. With respect to sanitary matters, he might say that the borough which he had the honour to represent—Leeds—had borrowed in the open market, and had not been to the Local Government Board at all. Speaking of the matter in a broad and practical way, he thought that Corporations and districts which had placed themselves in a good sanitary condition were entitled to consideration, and that the burden for what they had done should not be made to press too heavily upon the present and next generation. He thought that it would be very much better to have all these questions referred to a Select Committee, for he thought that the works which the local bodies had been called upon to perform were of such a nature as to call upon Parliament to do something in their favour. In his opinion, it would be better to decentralize, rather than to centralize, upon the Government for advances of money. It would be very much wiser to let the whole question go before a Select Committee next Session, in order that the borrowing powers of Corporations might be inquired into. It was desirable that Parliament should know what liabilities were being incurred by the small, as well as by the large municipalities, and to place them under some control. Personally, he felt there would

be some considerable danger in giving power to Corporations, small and large, to issue debentures; he did not think it would be proper to give them power, except under very stringent regulations. Still, that question might be considered with profit to the nation; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might see his way to acquiesce in the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. If that were done, they might go on with the Bill and hope next Session to do something to accomplish the object they had in view—namely, to give the best security for the money advanced for sanitary, educational, and other purposes, and, at the same time, to afford facilities by which responsible bodies might obtain money on favourable terms.

Mr. HUTCHINSON said, that they had been discussing a subject which had been very variously described. One hon. Gentleman called it a matter of international importance, inasmuch as the Bill involved loans to the authorities of harbours of refuge in which the vessels of all nations were interested. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had called it a matter of national importance, and the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray) had said that the Bill would be an injustice to Ireland, because Ireland would have to borrow money upon higher terms than many places in England had borrowed for the same purposes. He thought that the subject could not be properly considered at that time, and he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. GRAY said, that he should second the Motion, inasmuch as a considerable number of hon. Members from Ireland who were interested in the subject were not present. It was a most remarkable circumstance that the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Garfit) had been the only hon. Member to support the Bill, although a considerable number of hon. Members had spoken. He did not think it was any use discussing a Bill at that hour of the morning.

Motion made, and Question proposed.  
 "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
 —(Mr. Hutchinson.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, it was absolutely necessary to pass the Bill, and he could not con-

sent to omit the clauses to which objection had been taken. He must oppose the Motion.

MR. W. E. FORSTER was sorry to feel himself obliged to vote for the Motion for adjournment, for he considered that if ever a Motion for adjournment was reasonable it was so in that case. They had great reason to complain that the Government had introduced so important a Bill so late in the Session. He had ventured to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider whether it was wise to push through the contentious clauses of the Bill at that time. The right hon. Gentleman had not thought fit to make any reply to his suggestion, and he could only suppose that he was determined to press the Bill forward. It was impossible for them to forget that they were dealing with a matter in which the municipal bodies throughout the country took very great interest. The Bill gave rise to questions which, at any other time of the Session, would promote a long and perfectly legitimate discussion; at any other period of the Session the Bill would not be expected to be got through in less than two nights. But what was their position then? It was acknowledged that these debates were read in the country, and there was no doubt that what took place in respect of that Bill would be read throughout the country with very great interest; but at that hour of the morning nothing could appear in the newspapers, and the country would know nothing of the debate.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked what possible object the Government could have in pushing the Bill on at that time. The passing of the Bill would not prevent a great part of the loans which had been applied for being granted in the course of the year. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given Notice of an Amendment excepting from the provisions of the Bill those loans which had been applied for in the present year. The Bill would not, therefore, apply, even if it passed, to the great bulk of the loans to be carried through during the present year. If the contentious clauses were now withdrawn, and the present Bill was brought forward at the beginning of next year, there would be ample opportunity for that protection being given to the Ex-

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chequer which the Government considered necessary.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, that if the contentious clauses of the Bill were withdrawn, it would, nevertheless, be in the power of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to let it be thoroughly understood that loans could only be granted out of the £6,000,000 which he was now taking. The Committee could be appointed at the beginning of next Session, and it could then inquire into the whole subject. He thought that that would be a much more reasonable course than pressing forward a discussion of that nature at 2 o'clock in the morning. The right hon. Gentleman must see that there was no time to give it adequate consideration.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 26; Noes 71: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 224.)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes 69; Noes 26: Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 225.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the Preamble be postponed."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN begged leave to move to report Progress, as he thought it unreasonable to go into Committee at the present time. The right hon. Gentleman was well aware that the Bill raised a number of very important questions which required full and careful consideration. The Bill would have a very great effect upon the Artisans' Dwellings Act and the Education and Sanitary Acts, and it was impossible that a discussion of that character could be properly had at that time.

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Chamberlain.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER hoped that the Committee would not consent to the Motion. He did not



suppose that the House would wish to prolong the Session, and that would be the only effect of adopting the Amendment. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) said that there were many questions to be discussed, and considered that they ought to be taken in a fuller House; but as the House had already decided upon the expediency of going on he did not think the Amendment should be adopted. He would remind the Committee that unless the Bill were passed it would be impossible to grant any loans to local bodies.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, it was hardly fair of the right hon. Gentleman to say that, unless the Bill were passed loans could not be made. They did not object to the Bill passing, if the contentious clauses were withdrawn. The loans could then be made, and the consideration of the contentious matters could be postponed till next year. The Bill was one which excited great interest in the country, yet it was not introduced until the end of the Session, and they were then asked, at half-past 2 in the morning, to hurry through the clauses.

MR. RYLANDS said, that, no doubt, the Bill was very urgent; but they had never opposed that portion of the measure for which there was a necessity. They did not take a Division upon the second reading, simply because they did not wish to object to that part of the Bill which had been embodied in Acts of Parliament passed in previous Sessions. At that time of the Session, and in a very thin House, which was, practically, in the hands of the Government, they were asked to pass a Bill which would, really, repeal Acts of Parliament passed in previous Sessions by majorities of the House. He firmly believed that if the discussion which they were then having was known to the country it would excite considerable interest. All they contended for was that it was not right, at that time, to deal with the important questions they had before them in the manner which was proposed by the Government. The proper course for the Government to adopt was to pass the necessary part of the Bill only, and to postpone the disputed clauses to another Session.

MR. GRAY observed, that if the Bill were passed in its present shape it would stop the whole machinery of local improvement throughout the country. He

did not think that the Government was treating them fairly, and he considered that they were justified in resisting the proposal which was made. He should be sorry to interfere with the progress of Public Business; but he did feel strongly that the Bill would work great injustice, and especially in Ireland. He thought they were right in asking that the clauses of the Bill should be discussed when their constituencies could understand what was going on. He should support the Motion to report Progress, because he thought that the proper course was to postpone the contentious clauses.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE observed, that the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) complained that the Government were pushing the Bill at the end of the Session. On that side of the House they had not forgotten, even if the hon. Member for Birmingham had, how a mine was sprung upon the Government a short time ago. The hon. Member kept to himself the knowledge that there was a defect in the Bill until he could spoil its progress. If he and his Friends had wanted the Bill to pass, they would have told the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it while there was time to make the necessary alterations. The hon. Member for Birmingham would not forget that on the 8th of December a certain Bill was presented and printed, and then a corrected copy re-printed and substituted for the original imprint, and that the first name upon it was that of the hon. Member himself.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge had made a personal reference to him with regard to a Bill of which he had charge at an earlier period of the Session. A change was made in that Bill; but it was not made by him, but by the officials of the House. It was a mere verbal alteration of the title, and was not of such a nature as to render it necessary to re-introduce the amended Bill as a new one. His attention was, however, thus called to the Orders of the House, and the knowledge gained he was enabled to use to some advantage on a subsequent occasion. The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge seemed to think that he had taken some unfair advantage of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the

matter. But it was not his business to give information to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the ordinary Rules of the House. It would almost be an insult from one in his position to give information upon the Orders of the House to its Leader. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had refused to withdraw the contentious clauses from the Bill, and if he had done that for personal reasons, he (Mr. Chamberlain) had no hope of his making any concession. There was, really, no reason why he should not comply with the suggestions which had been made. He had it in his power to charge such a rate of interest as might be necessary, if he thought it was for the benefit of the public that it should be done. If the right hon. Gentleman thought the £6,000,000 which he was then asking for was too much he should limit it to £4,000,000. He could easily announce that, under no circumstances, would more than £4,000,000 be advanced.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was sorry to say that the suggestion of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) would not meet the difficulties of the case. Limiting the amount which was to be lent would not affect the rate of interest which was to be charged to the various bodies that wished to borrow and presented their claims before the Commissioners. He would rather depend upon the power which the Public Works Loan Commissioners had to charge such sums as were necessary to preserve the Exchequer from loss. That being so, the Government was now asking the House to do, in a more regular form, what the Commissioners already had power to do. He really thought that the disadvantages which would be occasioned to the various constituencies had been very much exaggerated. On the other hand, he was satisfied of the danger that would occur to the Treasury if a stop was not put to the large demands which were now made upon it. That could not, in any way, be exaggerated. He raised the question in Parliament in 1878, and it had been under the consideration of the Government and of the House, not only last year, but during the course of the present year. The original Bill had been before the House for some time, and he must earnestly

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press on the Committee the necessity of proceeding with the Business.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked, that the first question they would have to discuss in Committee would be the financial question, which was one that had not yet been touched upon. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had fairly considered the financial effects of his proposal. The details of so important a measure as the present could not be properly discussed in their financial aspect at that time.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID observed, that they had been charged with springing a mine upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was unfair, for surely the right hon. Gentleman knew that if there were substantial alterations in any Bill before the second reading it was irregular, and had to be withdrawn and re-introduced as proposed by the promoters. It had been charged against the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) that he had not informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Public Works Loans Bill was therefore opposed to the Orders of the House; but he (Sir Julian Goldsmid) did not think it was the duty of independent Members to acquaint the Leader of the House with the Rules and Orders of the House. He would appeal to the Government not to press on the discussion at that time of the night. A greater part of the hon. Members on the other side of the House were either Members of the Government, or connected with it, and it was unreasonable for them to be asked to discuss a Bill in such a House as that.

MR. MONK observed, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the Bill had been for a considerable time before the House, and the House must be aware of its nature. But there was no opportunity of fair discussion at that time, and independent Members would have no chance of carrying any Amendments against the Government majority. It would only be a reasonable course to pursue to pass that part of the Bill which was of a continuance nature, and to postpone the contentious matter to another Session. Many hon. Members, representing very large and important constituencies, were strongly opposed to the Bill in its present shape, and he

trusted that the Government would see the wisdom of adopting the course suggested.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 22; Noes 67: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 226.)

Question again proposed, "That the Preamble be postponed."

MR. GRAY moved, that the Chairman do leave the Chair. He did so, because the Amendment which stood in his name was one of considerable importance, and he confessed himself physically incapable, at that hour of the morning, of doing it justice. There were a large number of Irish Members, who had not yet left London, but who were not then present, who desired to speak on the subject of this Bill, as it applied to Ireland. They desired that Ireland should be exempted from the operation of the Bill; but it was not fair, at that hour—3 o'clock in the morning—to proceed with it. He urged that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should take those portions of the Bill which involved no contention, and leave the debateable clauses till the following day. He considered that that was a reasonable course to adopt, as it was admitted not to be a matter of supreme importance that Clause 2 should be passed this Session. Only one hon. Member had spoken against the Motion of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in regard to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into and report upon the whole subject of local loans, before any alteration was made in the terms under which the Public Works Loan Commissioners were authorized to advance loans to local bodies. Therefore, he maintained that the opinion of the House was against proceeding with that clause.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(Mr. Gray.)

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had travelled a good deal that day, and wanted to go home to bed. He could not help wondering why it was that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so determined in this matter. He could not help thinking

that what fell from the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) explained the matter—namely, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had felt aggrieved by what had been said by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), and that this had something to do with the efforts to pass the Bill. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) would put it to the Committee generally whether the course pursued was fair? The principal objectors to the Bill knew nothing whatever of the mistake that was made as regarded the hon. Member for Birmingham, and they ought not to be punished because of the misdeeds of others. They felt it a punishment to be called upon to discuss the Bill at that hour, especially as it was almost unprecedented in its character; and from the fact that it was only submitted for second reading on Saturday last. He really could not help thinking that there was a degree of personal feeling in the matter. He felt obliged to think so. Before he left the House he would suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should agree to have the whole matter thoroughly looked into next Session; and that in the meantime, if any loans were required, he should use his own discretion in the matter.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he should be ashamed of himself if he allowed any such feelings as those referred to to influence him in regard to the Bill. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) lost the opportunity of discussing this Bill, but through no fault of his (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's). He could assure the Committee that he was entirely guided in the course he pursued by his sense of what was right, and by the feeling that it was absolutely essential, if they wished to put the whole system of public loans upon a proper footing, to pass a Bill of this character. It had been stated to be a mutilated Bill; but he had purposely had it cut down to the lowest point. In regard to applications for loans that had been already sanctioned, or which were in such a condition that the Government considered that they ought, in equity, to be treated upon the old footing, he proposed that the old footing should be continued. With regard to the future, he was perfectly willing to agree to a proposal that at

the beginning of next Session the whole question of local loans should be considered. All that he was now asking for was that they should put the system upon a regular footing, according to the principles which had been perfectly calculated by those who were responsible for the financial affairs of the country. He must apologize to the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) for a neglect on his own part in regard to the Returns that were asked for; he was sorry that he had not received them in time to admit of their being printed, and laid upon the Table of the House. The question now before them was whether the Committee would agree to the granting of the annual sums, and that the rate of interest be regulated upon the principles which had been described. He earnestly hoped that the Committee would agree to those proposals of the Bill.

Mr. STEVENSON said, it seemed to him the Government were making a stand upon what they would call a point of honour, and they seemed determined to make no concession that Session; while they were prepared to submit the debateable points next Session to the Committee of Inquiry. Surely it was reasonable that they should not proceed with the contentious clauses in the Bill, but should go on with the non-contentious ones.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that if that were done it would draw upon them, during the next six months, an influx of applications.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had made a practical suggestion, which it was hoped would be carried out. They objected, at that hour of the morning, to decide upon a scale of charges, and so forth, and to limit the loans in a particular way. He thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for offering to supply him with the Returns he asked for. There were four different and alternate proposals relating to the Returns, and they ought to be in the hands of other hon. Members before this question was decided. He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would admit that it was impossible to go on with the discussion upon the present occasion under all the circumstances.

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Mr. J. G. HUBBARD imagined that those authorities who were entitled to ask for loans for public works had already sent in notices for loans during the next financial year upon conditions which could not be altered; and if that were the case, no new regulations as to loans for future applicants could be required before next Session.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to proceed only with the non-contentious clauses of the Bill, and re-introduce the contentious clauses next Session. He could, under existing powers, take care that in the future there should be no loss to the Treasury. Some of the proposals were reasonable, but they required full discussion.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that after the courteous explanation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to the part he (Mr. Chamberlain) had taken he would be excessively sorry if he were the cause of any annoyance to the right hon. Gentleman.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER cordially accepted what the hon. Member for Birmingham had stated. There was no feeling left in his mind in regard to the matter.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID trusted that after this affecting reconciliation the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see his way to accept the compromise offered, which, he must say, was a reasonable one.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 21; Noes 66: Majority 45.—(Div. List. No. 227.)

Question again proposed, "That the Preamble be postponed."

Mr. G. PALMER moved to report Progress. The question, he said, was not thoroughly understood by local bodies. He spoke on behalf of a borough which was perfectly independent, and that never wished to borrow money without paying adequate interest; but he maintained that the subject should be more widely discussed.

Mr. STEVENSON seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—*G. Palmer.*)

the Committee divided:—Ayes 19; Noes 66: Majority 47.—(Div. List., 228.)

motion again proposed, "That the matter be postponed."

MR. HENRY HAVELOCK proposed that the Chairman do now leave the room. He said that the borough he represented had as great an interest in this question as any other. He thought that action taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was due to a personal feeling, and would be the means of preventing the Bill being properly dealt with. The Committee was certainly not in a position to properly discuss the Bill, considering the lateness of the hour. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not further trespass upon that sacred day, the 12th of August.

motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the room."—(Sir Henry Havelock.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he did not wish to trespass upon that "sacred day" any more than was necessary; but he desired to bring the Business over, in order that it might be disposed of at a reasonable hour, so that hon. Members might not any longer be kept in town.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make a concession that was asked for. It was an unreasonable request, he maintained, to urge the adoption of the 2nd clause at that late hour.

MR. WHITWELL thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for having introduced a new system in regard to public works; but he felt that a question had arisen of very considerable difficulty. The Government had now proposed certain rates at which loans were alone to be advanced. A great deal of money had been borrowed at 4 per cent, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer put the rate at 4 per cent a difficulty would arise. He was sure that many hon. Members must feel that what was proposed would add considerably to the expenditure of boroughs. If the security were good, he did not care how high was the rate charged; but that should not be the case when the security was good. He opposed the Bill, as he considered

the subject ought to be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. GRAY wished to know why the Government were keeping them up at that late hour, ruining their health, and spoiling their tempers, without doing any Business? There was really a great pressure put upon hon. Members to oppose the Bill, and deputations had waited upon them on this matter. The Government had shown great determination and strength of will in regard to it; but if it were passed it would be a very serious matter for boroughs. Really, the difficulty involved was very much greater than some hon. Members would imagine. The object of the Bill was bad—the Government wanted to commence things at the wrong end. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he would be delighted if some such scheme could be matured and carried out as would enable authorities to borrow upon security; but what was proposed was for temporary convenience, and the Government did not care what inconvenience was thrown upon local bodies. He did not think the scheme a comprehensive one; and even if the inconvenience he complained of were removed, he did not think they were justified in passing such an important measure at the end of the Session, when it could not be thoroughly discussed. It would create a serious difficulty so far as local authorities were concerned, and it would be no relief to the Imperial Exchequer. He did not think there was anything unreasonable in the proposal he had made, and he hoped that hon. Members on that side of the House would persevere in what they considered to be a fair proposal. They had taken up a reasonable position. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked to supply certain Returns; but, instead, he brought down some statement in manuscript. It was a reasonable request that the clause should be postponed until the Returns were printed; and if that were agreed to there would not be a loss of temper. He (Mr. Gray) did not intend to lose his temper, because he was accustomed to this sort of thing. He would not urge this did he not think it a reasonable request. He maintained that the Government were using their majority in a tyrannical manner. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had disclaimed the idea of being actuated by

pique; but, no doubt, from a feeling of annoyance, he had pledged himself to pass the Bill. If it were not passed, there would be no loss to the Exchequer involved in that which they asked for, and he suggested that the matter should be dealt with in a business-like way.

Mr. HUTCHINSON thought it would be an unpleasant reflection that the last few days of the Session had been distinguished by an exhibition of feeling on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought that the objections of those who were now offering the strongest opposition to the Bill ought to be considered. Hon. Gentlemen who were now obstructing the progress of legislation were those who had hitherto not taken part in any movement of that character, and the fact that they had made it their duty to do so on that occasion showed clearly what importance they attached to the measure.

Mr. BLAKE did not think it right for a minority to attempt to coerce a majority. If any principle were involved he should certainly vote with the minority. He could not, however, see that that was the case, and he trusted that the Government would not give way in the matter. There was a great point of principle involved in the question as to whether it was right that a minority should attempt to force its will upon a majority.

Mr. BARRAN regretted very much to have to take the course he had done in respect to the Bill; but no other course had been open to him. In order to show the importance the House attached to the measure, he might say that he had had a long resolution sent to him from the Leeds School Board, which body had borrowed money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The Board was composed of persons of different political opinions—extreme Radicals, moderate Whigs, moderate Conservatives, and old-fashioned Tories; but they had come to an almost unanimous decision that if the present Bill was passed, as proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would really be a breach of faith between the school boards and the country. Believing that to be the case, he had been under the painful necessity of resisting the Government on that occasion. It gave him no pleasure

to do so; but he had felt it to be nothing less than his duty. On previous occasions he had entertained strong feelings against the obstruction which had been brought to bear to prevent the passage of Bills calculated to promote the best interests of the nation. But he considered that the present measure would do a great injury to the nation, and, feeling that, he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not see his way to act upon the suggestion made to him by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard). It had been shown by the right hon. Gentleman that all application for loans had been made that year to the Commissioners. There would not be the least difficulty, therefore, in sending out a Circular informing all those who should apply for loans that until the House had decided upon the terms upon which the loans should be in the future granted the loans would be refused. There could be no reasonable complaint if that course were adopted, and it seemed to him that that would be a simple solution of the difficulty. He trusted that course would be adopted, for they could not accept the Bill in its present shape.

Mr. GRAY remarked that, so far as he was concerned, he had no desire to obstruct Public Business, and he had really acted conscientiously in opposing the Bill. He was merely taking a course in regard to a particular measure which he deemed it to be his duty to do. He had taken part in nothing which could be considered as obstruction of Public Business; but it was within the right of every Member to oppose, even to the extent they were prepared to go, a measure which was likely to be mischievous. It was fully within the right of every hon. Member composing a minority, representing one-half of the independent opinion of the House, to resist the progress of Business at 1 o'clock in the morning. It was a most reasonable and proper thing. It was right that the public should know upon what grounds objection to the Bill was taken; but they all knew very well that the public would know nothing whatever of the proceedings in which they were then engaged, as no report would be published in the newspapers, and the only means of knowledge of what took place would be from *Hansard*, which would not be published till long after the

*Mr. Gray*

House had risen for the Recess. Upon that ground hon. Members, he maintained, were abundantly justified in the course of action they were pursuing to resist the measure, though they were in a minority of 3 to 1, especially when the Government were not able to show that any mischief or inconvenience would result from the postponement of the contentious clauses—and no reason whatever had been shown why the proposal made a short time ago should not be accepted. It had also been explained to them that all loans for the present year would not be affected by the Bill, and that the terms upon which they would be granted had been settled. Nothing, then, would be easier than to issue a Circular to all local authorities stating that future loans must be considered to be subjected to whatever terms Parliament might arrange. In the meantime, the Government wanted to have a triumph in passing the Bill; but he considered it would be a very poor triumph.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Mr. GRAY protested against the decision.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he distinctly heard the voices of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon), the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray), and the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), when the Motion was put, against it.

The CHAIRMAN said, it was difficult to catch the sound of any voice for the Motion.

Question again put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 16; Noes 66: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 229.)

Mr. STEVENSON thought that the contention on the Bill had reached a point which showed the great difficulty of the subjects which the Bill was supposed to touch. The Bill seemed to him to be a reversal of legislation which had been deliberately entered upon by Parliament 20 years ago, in discharge of the great national duty of saving life and property from shipwrecks.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out to the hon. Member that he was anticipating an Amendment of which he had given Notice upon Clause 5.

Mr. STEVENSON hoped he was in Order in pointing out the vast importance of the present measure, and the necessity of not hastily deciding upon it. It was intended by the Bill to check borrowing powers by local authorities, and with this view the Government took power largely to increase the percentage to be charged for loans. They proposed, in fact, to check expenditure by taxing the local authorities to the extent of £50,000 a-year. But most inconsistently they were aiding local authorities by grants from the Imperial Exchequer to vastly larger amounts. He (Mr. Stevenson) felt that the proposals of the Bill were such that they were thoroughly justified in the course which they had taken. They had a very high authority, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), on their side, who had told them before he left the House that they were amply justified in what they were doing. The Government had deliberately refused the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), who had shown that there would be no necessity for passing the Bill. It seemed to him to be beginning at the wrong end to pass a formal Act of Parliament, making a change, and then to subject the wisdom of that change to the decision of the Committee of the House in the ensuing Session. However unwilling to join in the opposition to the measure, he felt himself justified in doing so. The measure would be a most unpopular one, and would have the effect of increasing the cost of necessary public improvements. He begged to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Stevenson.*)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN remarked, that if it were undesirable for them to continue the discussion of the clauses some time ago, it was still more undesirable to continue it now. One clause would produce a discussion upon the Education Act, and he did not think they should be asked to do that in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), to whom the House had always been accustomed to look upon in matters connected with

education. That was an additional reason why the consideration of the clauses should be postponed to a more convenient time. He had been endeavouring to think what it was that really separated them from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman had said that it was a very small matter in their point of view. As he understood the right hon. Gentleman, he had promised them that a Committee should consider the subject next Session; and they were, therefore, only dealing with a state of affairs between that time and the appointment of the Committee. Their great objection to the Bill passing in its present form was that it would prejudice and influence the work of that Committee. If Parliament were to pass a measure dealing with and regulating the loans to local authorities, the Committee would not be disposed to interfere with the arrangements already made. If that difficulty could be got over, he saw no reason why they should continue their opposition. If he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rightly, his difficulty was that unless a measure were passed very large claims would be established in the interval, and would have to be got at a future time. He would point out that works of the kind for which loans were made could not be created on the spur of the moment. No school board would build more schools, because it would lose its chance of getting a loan at a later period; and it was not likely that any sanitary work would be undertaken by a Corporation merely from fear of losing a loan. He had been trying to consider how the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be met to his satisfaction. He had an Amendment on the Paper—he proposed to leave out all Clause 2, after the word "Act," and to add, after line 18—

"Or such other rate as may be necessary, in order to enable the loans to be made without loss to the Exchequer."

In the case of the Education Act, the rate fixed for the loans was at the discretion of the Treasury. By the adoption of his Amendment, instead of the clause as proposed by the Bill, it would be in the power of the Government to raise the rate of interest on loans for

the ensuing year to such a point as they deemed necessary. At the same time, the objection would be met—namely, that the Act would not prejudice the consideration of the question subsequently. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to adopt the suggestion he had made, and enable them to retire from their opposition to the Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that it was very much to be regretted that hon. Gentlemen, instead of beginning to discuss the principles of the Bill, which they might have done three hours ago, should have expended so much of their strength and the time of the Committee by declining to enter into the consideration of the Bill. Such a question as that raised by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) upon the 2nd clause of the Bill was one very open to discussion, and he should be prepared to discuss it, so soon as the Committee was allowed to do so. But so long as they were discussing the question of reporting Progress it was impossible to go into Committee.

MR. GRAY thought the argument was unanswerable, that future loans could be granted subject to any new conditions that Parliament might impose next year.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the hon. Member was not at liberty to discuss the Amendment on Clause 2, which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Birmingham. That would form a proper subject for discussion when the Committee reached it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE suggested that the Motion to report Progress should be withdrawn, and that the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) should then be allowed to propose the Amendment to the 2nd clause, as, from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was evident that he was prepared to make concessions which would remove the objections to proceeding with the Bill.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN would make a similar appeal to the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson), because he understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to intimate that he would give favourable consideration to his Amendment.

*Mr. Chamberlain*



Mr. GRAY also expressed his opinion that that course would be satisfactory.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question, "That the Preamble be postponed," put, and *agreed to*.

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

#### PART I.

##### *Amendment of Acts.*

Clause 2 (Minimum rate of interest for loans after 1st of April, 1879).

Mr. GRAY, in moving, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 13, to leave out from "or" to "Ireland" inclusive, observed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that, in consequence of some communications with reference to the mode in which loans were made, he proposed to exempt Ireland from the operation of the Act. His Amendment was proposed for the purpose of carrying out that object. He proposed to omit "Ireland" from the clause, with respect to public works, in order to make it perfectly clear. Probably the examination of the Return which had been presented to the House that year, on the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, had induced the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to come to that conclusion; for he (Mr. Gray) found that the amount of loans granted to Ireland did not bear that relative proportion to the population of Ireland, as compared with the other two Kingdoms, that they ought to do. The total population of England and Wales, taken roughly, was 20,000,000, and the total population of Ireland 5,500,000. The total amount already advanced in England and Wales was £33,700,000; whereas, in Ireland, only £5,100,000 had been advanced. If the amount had been given to Ireland in the same proportion that its population bore to England and Wales, then £8,780,000 ought to have been advanced to Ireland. He proposed that the amount which was due to Ireland should be advanced on the less onerous terms upon which money had been advanced in England. The reason that Ireland was behindhand in getting advances was that particular Acts were passed for England alone, and were not extended to Ireland for some time sub-

sequently. The Public Health Act was one of the Acts which was first passed for England, and, some time after, for Ireland. Under that Act large sums, amounting to £4,300,000, had been granted to the large towns in England for sanitary purposes; but in Ireland there was no corresponding sum, for they had not obtained any money to speak of under the Sanitary Acts. He thought, therefore, that Ireland ought to be granted some few years' exemption, in order to enable it to make up for the time which had been lost. With respect to the Artizans' Dwellings Act, £1,163,000 had been advanced to England; whereas Ireland had received nothing for purposes connected with that Act, except £12,000 in Dublin. They had granted large sums to Birmingham, and to various local boards in England; but in Ireland comparatively small amounts had been advanced. The present system was very unjust to Ireland, and the moment the Act was passed Ireland would have to pay a higher rate of interest than Birmingham and other places in England were now paying. For these reasons, he thought this Amendment, that Ireland should be exempted from the operation of the Act, was reasonable. About £960,000 had been advanced to local bodies, and laid out in respect of parks and other improvements in England; but not a single shilling had been advanced to Ireland for the same purpose. The result was that Ireland, in advances, was £1,500,000 below the proportion that it ought to bear to England. He wished to allude to one matter which the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had mentioned. It had been said that a very large sum which had been lent to local bodies in Ireland had been irretrievably lost. He might say that that amount was lent during the Famine years, and that it was not looked upon as likely to be repaid, but was erased from the account altogether. He did not think that that was a kind of thing that was likely to occur again; and, at all events, that was not the class of grant which ought to be taken into consideration in judging whether Ireland had received its proper proportion of advances. He did not think that those grants ought to weigh against them. It was the feeling of Irish Members that until they

obtained an opportunity of utilizing those Acts, which had only been extended to Ireland during the last few years, after having been passed for England some years previously, it would not be fair to impose a higher rate of interest on Ireland than that paid by the richer country.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 13, to leave out the words "or by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland."—(*Mr. Gray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that if the process which had been going on were allowed to continue it would be difficult to foresee how it would end. It was absolutely necessary to put a stop upon that process as soon as possible. He could not assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray), because it would introduce an inequality between England and Ireland with respect to the same kind of loans, which he did not think there was any reason for doing. The Artizans' Dwellings Act and the Sanitary Acts differed very considerably in their nature from the Loan Act, which they proposed to treat separately; and he was not, therefore, prepared to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member and exempt Ireland from the operation of the Act. He thought that it would be unnecessary to make any distinction with regard to Ireland in the class of the cases in respect of which the Bill applied to England. It should be remembered, also, that there was a discretion in the Treasury to decide what rates would be necessary to enable the loans to be made. After the discussion that had taken place, and upon the understanding that the Treasury was to act upon the power to increase the rates, if necessary, very much in the sense of the provisions of Clause 2 of the Bill, he thought that the matter ought to be further investigated, and he was ready to accept the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). Hitherto, the power in various Acts enabling the Treasury to increase the rates had not been acted upon; but by inserting an Amendment in the Bill good notice would be given of the intention of the Treasury.

*Mr. Gray*

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had heard with very great satisfaction the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he hoped that, under the circumstances, the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray) would withdraw his Amendment. As that concession was made, he would not probably desire that Ireland should be placed in any different position from the rest of the country. He wished to ask one question of the Government. In Birmingham, they had adopted a great scheme under the Artizans' Dwellings Act, which had involved a loan of £1,500,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that it was necessary to stop these loans. He should like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, when he introduced the Artizans' Dwellings Act, anticipated that its operation would be stopped in the manner in which it was now said to be necessary? Because one large municipality had adopted a large scheme under that Act it was imputed to it as a crime, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer now said that he was bringing in a Bill to prevent further expenditure of that description.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thanked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the concession which he had made. The proposal was a satisfactory one. The Bill, as now agreed to, would not commit Parliament to the policy of raising the terms of loans to local authorities. That question would be referred to a Committee next Session, as promised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the meantime, it was perfectly understood that the Government, in carrying out these loans, would be enabled to charge such a rate of interest as they might think fit. But it was not probable that between now and next Session any loans would be effected subject to the new terms proposed by the Government, for the right hon. Member for the City of London had already pointed out that the loans for the present financial year were already agreed to, and, as such, were exempted under a clause of this Bill. When the Government came to consider the matter, and to take the opinion of the Public Works Loans Commissioners, he thought that it would be

found, to a great extent, impracticable to carry out the scale which they had submitted to the House. There was one point to which he should like to draw attention. He should like to know whether loans for the purpose of the Artizans' Dwellings Act were to be stopped? He ventured to say that it would be very undesirable to put a stop to the loans for schemes under that Act.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that he did not mean to put a stop to the system of loans. All he intended to do was to prevent money being lent at unremunerative rates of interest.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE understood that another object of the Bill was to limit the application of loans. He understood that that was to be put a stop to. He did not think that it was desirable to carry that plan out with respect to the Artizans' Dwellings and other Acts.

MR. GRAY thought that it would save the Committee the trouble of a Division if the right hon Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be a little more specific. He (Mr. Gray) did not clearly understand the meaning of the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He wanted to know the meaning of what the right hon. Gentleman said earlier in the evening—that in consequence of a communication he received from the Board of Works in Ireland he proposed to exempt that country from the operation of the Act? He was anxious to ascertain to what extent Ireland was to be exempted, if it was to be exempted at all. If the right hon. Gentleman's statement was correctly understood, he ought to assent to the Amendment. He understood that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not consent to the proposal that was suggested in regard to the discrepancy between Ireland and this country with respect to future loans from the Treasury. That question, however, ought to be taken into consideration by the Treasury in dealing with future loans to Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman would give him an assurance to the effect that substantial justice would be done he was willing to withdraw his Amendment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that there were certain

special Acts under which loans were made from the Public Works Loan Fund in Ireland. The Land Act, and the Acts for the improvement of land for drainage purposes, were those to which he alluded. Perhaps he might have conveyed an impression that it was not intended to affect Irish loans; but what he meant was, that it was not intended to interfere with loans in respect of those Acts; but with regard to loans for sanitary purposes, harbours of refuge, and artizans' dwellings, he saw no reason for putting them in a different position in Ireland to what they were placed in England and Scotland. The Treasury would fix such a rate of interest as, in its judgment, would be sufficient to secure the Treasury from loss in respect of those loans, not only for England but for Ireland and Scotland. They considered that there ought to be a graduated scale. They no longer proposed to ask Parliament to frame those rates, but they now simply asked Parliament to give them power, according to their judgment, to secure the Treasury from loss by charging higher rates of interest; at the same time, they gave notice of the principle upon which they intended to proceed. Next year they would have a Committee to consider the subject of loans generally, and it would go into other matters bearing upon the subject, such as the granting greater facilities to local authorities for obtaining loans.

MR. GRAY observed, that the right hon. Gentleman had dashed all the hopes which his first speech had raised in his mind. He would call attention to the Public Health Act, which, for Ireland, was not passed for some time after the English Act; it had never yet been taken advantage of in Ireland. He thought that, in all fairness, Ireland was entitled to loans at the old scale—they were entitled to the proportion that would bring them on a level with England. They were in a small minority; but as substantial injustice would be done he must press his Amendment to a Division.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE suggested that the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray) should divide upon Report the next day.

MR. GRAY said, he should divide upon the matter then, and also upon Report the next day.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 67; Noes 2: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 230.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 18, to leave out all after "Act," and to insert—

"Or such other rate as may be deemed necessary, in order to enable the loans to be made without loss to the Exchequer."

Amendment *agreed to*; words *substituted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 3 (Restriction on amount of loan to one borrower).

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 2, to insert the words "under any special Act," after the word "Ireland."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he thought it necessary to retain this clause, as it had a serious effect in relation to the Artizans' Dwellings Act?

MAJOR NOLAN asked if the "Bright Clauses" were exempt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied that they were. It was necessary to retain the clause, in order to check large demands in respect to public loans; and, so far as the Exchequer was concerned, he was bound to say he thought there ought to be some limit.

Amendment *negatived*.

MR. GRAY moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 4, to leave out "one," and insert "two." The Amendment, he said, was directed against the proposal to limit the amount to £100,000. If this Bill passed it would lead to serious inconvenience to some towns, and interfere with proposed improvements. The hands of local authorities would be greatly tied; a drainage scheme, for instance, should be executed as a whole, and not piecemeal, and it might cost much more than £100,000. In some cases this limitation would render it impossible to carry out sanitary improvements. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman opposite would take the matter into consideration, and come to the conclusion that it would be

more reasonable to fix a certain proportion of valuation than any arbitrary sum.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER pointed out that there was a great deal of difference between small and large bodies. In case of large towns, there ought to be greater facilities for raising money, and there were but few towns or bodies that were likely to come for such large sums as those mentioned in the clause. He could not consent to the alteration; but he would be quite ready to consider in the Select Committee what could be done to facilitate the proper raising of these sums.

MR. GRAY said, that under the Public Health Act (Ireland) the money could not be borrowed except from the Board of Works, and if the right hon. Gentleman agreed to the Amendment he could introduce the question next year. However, he would not divide the Committee, and would, therefore, withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

On Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill?"

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, as the question raised was a very important he must take a Division upon it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE could not see, as it was quite true that the large towns only would want to borrow large sums of money, why the Government should not accept the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 55; Noes 12: Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 231.)

Clause 4 (Repayment not to be by annuity, 38 & 39 Vict. c. 89), by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause 5 (Saving for old loans, and for loans especially saved by 39 & 40 Vict. c. 31, ss. 4 & 5).

MR. STEVENSON moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, at end of clause, to add—

"Nor to any loan to any harbour authority under 'The Harbours and Passing Tolls Act, &c., 1861,' and the Acts amending the same."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that the question of advances for the purposes of harbours

was one that caused most trouble, and required to be checked. The works done at the harbours were, no doubt, of great value; but it would be hardly possible to except advances in respect of them from the operation of the Bill.

MR. STEVENSON quite admitted that the terms of the Acts defining the kind of harbours that were to be aided were too wide, and required limitation, and he thought that it would be a subject for inquiry before the Committee to be appointed. It was undesirable, however, to make a change in the meantime.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE hoped that grants would continue to be made to harbours of refuge. The Harbours and Passing Tolls Act was passed for the purpose of promoting the formation of harbours of refuge.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. GRAY moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 19, after "Ireland," to insert the words—"Nor for any advances required for the improvement of harbours." He did that because he considered it was a very strong point, and it was not right to refuse them any change under the Irish Act.

Amendment *negatived*.

MR. GRAY moved, as an Amendment to page 2, line 19, to insert at the end of the clause "nor to any loans under the Act forty-one and forty-two Victoria, chapter fifty-two."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER hoped that the hon. Member would not press his Amendment.

Amendment *negatived*.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that with respect to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Greenock (Mr. James Stewart) he was prepared to adopt it. He therefore moved, in page 2, line 19, at the end of the clause, to add—

"Nor any advance to the local authority of the burgh of Greenock under 'The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1875.'"

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

MR. GRAY trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would also take into his consideration the Amendment which he had to propose with regard to advances under

the Dublin Main Drainage Act, 1871. It was hard that a local authority desiring to obtain money for improvements sanctioned by Parliament should not have an opportunity of doing so. He hoped, therefore, in the special case in question, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree to his Amendment. He begged to move, in page 2, at the end of clause, to add—"Nor to any advance under 'The Dublin Main Drainage Act, 1871,' or any Act amending the same."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Gray) made a very good fight for his country; but he did not think it possible to accede to his Amendment.

Amendment *negatived*.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 19, at the end of the clause, to insert, as a separate paragraph—

"Provided, That where though a loan has not been actually granted before the passing of this Act, negotiations for the same have proceeded so far as to make it in the opinion of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury inequitable for such loan to be subject to the provisions of this Act or any of them, such loan shall, for the purpose of these provisions, be deemed to be a loan granted before the passing of this Act."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE observed, that the Proviso gave such a large discretion to the Treasury that it did not appear to him necessary to put in any special exceptions.

Amendment *agreed to*; paragraph *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 6 (Power of Public Works Loans Commissioners to lend, and of Peabody trustees to borrow).

MR. WHITWELL inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought it necessary to preserve that clause in the Bill? There would be an exceptional scale provided in that particular case, and it was quite contrary to the principle of the calculations which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed by the Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the clause was a necessary one. The peculiarity of the case was, that sites had already been cleared

for dwellings for the labouring classes in London. The Peabody Trustees, who wished to erect buildings on those sites, had property, on which they would be willing to borrow money, provided it could be advanced by the Public Works Loans Commissioners. At present, the Acts of Parliament only empowered the Public Works Loans Commissioners to advance money to municipal bodies, and not to trustees, for the purpose of erection of dwellings for the labouring classes. In the case in question, the security was peculiarly good. The Trustees possessed a large amount of property, and the term for which the money was proposed to be advanced was not to exceed 15 years. Therefore, he thought they were doing an excellent thing in giving power to lend money to the Peabody Trustees. The hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir Sydney Waterlow) had put down an Amendment enabling other bodies of Trustees to borrow in the same way. Thinking that that was only right, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) proposed to insert a clause which would enable the same thing to be done in respect to other associations.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE remarked that, by the sale of land to the Peabody Trustees, the Metropolitan Board of Works had lost a large sum of money. He could not see that there was any reason for treating the Peabody Trustees in the exceptionally favourable manner that it was proposed to do.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, that the Peabody Trustees were in a peculiar position, inasmuch as all the money which they received from rents they were obliged to expend upon additional buildings. They made no profit, and their sole object and *raison d'être* was to increase the dwelling accommodation of the working classes by the erection of more buildings. The exemption proposed in the present case was to enable them to build in two years what they would otherwise take 10 years to do, and the exemption would accordingly be very much to the advantage of the working classes in London. The Peabody Trustees would undertake to repay to the Exchequer the amount advanced in 15 years, and they would give as security for the loan not only the ground upon which the proposed buildings were to be erected, but all their other houses

in London; and unless the Trustees could get the money at the rate proposed they could not by any possibility carry out their intentions. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) seemed to think that they had obtained the land on which they were going to build cheaply; but there was no ground for saying that they had not paid the full value for that land.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that he had agreed to a provision permitting the Government to make loans to charitable Societies. It seemed to him that to lend money to charitable Societies was a very doubtful policy. The Peabody Trustees were, no doubt, a very responsible body, and the money would be well secured; but, by lending the money to them, they were admitting the principle of lending to charitable Societies, and that seemed to him to open the question as to whether it should be confined to London alone.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Peabody Trustees were put before the Committee as if they were under some disability, and as if the Public Works Loans Commissioners had not the same powers of dealing with them as they had in dealing with Companies formed for similar objects. If that were so, there might be a strong case for the clause in question. He must point out, however, that the Companies formed for building dwelling houses were private speculations, realizing a certain, if moderate, interest on their capital, and lending their money at low rates was giving them security for their interest. He doubted very much whether the new sphere into which they had entered of charitable aid in lending money to build dwelling houses for the labouring classes was at all desirable.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE suggested that the subject of aid to charitable institutions should be untouched by the Bill, and should be left to the consideration of the Committee to be appointed in the next Session. It was a very wide question whether the Government ought to advance money to Societies of that character. It was proposed to allow the Peabody Trustees to obtain £300,000 of public money—three times as much as was advanced to any municipal body.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

He should like to know whether they were to have that sum in two different years?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, the amount required to be borrowed was £300,000, extending over a period of three years.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that it was a mistake to suppose that anything was being done which was contrary to the spirit of the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act. By that Act power was given to advance money on loan, not only to local authorities, but to any legally constituted Company, Society, or Association, which would be under the Act as a trading or manufacturing Company. The Act applied to the Company over which the hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir Sydney Waterlow) presided; but it did not apply to the Peabody Trustees, because they did not happen to be a Company, or an Association, for making profit, but only Trustees for a particular purpose. Yet they were doing the same work as the other Companies, and it was now proposed to put them in the same position as the other Companies under the Act, and to reduce the rate of interest from 4 to 3½ per cent.

MR. COURTNEY inquired why the interest was reduced?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, because the term for which the money was to be borrowed was only 15 years.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN inquired, whether, at the end of the 15 years, they were to be permitted to re-borrow? [The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes.] Unless re-borrowing were prohibited, he did not see the justice of the exemption, as the borrowing might really be for 30 years.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that that would not be permitted. At the same time, he would point out that there was a great deal of difference. At the end of the 15 years they could re-examine the security.

MR. WHITWELL said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had wisely decided to prohibit the lending of public money to municipalities and other public bodies. But while closing the door on one side he had thought fit to open it on the other, and had opened it very widely

too. He (Mr. Whitwell) was not going into the original Acts; but would only say that they enabled institutions requiring money under the Artizans' Dwellings Act to borrow it at 4 per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was now proposing to reduce that rate of interest.

MR. GRAY said, that he had suggested, a few minutes ago, to increase the amount that might be advanced to any one public body from £100,000 to £200,000; but it was met in such a discouraging way by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he (Mr. Gray) did not venture to press it to a Division; but now he found that even £300,000 might be borrowed by Trustees. Why, he asked, should the difference be made? It was, as the hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Whitwell) had said, at the very time that they restricted, they opened a very wide door in another direction, for that really was what it was doing when they reduced the percentage. They might be certain the money would be re-borrowed at the end of the first term of 15 years; and he could not see why £300,000 should be given at an exceptionally low rate for two short terms. The only reason why that advantage was to be given was that the buildings existed in London. Even the Artizans' Dwellings Act was a Metropolitan Act, which was extended to the outer portions of the Kingdom as an afterthought. He could not quite see why that should be the case, and he thought the clause should be struck out. Besides, now that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an Amendment in his name on the Notice Paper relating to the matter, there was no necessity at all for the clause. The only reason he could see for it was that the Bill commenced in the Metropolis.

MR. COURTNEY was proceeding to discuss the rate of interest which the new clause, with reference to loans to Labourers' Dwellings Companies, proposed to charge, and the rate of interest which had been suggested by the hon. Member for Maidstone, when—

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the hon. Member was raising a question which would be more properly discussed upon Report.

MR. COURTNEY contended it was lending money to capitalists for the purposes of speculation.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE remarked, that he had been about to vote with the Government upon the question of the Peabody Trustees; but he had been converted to the other view.

Clause *agreed to*.

Clause 7 (Regulations as to advances by National Debt Commissioners to the Public Works Loans Commissioners) *agreed to*.

Clause 8 (Application of Public Works Loan Act, 1875, to sum advanced by National Debt Commissioners) *agreed to*.

#### *Composition of Debt.*

Clause 9 (Composition of debt on Port Erin, Isle of Man).

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 4, line 11, after "1863," to insert "and the Isle of Man Harbours Amendment Act, 1864."

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 4, line 20, to leave out from "whereas" to "by" in line 25.

Amendment *agreed to*; words *struck out* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 10 (Commissioners may compound debt due by Isle of Man Harbour Commissioners) *agreed to*.

#### PART II.

##### *Provision of Money for Public Works Loan Commissioners.*

Clause 11 (Grant of £6,000,000 for Public Works Loans during the period ending the 30th June, 1880) *agreed to*.

#### PART III.

##### *Grant of Money for Public Works Commissioners, Ireland.*

Clause 12 (Grant of £850,000 for loan by Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland during the period ending the 30th June, 1880) *agreed to*.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved to add the following clause to the Bill:—

(Power of Public Works Loan Commissioners to lend to Labourers' Dwellings Company.)

"The Public Works Loan Commissioners may lend to any company, society, or association established for the purpose of constructing or improving dwellings for the labouring classes, any sum or sums to be applied towards the construction of dwellings suitable for the labouring classes, and towards the purchase of land for that purpose.

"Every sum so lent shall be repaid within a period not exceeding fifteen years from the time of the advance, with interest thereon at such rate not less than three-and-a-half per centum per annum, as may be agreed upon between the Commissioners and the borrower.

"Every sum so advanced shall be advanced in accordance with 'The Public Works Loan Commissioners Act, 1875.'"

New Clause (Power of Public Works Loan Commissioners to lend to Labourers' Dwellings Company,)—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*,)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the chief argument in favour of lending money to the Peabody Trustees was that they were an Association making no profit. The Companies which that clause contemplated did make profit; and he should, therefore, vote against the new clause upon that ground.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 57; Noes 8: Majority 49.—(Div. List. No. 232.)

Schedule *agreed to*.

Postponed Preamble *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES [EXPENSES].

##### REPORT OF RESOLUTION.

Resolution [August 9] *reported*:

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Travelling and other Expenses of any additional Judge sitting for the trial of Election Petitions, and of the Cost of receiving such Judge, and of all other incidental Expenses, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session re-



ating to Election Petitions, and to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections," read the first and second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House does agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. MONK hoped that the House would not be asked to assent to the Resolution at 6 o'clock in the morning. It was a Resolution of a very important character, and involved questions which ought to be discussed in a full House. The Government had brought in a Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill—that Bill was, for some time, on the Table of the House—it was at length cut down by the Government into a Continuance Bill; for, in fact, it was too late to be anything else. But, instead of amending the Bill so as to contain two clauses, and confining its operation to one year only, the Government had inserted a clause enacting that two Judges should try every Election Petition. It might be a very proper thing that two Judges should try an Election Petition; but that was a question that ought to be fully discussed in that House, and it could not be properly discussed at that hour. It was not his desire to enter into the question, and he hoped that the Government would not press the Resolution. If the Government did not intend to press the clause, then the present Resolution would fall to the ground. But if the Government intended to go on with the Resolution, he certainly must continue his remarks.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON intimated that it was intended to go on with the clause.

MR. MONK said, that in 1875 a Committee sat, which recommended that two Judges should try Election Petitions; but if the proceedings of the Committee were looked at, it would be found that some of the most experienced Members of the House who sat on that Committee were amongst the minority who voted against that proposal. The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Spencer Walpole), the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers), and the hon. and learned Attorney General himself, were amongst that minority. He thought that the opinion of such a minority

was deserving of the serious attention of the House. At that period of the Session, it certainly would not be right to impose upon the country the very serious expense which would be incurred by sending two Judges to try every Election Petition. He was not aware that any strong feeling existed on the subject in England; but, in Ireland, he knew there was such a feeling. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had raised the question by giving Notice of an Amendment, to the effect that the Act should apply to Ireland only. For his part, he (Mr. Monk) should be willing to accept that Amendment; but with regard to England, he did not think it desirable that so serious a change as that proposed should be made at that period of the Session. So important a matter ought not to be taken at 6 o'clock in the morning, and particularly when it was against the opinion of so influential a minority of the Committee of 1875. Election Petitions had been very well tried by one Judge, and it was quite unnecessary that two Judges should try them. That provision would make it necessary to have more Judges, or else to delay the Business of the country; if the Judges were not available, there would be great delay in the Law Courts, and suitors generally would have great reason to complain. They would soon have a cry raised, that it was necessary to appoint additional Judges. He wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was a very serious matter, which required the attention of the House. He would not presume to take up the time of the House at any great length upon the matter; but he did hope that the change would not be made at that time. The better course for the Government to pursue would be not to press the 2nd clause of the Bill, and then the Resolution now before the House became wholly unnecessary. In order to raise the question, he begged to move the Adjournment of the Debate.

MR. COURTNEY rose for the purpose of seconding the Motion. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), that it was perfectly unnecessary to provide that the Election Petitions should be tried by two Judges in England. He quite admitted, at the same time, that there was a strong feeling in Ireland in favour of having two

Judges to try Election Petitions, and he had put down an Amendment restricting the operation of the provision for two Judges to Ireland. He thought that they would only damage the investigation of Election Petitions by sending two Judges to try them. He did not think that there was any precedent for sending two persons to try a mere question of fact. It was very seldom indeed that two Judges sat together, for the only example with which he was acquainted was that of the two former Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery who were in the habit of sitting together. But to send two persons to try a mere question of fact, where no law was involved, was absurd. As there was a strong feeling in Ireland that Election Petitions should be tried by two Judges, he was willing to accede to the proposition; but he did not see why it should be adopted in this country where there was no demand for it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(*Mr. Monk.*)

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the consideration of that Report would not have been pressed at that early period of the day, but that the Government were as anxious, as he believed most hon. Members were, to close the Session as soon as possible. The Bill, if it was to go to "another place" that Session, must pass that day, after they had assented to the Resolution. The Bill, as it stood, had been materially reduced from the state in which it first reached the House. When notice was taken of the proposed changes, he mentioned that there was an assent on the part of the House to the change contemplated. [*Mr. Monk* observed that he objected to the change.] The majority of the House were of opinion that the change recommended by the majority of the Select Committee was advisable. Without going further into the matter, he would only say that the Government would hesitate long before they made any such distinctions between England and Ireland in respect of Election Petitions as was proposed by the hon. Member for Liskeard (*Mr. Courtney*). He would ask the House to adopt the Resolution.

Mr. MELDON said, that a pledge had been given by the Government that

some change should be made with respect to the trial of Election Petitions, and he was glad to see that that pledge would be redeemed. He, therefore, hoped hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House would not object to the consideration of the Resolution. He thought, in face of a General Election before they met again, it was desirable that the Bill, founded upon it, should pass, because the fate of the Government would be redeemed by the passing of the Bill.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE saw no necessity for two Judges, and should suppose his right hon. Friend had given a further pledge with respect to this matter, which he should like to see redeemed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that all sorts of pledges had been imagined for them. The only pledge which he had given was, that at the beginning of next Session the Government would introduce a Bill relating to Corrupt Practices at Elections.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND  
CORRUPT PRACTICES (*re-committed*) BILL.  
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 288.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(*In the Committee.*)

Clause 1 (Short Title), *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Trial of election petitions before two judges).

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 9, after the word "judges," to insert "instead of one."

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 13, after "shall," to insert "if necessary."

Mr. MONK said, that that was the time to take exception to the Bill. When they were told that it was desirable to make a change for England, as well as for Ireland, he thought that some ex-

*Mr. Courtney*

planation was required. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury had stated that a majority of the Select Committee had recommended that Election Petitions should be tried before two Judges, instead of one; but he went on to say that the Government differed from that opinion, and considered the present arrangement to work satisfactorily. A very sudden change now seemed to have taken place in the opinion of the Government. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General when on Committee, strongly opposed the alteration being made, and he (Mr. Monk) really thought that when the Front Bench of the Opposition was nearly empty, at 6 o'clock in the morning, the House ought not to be called upon to make so serious a change as was proposed. He should certainly take the sense of the House upon the Amendment which his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) would propose.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that the general feeling of hon. Members seemed to be very much in favour of the change proposed when it was mentioned.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, it met with general approval from the Irish Members; but it was not so with regard to the English Members.

*Amendment agreed to; words added.*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 23, after "void," to add—

"And if the judges differ as to the subject of a report to the Speaker, they shall certify that difference, and make no report on the subject on which they so differ, and if they differ on any other matters, the opinion of the senior judge shall prevail."

MR. COURTNEY wished to call attention to the very extraordinary proposals of the Government. He was quite willing that Election Petitions should be tried by two Judges in Ireland. In Ireland, Judges were not overwhelmed with work, and as the Irish Members desired it, there was no invincible objection to having Election Petitions tried by two Judges. The Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman enacted, that if the Judges differed as to the subject of a Report, they should certify that difference, and make no Report; if they differed in other matters, the opinion of the senior

Judge should prevail. He would like to know what would be done where the House received separate Reports from the two Judges; was it intended in that case that the opinion of the senior Judge should prevail? Then, again, as to the difference of opinion on other matters, such as the admission of evidence, was the opinion of the senior Judge again to prevail? He must protest against the introduction of any such proposal as that into the English practice. No one asked for such a change to be made in England. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer put it upon the ground of the general wish of hon. Members, but he really could not see that any such wish had been expressed. On the contrary, some of the greatest authorities who sat upon the Committee were opposed to the change.

*Amendment agreed to; words added.*

MR. COURTNEY moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 24, before "save," to insert—"The provisions of this Clause shall apply to Ireland only, and." He had already explained the reasons which had induced him to urge the adoption of this provision in the Bill. He trusted that they should, at all events, hear some reason why it should not be inserted.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 24, before "save," to insert the words, "The provisions of this Clause shall apply to Ireland only, and."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER remarked, that he had already stated that the Government saw no reason for making invidious distinctions between England and Ireland.

MR. MONK said, that the Government were departing entirely from opinions which had been expressed on a former occasion by the hon. and learned Attorney General. Last year, the hon. and learned Gentleman stated, in discussion on the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, that although the majority of the Committee had recommended that two Judges, instead of one, should be appointed to try these Petitions, the Government differed from their opinion. Was it possible that the Government

could have changed its opinions since that time, and wished to retract what the hon. and learned Attorney General had said? Only a week ago, the Government were opposed to the appointment of two Judges to try Election Petitions in England. English Members were always willing to give way to Irish Members, when they could do so without injury to their own constituencies, and when the unanimous opinion of Ireland demanded a change. But the change in question was not desired for England, and he did not believe that the majority of the House would support the Government in its proposal to make so serious and uncalled-for an alteration in the law in what ought to be a mere Continuance Bill.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, in the first place, the adoption of the Amendment would draw a most invidious distinction between England and Ireland; it would be a slur upon the Irish Judges, if the House were to declare that two Judges ought to try Election Petitions in Ireland, and one in England. The hon. Member (Mr. Monk), had charged the Government with changing its opinion on the subject; but he would point out that the Government had always said that the question was one much more for the House, than for it to decide. A very general wish had been expressed on both sides of the House, both by English and Irish Members, in favour of the change. It was said that there was a feeling on the part of persons who were subject to the jurisdiction of one Judge, in the matter of Election Petitions, that they should not have to be subject to the sole discretion of a single Judge. The impression was very strongly left upon his mind, from what was said, that it was the general feeling that questions of personal character and questions of very great moment to the parties concerned, should not be left entirely at the mercy of a single Judge. As there had been a general expression of opinion to that effect, the Government had introduced the provision in question.

MR. GOURLEY observed, that the opinion of one Judge would continue to prevail in certain cases, where there was a difference of opinion.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, that that was a matter at issue, and involved the question of a Court of Appeal.

*Mr. Monk*

MR. MONK remarked, that if the seat of the candidate was vacated, there ought to be an appeal. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had expressed his opinion that there ought to be an appeal, if cases were tried by two Judges.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that he should most strongly object to the power of appeal being given. The expenses of his Election Petition were £11,000, and that amount was paid by the country for him. But if there had been an appeal, it would have cost another £11,000. He looked upon an appeal, whether from the decision of one or two Judges, simply as a means of doubling the expenses. Two Judges were necessary to try Election Petitions in Ireland, in order to prevent one Judge being carried away by bias or prejudice, and he thought that the change proposed would be most beneficial. He thought a mistake had been made in a popular Assembly like the House of Commons, by placing the power of deciding as to who should occupy seats outside the House. He did not, however, believe that any Act passed by the late House of Commons could, as a matter of law, prevent the House of Commons from resuming its power to decide upon Election Petitions without the consent of the Upper House. He should support the Government all through the Bill; and, in doing so, he did not think he was binding himself to the opinion that a popular Assembly like the House of Commons could divest itself of the power of deciding its own Elections.

MR. MELDON said, the real point was, whether the opinion of the senior Judge was to be taken. With respect to the question of two Judges deciding the matter, he must say the opinion of the Judges themselves in Ireland was in favour of an opinion of that kind, and they considered that the change made of giving one Judge the assistance of another, was a great improvement.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Amendment had been met with the argument that it would be introducing an invidious distinction between England and Ireland. The hon. and learned Member for Kildare had now told them that the Irish Judges desired the change. But the English Judges did not desire a change, nor did the English people desire it. They were, in fact, going to make a

e against the opinions of the Eng-  
judges and people, for no reason  
ver, except that not making it  
create an invidious distinction  
en England and Ireland. More-  
the change would cause a con-  
ble amount of additional and un-  
ary expense. As the Government  
tated that the question was one  
for the House, than for it, to  
he should take a division upon  
nendment.

GRAY, speaking as an individual  
man, could not see why a proposal  
hat of the hon. Member for Lis-  
(Mr. Courtney) could be regarded  
slur upon Ireland. The Irish  
s were different from the English  
s, for they were appointed from  
political reasons; while the Eng-  
Judges were not. When they  
a difficulty arising in Ireland,  
did not exist in England, he  
not see why different regula-  
should not be made for the two  
ries. He did not at all think  
it would be casting a slur upon  
id to confine the change to that  
ry.

SHAW LEFEVRE thought that  
change would diminish the strength  
e judicial power much more in  
nd than in Ireland. He could  
e how the work of trying Election  
ons in England would be carried  
t all, in the event of the General  
ion, with the present number of  
s. The work of trying the Peti-  
would withdraw six Judges from  
ordinary judicial duties. In Ire-  
t was well known that the Judicial  
i was not so fully occupied as in  
nd, and the withdrawal of the  
sary Judges to try the Election  
would not so greatly affect legal  
ces. He was not entirely in favour  
ection Petitions being tried by two  
es, and he believed that if the  
ion were put to the House a con-  
ble majority would prefer the old  
nal of the Committee to the new  
which had been formed. Under  
old system, the power of seating  
unseating a Member was vested in  
House, and not in any person outside  
But now it was in the power of the  
es not only to unseat a Member  
d by a majority, but to give a  
in that House to a man represent-  
only a minority of the constitu-

ency. The position of Members who  
might be seated in that way was not  
enviable.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*: — Ayes 8 ;  
Noes 52 : Majority 44. — (Div. List,  
No. 233.)

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 3 (Continuance of Acts) *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be *con- sidered To-morrow*.

EAST INDIA LOAN (£5,000,000) BILL.  
(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer.)

[BILL 197.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
“That the Bill be now read the third  
time.”—(Mr. E. Stanhope.)

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said,  
that he had withdrawn his opposition  
on two previous occasions, and had al-  
lowed the Vote of Credit to pass with-  
out protest. But he could not, on this  
occasion, permit the Bill to pass without  
stating his opinion that a very much  
larger sum was asked for than he be-  
lieved to be necessary. They had been  
informed that the highest authorities on  
financial questions at the India Office  
were of opinion that £5,000,000 was the  
lowest sum which could be asked for.  
But it should be remembered that those  
same authorities, upon whose judgment  
they were now asked to rely as to the  
amount of the loan, in the first instance,  
were those who recommended that  
£10,000,000 should be asked for. He  
did not think, therefore, that their op-  
inion was of such very great value. As  
it had not been shown that £2,000,000  
would not amply suffice, he should  
divide against the third reading of the  
Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*: — Ayes 42 ;  
Noes 13 : Majority 29. — (Div. List,  
No. 234.)

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

GAME LAWS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND)  
BILL.—[BILL 290.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr Secretary Cross.*)

THIRD READING. WITHDRAWAL OF BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Order for Third Reading be  
now discharged."—(*Mr. Secretary Cross.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE did not think that the Government ought to withdraw this Bill. The only reason for discharging it, in preference to some other Bills, was that the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), and some others among the supporters of the Government, did not like the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN  
(EDUCATION) BILL.—[BILL 93.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Isaac, Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

THIRD READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Bill be read the third time  
this day."—(*Mr. Wheelhouse.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that this Bill had been set down for Saturday afternoon, in defiance of the recognized practice that the Bills of private Members should not be set down for Saturdays. The Bill was strongly opposed by a large number of hon. Members, and it was going to be passed simply because the Government gave it facilities, which were contrary to the usual practice. He would not go into the merits of the Bill at that time; but as the last stage had been taken on Saturday, he should oppose the third reading being fixed for that day.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that the House would like to know the contents of the Bill. A clause had been struck out in Committee by which blind and deaf-mute children were enabled to be sent to schools of their own denomination. He should be glad to know whether that clause was put back again upon Report. He had no objection to the Bill as originally introduced; but he was not willing that it should pass since that clause had been struck out.

Mr. WHEELHOUSE remarked, that the clause was struck out against his wish.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 35; Noes 11: Majority 24. — (Div. List, No. 235.)

House adjourned at a quarter after  
Seven o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 12th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Municipal Corporations (193); Neglected Lunatics (Ireland)\* (194); Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment\* (192); East India Loan (£5,000,000)\*; East India Loan (Annuities)\*; Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2)\*. *Second Reading*—Artizans Dwellings Act (1866) Extension\* (181); Endowed Schools Acts Continuance\* (182); Expiring Laws Continuance\* (183); Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses)\* (184); Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) (185); Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment\* (186); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money)\* (188); St. Giles' Ancient Church (Edinburgh)\* (189).

*Second Reading—Committee negatived*—Prevention of Crime\* (187).

*Second Reading—Report*—Lough Erne and River (Continuance)\* (190).

*Committee—Report*—Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance\* (176); Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment\* (177); Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice)\* (178); Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing\* (179); Public Offices Fees\* (175).

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he wished to lay on the Table a Bill for the amendment and consolidation of the laws relating to Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, and to move that it be read a first time. He introduced the measure at that late period of the Session with the view of the measure being considered between that and next Session.

A Bill for consolidating enactments relating to Municipal Corporations in England and Wales—*Presented* (The LORD CHANCELLOR); read 1<sup>st</sup>. (No. 193.)

## POOR LAW AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(No. 185.) SECOND READING.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to Order).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he hoped the Committee would be negatived, with the view of dispensing with that stage.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he would enter an emphatic protest against the hurrying through of Bills in that way. The Bill had just been sent up from the other House, and there had been no time for their Lordships to consider it. If he stood alone, he would vote against the Motion.

On Question, That the Bill be committed? Their Lordships divided:—Contents 3; Not-Contents 13: Majority 10.

## CONTENTS.

Redesdale, E. [Teller.] Colchester, L.  
Denman, L. [Teller.]

## NOT-CONTENTS.

Cairns, E. (L. Chancellor.) Cranbrook, V.  
Hawarden, V. [Teller.]

de Ros, L.  
Northumberland, D. Elphinstone, L.  
Richmond, D. Gormanston, L. (V. Gormanston.)  
Hartismere, L. (L. Hon- niker.)  
Beaconsfield, E. Skelmersdale, L.  
Beauchamp, E. [Teller.]  
Hardwicke, E.

Resolved in the Negative; and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> To-morrow.

## NEGLECTED LUNATICS (IRELAND)

BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to extend to Ireland the provisions of English Law as to Neglected Lunatics—Was presented by The Lord O'HAGAN; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 194.)

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Five o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 12th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Report—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) [No. 372].

PUBLIC BILLS—Committee—Report—Banking and Joint Stock Companies (re-comm.) [264]; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)\*.

Committee—Report—Considered as amended—Third Reading—National School Teachers (Ireland) [246], and passed.

Considered as amended—Public Works Loans (No. 2)\* [260].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices [288], and passed.

Third Reading—Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) [93], deferred.

Withdrawn—Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) [146]; Poor Law (Scotland) (No. 2)\* [262]; Supply of Drink on Credit\* [224].

## QUESTIONS.

## NEWSPAPERS—GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS.—QUESTION.

MR. BATES asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will inform the House what is the annual amount paid by the Government through their appointed agent or agents to the proprietors of newspapers for inserting the Government advertisements, from every Department of the State?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he had not been able to obtain the information asked for from more than three or four Departments. In the case of the War Office, the amount was £3,335; in the Admiralty, £3,059, an exceptionally heavy charge, as the average amount was about £2,000; in the Inland Revenue the amount was £4,160, and in the Customs £150. He would endeavour to get further information if it were moved for.

## ILLEGAL LOTTERIES.—QUESTION

MR. HOLT asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in the present state of the Law, it is open to any individual to institute proceedings to recover penalties from persons engaged in promoting illegal lotteries in the United Kingdom, or such proceedings can only be

originated by himself; and, if so, whether he is aware that the Law is frequently and openly violated in this particular?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER): Proceedings to recover penalties from persons engaged in illegal lotteries must be taken in the name of the Attorney or Solicitor General. It seems, however, that it is open to anyone, on obtaining the leave of the Law Officers, to prosecute the keeper of a lottery as a rogue and vagabond. See "*Youdon v. Crooks*," 22, *Justice of the Peace*, 287. In answer to the last part of the Question, I have to say that I believe the letter of the statute against lotteries and "little goes" is sometimes infringed by persons holding bazaars, or endeavouring by other means to raise money for charitable objects; but I am not aware that the law is frequently violated by other persons.

ARMY — BRIGADIER GENERAL SIR EVELYN WOOD.—QUESTION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Brigadier General Sir Evelyn Wood was seconded as Lieutenant Colonel of the 90th Light Infantry, on appointment to the Staff, in accordance with the Royal Warrant; and, if not, what is the reason that such course was not taken?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, that on the 20th of April last, Lord Chelmsford reported the appointment of Sir Evelyn Wood to be brigadier general, local rank being conferred upon him by Sir Bartle Frere under his powers as Lord High Commissioner. Brigadier General Wood was not seconded as Lieutenant Colonel of the 90th Regiment, as it was not customary to second officers of the rank of lieutenant colonel, the local rank of brigadier general having been conferred under the powers given to the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa by Article 155 of the Royal Warrant. A lieutenant colonel was not seconded when appointed to the Staff, but was placed on half pay; but as the appointment of brigadier general was local and temporary, and not in exchange for a Staff appointment of five years, it seemed to the military authorities that it would be hard to deprive General Wood of his regimental position.

*Mr. Holt*

ARMY (INDIA)—BEER SUPPLIED TO TROOPS.—QUESTION.

MR. RITCHIE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that the troops in India are supplied with beer in the proportion of three-fourths Indian and one-fourth English brewed beer; whether English brewers have the opportunity afforded them of competing with Indian brewers in all contracts which are made for the supplies required; and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the particulars of the contracts entered into both in India and England for the supply of beer for 1878 and 1879, giving the prices and conditions?

MR. E. STANHOPE: All food for the troops in India is obtained locally if possible. Some of the troops are supplied entirely with Indian beer, and I am informed that it is liked. The Government of India buy a considerable quantity of beer in the Punjab and neighbouring districts, for the supply of which Indian brewers alone compete. The particulars for which my hon. Friend asks would not afford the means of making a fair comparison between the cost of English and Indian beer, because the cost of inland carriage, which is very heavy, ought to be taken into account. But the Secretary of State will be ready to make a careful inquiry into the matter; and if my hon. Friend will supply any information which he possesses on the subject, we shall be much obliged.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE RULES.—QUESTIONS.

MR. MELDON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Board of National Education in Ireland have any rule or form to the effect that managers of schools cannot take declarations as to salaries of teachers or result fees from the next of kin of deceased schoolmasters; and, if so, when did such rule or form come into force; is there any printed or published rule or form to the effect that when a rector is a manager of a school he cannot take such a declaration which then must be made before a parish priest or a magistrate; and, if so, how long such a rule or form has been in force; whether there is any



objection to produce such rules or forms, and the form of declaration used in such cases; and, whether, if any rule exists preventing the manager of a school if a rector or parish priest taking such a declaration, such regulation will be altered?

**MR. J. LOWTHER:** There is a private form in use for the purpose referred to in the Question. It is the same as is used in other Departments. There will be no objection to produce it; and if the hon. and learned Member will move for it I will lay it on the Table. There is a Bill that prevents the managers of schools from taking the declarations referred to, and there are sufficient reasons for it.

**MR. MELDON:** Will the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to lay on the Table a copy of the Rule?

**MR. J. LOWTHER:** I will do so.

**THE IRISH CHURCH TEMPORALITIES COMMISSIONERS—SALE OF LANDS. QUESTION.**

**MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY** asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If his attention has been called to the Petition presented by Dr. G. Sampson, of Moynoe, in the County of Clare, setting forth the circumstances under which certain rights enjoyed by him as sub-tenant of lands were abrogated by the sale of the said lands by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland; and, whether he will lay the allegations of the said Petition before the said Commissioners, and obtain from them a statement of their views thereon?

**MR. J. LOWTHER:** The Commissioners of Church Temporalities appear to have acted in this matter with great consideration for the parties. When the legal time had expired during which they might have given the notice, the Commissioners caused their attention to be specially drawn to the fact that the notice had not been given, and that the legal time had expired, and they then gave them further time for taking the prescribed steps. All the parties were bound to know the provisions of the law affecting their interests; but the Commissioners issued a Circular, a copy of which can be produced, calling their attention to the steps that should be taken. Notwithstanding that, no steps were taken by the gentleman named in the

Question, or by the other parties, until after the sale had taken place; and, under those circumstances, the Commissioners felt themselves unable to vary the decisions that have been published.

**ARMY (INDIA)—CASE OF CAPTAIN CHATTERTON.—QUESTION.**

**MAJOR O'BEIRNE** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will lay upon the Table the following Correspondence relative to the case of Captain Chatterton, late of the Bengal Army—viz., the letter of the late Lord Sandhurst, containing the charge against Captain Chatterton upon which he was compulsorily placed upon half-pay, the subsequent orders of Lord Sandhurst and of the Divisional and Brigade Generals contradicting the charge, together with the Medical Certificates and Hospital Record upon Captain Chatterton's case, similarly contradicting the first letter of Lord Sandhurst?

**MR. E. STANHOPE:** Captain Chatterton's case has been very carefully considered and decided by several successive Secretaries of State, and it has been finally settled not to re-open it. Under these circumstances, it would be useless to publish the huge mass of correspondence relating to it, and unfair to publish those portions only which the hon. and gallant Member has indicated.

**ARMY—THE PERAK EXPEDITION—MEDALS.—QUESTION.**

**MR. SERJEANT SIMON** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to extend the North Frontier Indian Medal to the officers and men who served in the Perak expedition?

**COLONEL STANLEY:** Yes, Sir; they will get the Frontier medal with the special clasp.

**MERCHANT SHIPPING—THE "VORTIGERN."—QUESTION.**

**MR. RATHBONE** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that the ship "Vortigern" has been detained by the Resident of Aden, he admitting that he was not competent to take cognizance of the claims in support of which he has acted; that he has declined to release the ship until such time as the salvage and other claims are

determined by the Admiralty Court in London; that he has been informed, in reply to telegrams to the Admiralty and Admiralty Registrar that there is no jurisdiction; that the claimants, although the injunction was issued in February last, have taken no steps to establish their claim in any of the Courts in the country that are open to them; that the parties interested in the vessel have offered to give bail for or deposit the whole amount of the money claimed; that the Resident refuses to release the vessel unless the money is paid to be distributed without adjudication; and, whether he can do anything to put an end to such conduct on the part of the Resident, and to protect the commerce of this Country passing to the East?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Yes, Sir; my attention has been repeatedly called to the case of the *Fortigern*. The Resident appears not to be acting under any Admiralty jurisdiction, to which he puts forward no claim; but we assume that he is acting judicially, and subject to an appeal to the judicial authorities in Bombay. In these circumstances, I must decline to express any opinion upon the case, especially as the Secretary of State might expose himself to legal proceedings if he were to interfere in the matter.

#### THE METEOROLOGICAL COUNCIL AND THE SCOTTISH METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY—QUESTION.

MR. McLAGAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If any communications have taken place between the Meteorological Council and the Scottish Meteorological Society regarding the conducting of special researches by the latter Society or the prosecution of meteorological inquiry; and, what payments have been made to the Scottish Meteorological Society during the past two years for the conducting of special researches, as suggested in the Report of the Treasury Committee on the Meteorological Grant?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: I understand that in the spring of 1878 communications passed between the Meteorological Council and the Scottish Meteorological Society, with a view to arranging the terms on which the Society should co-operate with the Council; but that the Society has declined to accede to the conditions on which alone the

Council could, consistently with the principles laid down by the Treasury Committee, make any payment to the Society out of the Vote, those conditions being that—

“No payments should be made to independent Societies out of the Vote except for results sought for by the Council.”

In consequence, no sums have been paid to the Scottish Meteorological Society out of the Vote during the last two years; but the Secretary of the Society has been appointed by the Council its Inspector for Scotland, at an annual salary of £150; and, further, the Council has promised to allow the Society £100 a year towards the maintenance of an observatory on Ben Nevis, if one is established.

#### ARMY—HORSE GUARDS STAFF.

##### QUESTION.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the officers who at present hold the appointments respectively of Adjutant General to the Forces, Deputy Adjutant General to the Forces, and Deputy Adjutant General (as Inspector General of Auxiliary Forces) held appointments on the Horse Guards Staff on the 1st January 1874, as Quartermaster General, Assistant Military Secretary, and Deputy Adjutant General; and, how many of these officers have held appointments on the Horse Guards Staff since 1st January 1874?

COLONEL STANLEY: Yes, Sir; the statement in the first part of the Question is correct. With regard to the second part of the Question, two of these officers have held their present appointments from the time at which they relinquished their former posts. The present Adjutant General, I should say, was off the Staff from March until November, 1876. I consider it a great advantage to have at Head-quarters officers who have had previous experience in other capacities in connection with Head-quarter Staff duties.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA — CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.—QUESTIONS.

MR. PULESTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is proposed to guarantee a further loan for the construction of the Canadian Pacific

*Mr. Rathbone*

ment will undertake to keep a House for my hon. Friend, which, of course, at the period of the Session, it is impossible for my hon. Friend to do himself?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I should be perfectly prepared to move that the Orders of the Day, on Thursday, should be postponed for the consideration of the Motion of the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs, provided there are any Orders of the Day. If there should not be any Orders of the Day, I propose to place a Notice on the Paper for Thursday, for the purpose of making the Sessional Order, passed at the beginning of the Session, a Standing Order. That Sessional Order was passed for giving the Government power to go into Supply on Mondays, on certain conditions, without previous Notice. The Notice for making that into a Standing Order I shall place on the Paper, so that there may be some Business before the House of a somewhat important character. We should, of course, give precedence to the Motion of the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs. Whether there are any Orders of the Day of Thursday will depend upon the progress we make with the Business to-day. The Government, of course, will be very glad if there should be none. If we are to rise on Friday, it will be necessary for us to pass the third reading of the Appropriation Bill to-morrow, and also the third reading of any other Bills which this House may have to send up to the House of Lords. To-morrow, we propose that the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) should have precedence for his Motion on the subject of the Water Supply of London. I apprehend that the hon. Gentleman will make his Motion this evening, so as to be able to bring it on as an adjourned debate to-morrow. I give Notice, as a safeguard against accidents, that I shall move, at the beginning of Business to-morrow, to suspend the Standing Rule which provides that on Wednesdays Business shall close at 6 o'clock, so that the House may to-morrow sit later, if necessary.

MR. NEWDEGATE asked, Whether the Government contemplated that the House should sit on Friday and Monday next?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I venture to say that, in all probability, before Monday next Her

Majesty will have sent us about our business.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE gave Notice of his intention to oppose the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the suspension of the Rule regulating Wednesday Sittings.

MR. FAWCETT thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the suggestion which the right hon. Gentleman had made in reference to his Motion in connection with the Metropolitan Water Supply.

#### POOR LAW (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL QUESTIONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in the case of the Scotch Poor Law Bill, which was the only Scotch Bill among the Orders for to-night, he would consent to withdraw all contentious matter, and thus secure its passage into law, especially as the main object of the measure was only to give to Scotland the same medical grant and the same provisions for medical officers as were given in England?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, the hon. Member seemed to forget that two hon. Members representing Scotch constituencies had taken steps, in accordance with the Forms of the House, to prevent the Bill being proceeded with after half-past 12 o'clock; and, therefore, if the Bill was lost, the onus of its not coming on would rest upon those two hon. Members, and not upon Her Majesty's Government.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: But will the right hon. Gentleman drop the contentious matter?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Unless a stage is taken to-night, the Bill cannot be passed this year.

MR. ANDERSON: As the object of the Bill is only to increase the medical grants to Scotland, I wish to know, Whether it is necessary to pass the Bill at all; and whether the object in view cannot be obtained without any such measure?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: If it had not been desirable to pass the Bill, I should not have brought it in.

MR. ANDERSON: But is it necessary?

[To this Question no answer was given.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE  
ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—QUESTION.

MR. GREGORY appealed to the Government not to proceed further this Session with the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts Amendment Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he would consult the Attorney General as to the course which was most advisable to be taken.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

BANKING AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES (re-committed) BILL.—[BILL 264.]  
(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

## COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he regretted that it should be incumbent on him to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee on this Bill that day three months. But he had carefully weighed the Amendments he had placed on the Notice Paper, and, considering their nature and extent, deemed it more frank to make such a Motion in the first instance, as it would enable him to express, as a whole, his objections to the present Bill, which he had no opportunity of going into since the altered Bill was placed in the hands of hon. Members. The original Bill was introduced on the 21st of April by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Committee of the Whole House, on a Motion—

"To bring in a Bill to amend the Law with respect to the liability of members of Banking and other Joint Stock Companies; and for other purposes."

The right hon. Gentleman availed himself of that opportunity for explaining the circumstances which called for legislation, and he used these words—

"According to the provisions of the Joint Stock Companies Act of 1862, it has been optional for any company to register itself either as limited or as unlimited. . . . It was believed that that power was a continuous one; but they found, on taking legal advice, that it was not possible for a bank which had once

elected to be registered as an unlimited company to become limited."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlv. 791.]

That was an intelligible statement, and a cogent argument in favour of some measure. No one could even attempt to refute the proposition that something ought to be done to remove the technical difficulty complained of, unless, indeed, he took up the ground that the Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867 were altogether wrong, and he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) was not at all disposed to take any such grounds; but the grounds on which he based his present Motion were that the Bill before the House went far beyond the scope of the Amendment which the Chancellor of the Exchequer indicated, and that it introduced principles at variance with the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1867, which were the last deliberate pronouncement they had to guide them in legislating on this exceedingly critical subject. He (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) would ask the attention of hon. Members to what he was now about to say. The latest law which applied to the subject of the reduction of the liability of shareholders in public Companies was the Companies Act of 1867—30 & 31 *Vict.* c. 131. That Act was passed on the basis of the Report of the Committee of the same year. The Committee made its Report on the 28th of May, 1867, shortly after which the Bill was brought in and passed through Parliament, and received the Royal Assent on the 28th of August. He would say a few words as to the constitution of the Committee, which was a very strong one. Of its Members there was not one who had come forward to support this Bill; and there was notably one Member—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard)—who did not regard this measure one degree more favourably than he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) did. Now, what did that Committee recommend? It recommended that Companies should be allowed to reduce their capital, or to reduce the amount of their shares, or to reduce both their capital and their shares, on the following conditions:—Notice to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies; advertisement of notice in such manner as the Board of Trade might direct; the consent of all parties being creditors of the Company at the

pany and the Person or Persons only who are for the Time being interested in the Account in respect of which such Notice ought to have been given, and so far as respects such Account and all Variations thereof down to the Time at which such Notice shall be given, but not further or otherwise, the Certificate of Registration with Limited Liability shall have no Operation."

Hon. Members could judge from that of the insufficiency of the substituted provisions of Clause 7 of the present Bill to render people aware of what was being done. Then, the 8th clause of the Bill commenced—

"Section one hundred and eighty-two of the Companies Act 1862, is hereby repealed."

Well, all that he had to say about that repeal was this—that it repealed a very simple provision respecting banks of issue reducing their capital, in order to re-enact the same thing in what appeared to him a somewhat more obscure and objectionable form. The hon. Member read Section 182 of the Act of 1862, which it was proposed to repeal, and asked the House then to peruse the clause proposed to be submitted for it. He would ask what possible advantage there was in repealing this portion of the Act of 1862, in order to enact it by the provisions of the present Bill? He would, however, admit that the objects in view in both were identical. But they were proceeding further in the direction of repeal. The 9th clause of the Bill before them took the proposed reserve liability banks clean out of the most important of the provisions of the Act of 1862, as they applied to limited Companies. The 9th clause of the Bill commenced—

"The forty-fourth section of the Companies Act 1862, shall not apply to a banking company registered as a reserve liability company, or registered after the passing of this Act as a limited company, and in place thereof the following section shall be enacted so far as relates to such companies."

Now, that 44th section was to the following effect:—

"Every Limited Banking Company and every Insurance Company, and Deposit, Provident, or Benefit Society under this Act shall, before it commences Business, and also on the First Monday in February and the First Monday in August in every Year during which it carries on Business, make a Statement in the Form marked D. in the First Schedule hereto, or as near thereto as Circumstances will admit, and a Copy of such Statement shall be put up in a conspicuous Place in the registered Office of the

Company, and in every Branch Office or Place where the Business of the Company is carried on, and if Default is made in compliance with the Provisions of this Section the Company shall be liable to a Penalty not exceeding five Pounds for every Day during which such Default continues, and every Director and Manager of the Company who shall knowingly and willfully authorize or permit such Default shall incur the like Penalty.

"Every Member and every Creditor of any Company mentioned in this Section shall be entitled to a Copy of the above-mentioned Statement on Payment of a Sum not exceeding Sixpence."

On a comparison of the effect of the provisions herein contained with those substituted in the Bill, it could not be doubted that that repeal and substitution would go to unsettle a carefully constructed framework already part of our mercantile and financial code and system, and to substitute for it new formulæ, which were in no way whatever an improvement on the practice prescribed by the Act of 1862, and, in some respects, far less efficacious, as part of a disciplinary system. And now he would advert to another point. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, on the 22nd of July—

"Certain unlimited banks are in this position—they have a very large nominal capital, and only a small proportion of it paid up, and they say, 'If we were to turn ourselves into reserve liability companies, there might be some difficulty as to what the amount should be;' and a wish has been expressed, on the part of some of them, that they should have the power of reducing their nominal capital."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxviii. 981.]

He (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) would not now follow up the arguments that applied to this view of the case, as they might be modified by the course the Bill would take, and by what might now be said by the right hon. Gentleman; but he moved, in order that he might learn what were the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the House resolve itself into Committee that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(Sir Joseph M'Kenna),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, there was great force, no doubt, in much that the hon. Gentleman had said; but he thought the hon. Gentleman saw, as all hon. Members saw, that some measure must pass to enable the existing defects of the law to be remedied. He, therefore, suggested as the most practicable course that the Bill should be allowed to go into Committee, where, he apprehended, the hon. Member would not object to the passing of the clause providing for the registration of unlimited banks as limited Companies. Then they would come to the consideration of the clause respecting reserved liability, and to the special provisions to which he understood the hon. Member to take exception for doing away with the present system of giving notice to all creditors, and substituting a system of advertisements. With regard to the unlimited liability of the bank in respect to notes, he thought, when they came to that, they would be able to satisfy the hon. Member that they had better not go further with the matter to which he had drawn their attention. Accounts were matters of detail which they need not discuss. Other clauses had better be discussed in Committee, where suggestions could be more easily made and Amendments moved. He hoped, therefore, the hon. Member would not press his Motion.

MR. SHAW quite concurred with the right hon. Gentleman in the opinion that the questions raised by the hon. Member for Youghal could be more conveniently dealt with in Committee; but it would, he thought, facilitate the progress of the Bill if some understanding were first arrived at as to the clauses relating to reserve liability, to which a very strong objection was entertained. He had no wish to prevent unlimited banks from limiting themselves, provided it could be done without injury to the depositors. Many unlimited banks, he believed, had called up a great part of their capital, and would not have sufficient margin, if they became limited banks, on which to found a large business. The public ought to see the position of a bank at a glance. He believed most of those in this country and in Scotland and Ireland were in a sound and healthy state, and were making the changes proposed. The House should be careful to do nothing

that should interfere with their stability. The question of accounts was one that might possibly wait until next year, because it would be a very difficult thing to compress all the accounts of the banks into one form. Many buyers of bank shares thought no more of the transaction than if they were buying stock; and the first result of this agitation would be that shareholders would look more closely after their own interests, and see the accounts were fully displayed. If a bank had £10 shares, and £7 were called up, the balance was not enough for a large business. There was no reason why such a bank should not make its nominal share £15, and so leave a wide margin. He had placed in his hands, within the last few minutes, a clause with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was, no doubt, acquainted; and if the right hon. Gentleman were to adopt that clause he did not see why there should be any difficulty in passing the Bill.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD thought it very desirable that means should be taken for limiting liability; and provided that the circumstances were well known and published to the world, there was no reason why security should not be given to those shareholders. He did not think the House need hesitate to grant the change. It should be borne in mind, however, that in changing their character they changed the relations between themselves and their depositors, and it would not be right to make the change without intimating the same to each depositor. He objected very much to a reserve liability bank, because it was a thing that nobody could understand, and it conveyed no definite idea, and it seemed to him that in matters of this kind things should be as clear as they could be. Banks should do at once, while in a state of solvency, what they would be called upon to do in a state of insolvency—namely, to call together their shareholders, and to require from them large subscriptions in addition to their former amounts. This would only be fair to depositors when shareholders changed to limited responsibility. Notice should be given to depositors of the new character of the bank indicated. If these changes were made he should be perfectly satisfied, and would give his support to the Bill.

MR. RATHBONE was disposed to think that it would be better to adopt

the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and defer the discussion until the House went into Committee; but, as the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) had pointed out, if they could come to an agreement upon certain points, in all probability the Bill would pass in a short time with general concurrence; and he confessed he thought the hon. Member (Mr. Shaw) was right. He could not agree with the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna), that the first two clauses would be quite sufficient to carry out the intention of the Bill and meet the requirements of the case. The fact was, the House had before it a very difficult and delicate task. If they had to begin anew, then he thought it would be perfectly easy, because the limitation of liability would lead to the limitation of credit. People, unless they knew there was an unlimited amount of capital at the back of the bank, would not give credit on an insufficient basis, as it was known they did in the case of the City of Glasgow Bank. A number of transactions would, under these circumstances, have been brought to a stop much sooner under limited liability. But the position in which they were was this—they had unlimited credit built on the foundation of unlimited liability, and if the House were not careful they would strike away their unlimited liability in the first place, and unlimited credit would come to an untimely end. That was the difficulty pointed out by the hon. Member for Cork, and the two first clauses would not meet that position. There were many banks whose great credit was founded on their known good management and the fact that they had unlimited liability at their back. Suppose a bank had liabilities amounting, say, to £25,000,000, with a nominal capital of £3,500,000. Would anybody say it would be safe to do away with that bank's unlimited liability, and leave the bank with such a capital as that? In a list of 27 banks, there were more than half of them with capital paid up; but in many of these their good credit was founded on their good management. How would the Bill apply to such banks as these? But it was said it was absolutely necessary to do something. There would be the pressure which would be put upon Directors by shareholders to constitute their banks under limited

liability; and there would be the temptation to banks whose subscribed capital would not furnish sufficient security for their liabilities. Yet there was the state of feeling only recently excited by a considerable amount of distress, and which would not easily pass away; and if liberty were extended to banks to transfer themselves to limited liability without reserve it might lead to a very bad state of things indeed, and this was why there was a necessity for such clauses as the "Reserve Liability" clauses to enable banks to do away with their unlimited character, and yet preserve liability sufficient to meet the amount of their credit. He could see no valid objection to these reserve liability clauses, and he believed they would be very useful, and it would be an advantage that banks should ascertain the amount of capital they were able to call on. The clause proposed by the hon. Member for Cork was a good one, and might be proposed as an alternative if the clause of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not accepted by the House. They must not run the great risk of having banks driven by the feeling amongst their shareholders to adopt a principle of limited liability without sufficient capital to justify the state of liability in which they were in, and would probably remain in. There would be a source of serious evil unless some such provision as that proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was accepted.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS agreed with a good deal that had fallen from the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone). He had stated, the other day, that this was not, and must not be looked on as a banker's Bill at all. It must be looked upon as a Bill for the public generally. Many persons bought bank shares as they bought Consols, without considering the risks they ran. In consequence of the state of things in the last 12 months, these persons had begun to look about them, and to find that they had a real practical responsibility. This had gone on to such an extent that shareholders were unwilling to hold their shares subject to unlimited liability, as in the case of the City of Glasgow Bank, and were wishing to get rid of their shares. If that took place, the good shareholders ran out of the banks, and that was not for the public interest. Therefore, it was in the

*Mr. Rathbone*

interest of the public that this Bill was brought before the House, and he hoped hon. Members would not look upon it as a banker's Bill. If good shareholders got rid of their liabilities, the shares were likely to get into the hands of men of straw, who had nothing to pay with. Care must be taken that if unlimited banks changed themselves into limited they should not be allowed to throw off too much responsibility. It should not be possible for these banks to call up all their capital and have nothing left to fall back upon. Some years ago, when he went carefully into the matter, a bank that had called up £10 or £20 held it to be absolutely necessary to have £20 more that could be called up, leaving £60 out of the £100 share that could not be called up, except in the case of accident to the bank. The Bill did not overlook that point, and the question was only as to whether the clause of the hon. Member for Cork, or the provision of the Bill was preferable. The hon. Member for Cork suggested that limited liability Companies should have the same privilege as unlimited liability Companies. But there was a considerable difference between the cases. The unlimited liability shareholder could not object to his liability being lessened; but the limited liability shareholder would very fairly object to his liability being increased. Of course, if the limited liability shareholder consented to his liability being increased, no one could object; but it would be impossible to effect that object merely by introducing the words "limited or unlimited" into the clause. He quite agreed that this conversation had done good in bringing them together, and might facilitate the progress of the Bill through Committee.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he had been brought to the conclusion that something approaching a Reserve Liability Clause would be necessary to be introduced into the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had said it was more for the public interest than in the interest of the banker; but his opinion was that the public interest was best preserved by allowing the bankers to make what bargains they could, and, therefore, he was strongly in favour of the unlimited banks being allowed to deal with their creditors as best they could. But then, of course, came the

position of some banks with a capital very nearly paid up, and he would not venture to make them unlimited unless there was a reserve. He agreed with the Home Secretary that they could hardly increase the liability without the consent of the shareholders. Then came in some provision in the Bill to enable an unlimited bank, the capital of which was nearly paid up, to make a call upon its shareholders; and it appeared to him to be a very fair thing that the general body of shareholders should do that; but he confessed he would prefer seeing a clause in the Bill similar to that of the hon. Member for Cork, rather than the clause that already existed in the Bill. The effect that was desired would be entirely gained by the clause suggested by the hon. Member for Cork.

Mr. MUNTZ concurred in what had been said as to the necessity for providing unquestionable security for the depositors in a bank which limited its liability. When the joint-stock principle was adopted a number of private banks had failed, a fear as to their solvency having caused a run upon them; and it was to prevent such panics occurring that shareholders were rendered liable for every penny they possessed in the world. In his opinion, the reserve to be provided for in the Bill ought not to be restricted to an amount equal to that paid up, but ought to extend to two or three times the amount paid up.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thought a reserved liability would be very good for the shareholders, but would afford no reliable security to the public, for it might be the case that a large proportion of the shareholders would be men of straw. There were many banks in which the value of the shares altogether did not amount to one-twentieth the amount of the deposits.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question. "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Preliminary.*

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Act not to apply to Bank of England) *agreed to*.



Clause 3 (Construction of Act) *agreed to.*

*Registration Anew as a Limited Company.*

Clause 4 (Registration anew of unlimited company as limited company).

Mr. COURTNEY said, he had an Amendment which he would submit to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although he feared there was not much chance of its being adopted. He might say, in the first place, that he introduced his Proviso with the assumption that the House would not be content with a mere advertisement of change of character for a bank, and would insist on retaining the notice already provided for in the Act of 1862. By that Act a notice of the conversion into limited liability would have to be sent out to every creditor of a Company, informing him of the change. Assuming that that condition was fulfilled, he ventured to suggest that the principle of limited liability should, after a certain time, apply to all creditors of banks; because, otherwise, they would have a series of very difficult questions arising, known to lawyers under the name of *novation*; the point at issue being whether a creditor had, or had not, accepted a new limited liability bank in place of the old unlimited bank. In the country, especially, there were many cases where people left money and received a deposit note, or even a bill, or perhaps a book, which was brought in, year after year, and interest paid on it, nothing being said as to any change made; but if the creditor had received a notice of the change, which he assumed would have been given to him, he thought, after a lapse of three years, it should be a matter of law, not to be disputed, that the depositor had accepted the limited liability Company in substitution for the previous bank; and that in the case of a current account, where transactions were constantly happening, that after 12 months a customer might be assumed to have accepted the new Company in substitution for the other. He need not tell the Attorney General or the Chancellor of the Exchequer that most vexing questions had arisen where, after the lapse of a great many years, Companies supposed to have been absolutely defunct had been resuscitated, for the purpose of providing funds to meet the

demands of persons who had apparently accepted, and had gone on accepting, substituted Companies for very many years. The necessity of producing evidence fixing these people with absolute consent to the change, which had to be decided from their acts, had given rise, in the cases of the "Albert," and the "European," and certain other well-known cases, to great difficulties in liquidation. This would certainly arise in the liquidation of any bank, especially any country bank, after its conversion into a limited Company; and, of course, he need not say that questions always were arising as to the period at which outgoing partners became released from their liability. For this reason, he ventured to suggest that they should accept the Proviso he wished to add to the clause—namely, in page 1, line 23, to add—

Provided, however, that, in the case of any banking company, such limit of liability shall apply to any debt existing or arising as a balance of an account current at the expiration of one year from the date of such registration, and to any debt existing or arising as a balance of a deposit account at the expiration of three years from such date of registration."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) said, he was very well aware that many questions did arise on this doctrine; but he did not himself believe that there would be any difficulty in regard to this particular Bill, for its provisions were clear on the subject. The creditor would have the same remedy and the same power as he had supposing the change had not been made. If a man had an account current and a sum due to him, and chose to let the account go on after having received a notice of the change from the bank, and payments were made to him from time to time by the bank in the ordinary course of business, those payments would be an acceptance of the limited liability; and, at all events, within a very short time the payments would extinguish the earlier liability on the account current. Thus, very soon that account would be obliterated altogether, and then whatever money was due would be due under the altered arrangement. The customer, of course, could not complain of the alteration in the arrangement if he could not say that he was damaged by the bank being turned from an unlimited into a limited Com-

pany; because that would have been done under the provisions of an Act of Parliament. Neither could it be said that there was no notice on the part of the creditor; the matter would have been accomplished under the provisions of an Act of Parliament. He would have received his notice; and if, when he received his notice, he did not like the change, then he might have withdrawn his account and ceased to deal with the bank; but the notice having been given, if the creditor allowed his account to run on, he did so under the understanding that the liability of the bank to him would have been altered by Statute. These observations with reference to an account current would apply with less force to a deposit account. The payments made on that account, from time to time, would extinguish the earlier liability, and any further sums deposited would be placed to the account, on the understanding that they were governed by the limited liability. It seemed to him, although he quite acknowledged the attention the hon. Member for Liskeard had given to the Bill, that this provision would produce a much greater complication, and much greater evil would be produced by its adoption than there would be good gained by it.

MR. MUNTZ observed, that the Attorney General had scarcely replied to the remarks of the Mover of the Amendment. It seemed to him that the result would be to confuse the customer, and he would not understand what he was about. The liability of the old bank and the liability of the new might last for four or five months, and a customer would scarcely know who were liable to him. In all these cases, it seemed to him that the straightforward way was to give notice. He had given Notice of an Amendment to Clause 7, providing that those notices should be sent to all creditors. There could be no difficulty about this, because every customer had a pass-book; and if he could receive that, he could receive a notice, and the bank could easily make the change from unlimited to limited.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) thought that the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz, had not quite done justice himself to the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard, and did not quite understand his argument. He himself did not deal with the

question of notice in his speech, although he quite admitted that some reasonable notice ought to be given, because the hon. Member stated his case on the assumption that notice would be given. Assuming that, he thought, also, it was desirable to add this provision to the Bill, while he himself took the opposite view.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY thought it was extremely desirable, in the interests of the shareholders of banks, that there should be some fixed period for determining the liability of the old bank. In a great many instances depositors left money in unlimited banks, for which they took receipts, that lay in their drawers for an indefinite period. It would be, therefore, impossible to say when the liability of an unlimited bank became limited; and it would be unknown to the public when the change took place, although the notice must be given to the customers of the bank. Many of these banks held deposits for many years; and it would be impossible to determine, within a certain period, whether the bank had become limited or unlimited, and whether it was not still liable for considerable amounts.

MR. RATHBONE was of opinion that the change could do no harm; and, therefore, he thought they might adopt the provision.

MR. MARTEN said, the proposition was most pernicious, because the whole of the arguments in favour of the provision was that they were not to alter existing contracts. Now, this Amendment proposed to take away the remedy creditors otherwise possessed, and to apply limited liability to existing contracts. A more monstrous proposal he had never heard. A creditor deposited money while the bank was unlimited; a change was made; and after a year, if he kept a current account, or three years, if he was a depositor, the bank was to be a limited liability bank as regarded him, without any other provision on the subject whatever. No security was to be given, no funds were to be set apart to meet the creditor's claim; but the creditor, without his consent, and without any substituted security, was to be deprived of the security of the shareholders' unlimited liability, which formed part of the consideration of the original contract. The whole basis of this act would be upset if they were to introduce

so serious a modification of existing contracts. He thought it was quite unnecessary with regard to depositors. The banks had only to give notice that they would pay off the depositors or commence a new account, and in the case of current accounts to close them, and then the whole matter would be done with, and the limited bank could begin afresh.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA thought there was no occasion for this provision, for they would find the Act of 1862 went quite far enough in its 194th section. That provided all the machinery, and made all the preparations necessary, in a matter of this kind; and, in any circumstances, it would be scarcely a good thing to further complicate the clauses of the Act now in contemplation. There could be no very strong objection to the proposal; and if they had two months before them the matter might be fairly discussed and settled; but as the measure must be passed that night, having given the matter great study, he thought there would be no advantage derived from the clause, and therefore they had better drop it.

MR. CHADWICK also recommended the hon. Member to withdraw the Amendment, and believed it would be almost impossible to carry it out, and he also believed that Clause 7 made ample provision for everything that was wanted.

MR. COURTNEY would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment, although he was still of opinion that it would be a very great convenience if it were adopted. The hon. and learned Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten) had been very severe on what he was pleased to call his high-handed interference with contracts, forgetting that for 12 months the creditor had full security and could withdraw his account. He did not wish to do anything except with ample notice; but the effect of not inserting a provision of this kind in the Bill was simply to make work for lawyers. In consequence, they would have a great deal of difficulty in schemes for winding up, which might have been prevented, in order to ascertain whether a particular depositor had accepted the substitution of the new limited Company for the old unlimited Company. That was a question which could only be settled by lawyers, and they were the only class who would profit by the uncertainty of the present

*Mr. Marten*

law—an uncertainty which, in spite of the assertion of his hon. Friend the Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna), was not covered by the Act of 1862.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause agreed to.

#### *Reserve Liability Companies.*

Clause 5 (Establishment of reserve liability companies).

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA moved to strike out the clause, observing that he thought the machinery provided was unnecessary.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY was understood to be entirely in favour of striking out this clause.

MR. GREGORY thought there would be some difficulty in working it.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he should very much regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in deference to the wish of certain Members, should withdraw the clause. He believed the principle involved in it was a very sound one, and it had already been found to work admirably in our banking system. While he had nothing to quarrel with in the suggested clause of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), he thought he did not see that, by maintaining the word "limited," they would have, as a result, banks of limited liability with every shilling of their capital called up; and they would also have banks equally called limited, and under exactly the same denomination, with only half their capital called up. How were they to distinguish between the two? How were the public—especially the ignorant public, for whom they were legislating—to tell the difference between a limited bank with the reserve, and a limited bank without a reserve? The principle of reserve liability, as set forth by the clause as it now stood, was in actual working order throughout our Colonies, and was working there admirably. Throughout the whole of the Australian group it had received abundance of trial; and the principle had this advantage over a limited bank—that there was a margin in a limited bank which might be called upon, or could be financed by the Directors, or dealt with in some way or other, although not called upon; but here, in these reserve liability banks, they had, as a security for the depositor

and the creditor, this reserve actually untouched and uncalled, except in the case of the bank failing to meet its engagements. That, he thought, was a great security for the public, and would always give great confidence to shareholders, and he could not see why there was any objection to it. It was not as though they were starting a new principle, for most of their chartered banks were on this principle; and it was one on which nearly all the Australian banks and the New Zealand banks trading in the City were based. There were no banks, he might remark, too, trading in this City or any other, that stood higher for credit, or were better managed, or had a better proprietary than those banks. Then, let them remember, also, the great advantage they gained by having a bank share, say of £25, with a future liability of £25. By such means they secured a good proprietary—men who knew the amount of their liability, and who went into the business with their eyes open, and were not afraid to meet that liability if called upon. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would firmly maintain his clause, as, thereby, he would be establishing a good system, and he could see no reason why it should not be carried out.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA observed, in reply to the hon. Member's criticism, that they would, no doubt, have two descriptions of limited liability under the same name, and that some banks would have the whole of their capital called up, and some only part; but that system was in existence even at the present time, and there was no objection to it on that score. And, with regard to this reserve, it was not a capital reserve; it was simply a limit by guarantee, and the guarantee of a floating body of shareholders. There was never anything more calculated to suggest to his mind the idea of throwing dust in the eyes of shareholders than by having a reserve figuring on paper. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted facilities for applying the Acts of 1862 and 1867 to the present emergency let him apply for them; but he did not think that the matter should be dealt with in the way proposed. The result would be to have a new course and a new departure in business, and a new species of intermediate aristocracy in the banking

world. He hoped the clause would not be pressed; for if the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not give way he certainly would not get his Bill as rapidly as he wished. He thought that omission, on the other hand, would simplify matters very much.

MR. CHILDERS wished to do his best to enforce what the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had said as to the advantage of the limit of liability usually fixed in the case of the chartered banks. Those banks were very well known all over the world; and the difference between them and ordinary limited and unlimited banks was that the limit of liability was double the amount of the banks' capital. The Government now suggested that banks of this kind should be called "reserve liability banks." He did not quite know how they had come to that term; but, whatever its name, the thing was perfectly well known all over the British Empire. He spoke with some experience on this subject, for he had been for many years a Director in one of those banks, although not so then, and he knew that they could not get a better proprietary than those banks did obtain. They did business in all parts of the world; they had generally a sound proprietary, and did their work in an eminently satisfactory way. He ventured to say that everyone who had had experience of these banks, or who knew anything of their work in different parts of the Empire, would say that the chartered banks, with liability of twice their nominal capital, were satisfactory institutions. He, therefore, should very much regret if the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave up this clause; but if he was compelled to give it up, he thought the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) was the best suggestion. He did hope, however, that the Government would first make a point of ascertaining the feelings of the House, and would adhere to the principle which, whatever the name—"a rose by any other name would smell as sweet"—had been found to be a practical and most convenient form.

MR. MUNTZ remarked, that the previous speaker had said that banks of reserved liability were in operation in the Colonies. He had had a considerable experience in the Colonies; but he had never heard of them.

MR. CHILDERS: They are banks under Royal Charter, with exactly the limited liability now proposed.

MR. MUNTZ: Oh, yes; but, then, they had those in London also. Now they were to have four different kinds of banking enterprise. They were to have "Limited," and "Unlimited," and "Charter," and new banks with the name of "Reserve Liability." That was what he objected to. He objected to a new-fangled word—the public did not understand it—it took 20 years to make the people understand limited liability. The public understood it now. They saw how much capital was to be called up, and they gave their confidence to the bank; but let them start banks with a new name, and they would puzzle all the mass of the provincials, and a good many Londoners. Hon. Gentlemen must remember that the mass of mankind were not very intelligent. Intelligent men might at once learn; but how were small farmers, shopkeepers, small depositors, and all the spinsters and widows who knew nothing about business, to understand the meaning of this new phrase? He did not object to the principle of reserve liability; but what he did protest against was the addition of this new phrase, which, he maintained, would cause great confusion, and could do no possible good.

MR. GOLDNEY asked what was to prevent a number of persons associated together declaring, if they chose, that their shares should be also liable for a certain amount of reserve? Could the law interpose to stop that? The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) had argued that there were limited and unlimited banks, and they could not go further.

MR. MUNTZ begged to explain. He did not say that. His contention was, that as they had already limited and unlimited it was not desirable to have a new name.

MR. GOLDNEY thought, if the whole matter resolved itself into a question of a new name, the designation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer might stand.

MR. COLLINS said, he was sorry to disagree with his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz); he (Mr. Collins) thought the name was of some importance and was well chosen, because the object of the Act was to introduce the new principle of a reserve into limited

liability banking. That being so, how better could they introduce those principles, and, at the same time, express to the public that there was associated with this limited liability a reserve fund provided for their protection, than by adopting the proposed designation? He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would retain his clause, for the principle involved in it was most valuable and important. Next to it, doubtless, the proposition most acceptable would be that of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw); but there was a wide difference and distinction between the two propositions. The Committee would do well to consider that the clause, as it stood, left a discretion as to the amount of reserve to Banking Companies intending to come under the Act, and was thus of a conveniently elastic character: it might be availed of to the extent of the circumstances and requirements of each bank profiting by it. There were many large banks to which the public entrusted considerable sums of money as fixed deposits, and it was said of some of these great institutions that they were desirous of altering their organization, and of re-constituting themselves under limited liability with an ample reserve beyond their nominal capital. No doubt, when re-organizing under this Act, they would consider how the change would be likely to affect their credit with depositors, and they would take measures to provide against distrust on their part. The result would be that the elasticity of the clause would be recognized, and in the case of large banks holding immense deposits the amount of the reserve would be determined as any other essential element of re-construction. It was quite possible that some of these institutions might make a reserve of two, or three, or four times the amount of their nominal capital, in order to give such security and confidence to their depositors as might be entirely satisfactory. In dealing with the subject, due weight must be given to the interests of the public; at all events, they ought to be considered as fully as those of shareholders. Credit and importance were usually attached to banks according to the reserves they were able to appropriate and retain for the protection of shareholders and of the public; and the advantage of this clause would be that without calling up unnecessary capital

and paying dividends on it, keeping money idle, or comparatively so, at moderate rates of interest, depositors would have as much protection in the event of difficulties as if reserves had been accumulated out of profits. Of course, it was open to discussion whether there was not a difference between holding a large sum of money as a reserve in a bank and allowing it to remain in the hands of proprietors; but the effect of there being a reserve created would be practically nearly the same, for the purpose of establishing confidence in the institutions contemplated by the Bill.

MR. SHAW hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to the withdrawal of this clause. By doing so he would accomplish two ends. He would get the Bill through very quickly, and he would please a great majority of country banks. They had no objection to the principle; but there was a very strong objection to these clauses. There was confusion enough in banking already. They had chartered banks in Scotland, with no liability beyond the share capital. There were chartered banks in the Colonies, which had double the amount of liability of their capital. They had limited banks; they had unlimited banks, and now it was proposed to have another description of bank, which would only end in bringing about confusion and in injuring the banking business of the country. The simpler they could make the change they were about to make the better. He thought the new clause he had suggested met all the difficulties which had been raised, and he could not imagine how anyone could object to the proposal.

MR. GREGORY said, it was clear they would have to deal with the broad question of reserve liability in this clause, and he must say he hoped the Government would not proceed with it. There was a broad and plain difference between limited and unlimited banks, and everyone knew it; but when they had to deal with reserve liability banks they had first to find out what reserve liability was—which might mean anything or nothing. They had to investigate the accounts of the bank to find what it amounted to, and what it consisted of, and how it was limited, and how it was reserved; and in respect to any reluctance of the banks to accept limited liability he did not believe it.

Some of the most successful of the banks were those with limited liability; and if another, which was now unlimited, chose to change and accept the other system, he did not see why it should not say so distinctly and carry it out.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, the question which is before the Committee is one upon which I confess that I am more anxious to arrive at a tolerably unanimous opinion than to press for a particular conclusion. It has been a question with the Government for several months what would be the best form of providing a constitution for such banks as desired to place themselves upon a footing similar to those of the chartered banks of the Colonies, of which we have heard. We believe it is a most excellent principle that banks should have the power of forming themselves upon a footing of having reserve liability—upon a footing on which they are liable in the case of winding up, not only to the amount of their capital, but to a further amount. I do not know why that should not be called a limited liability by itself—in one sense, everything that is not unlimited must be limited; therefore, we might make an exhaustive division of banks into these three categories. On the other hand, there seems to be among many of those with whom we have been in communication, and those who have been interested in this subject, a desire to adopt a name which would show that banks adopting this particular kind of constitution were on a somewhat different footing from the ordinary limited banks. We have framed the Bill with a view to give effect to the desire, and have bestowed a great deal of attention on the subject. I think myself that the Bill, as it stands, would have provided a very fair and workable constitution for banks of that kind. At the same time, it is impossible to deny that there is a good deal of difference of opinion on the subject; and I must say that if we pass this clause by a majority—I do not know how it will be, but the Committee may be pretty equally divided upon the subject—if we pass the clause by a majority, I am afraid we shall have before us a good deal of trouble on subsequent clauses which go into the status of reserved liability. I have considered the question, and I should not think much of that if I saw any real serious difficulty in principle between the two

propositions; but in principle the clause suggested by the hon. Member for Cork is as nearly as possible, and is, in fact, the same thing, as reserved liability. The only question is, whether you are to give it a different name, or the same? Under the circumstances, I think the objections of those who dislike the introduction of the new name are stronger than the predilections of those who wish for the new name; and as there is no principle involved I think we shall be best consulting the feelings of the Committee by withdrawing the clause.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY was extremely glad at the decision of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The withdrawal of the clause removed all the objections he had to the Bill, and remedied, he had no doubt, a great many of those in the minds of others.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause 6 (Nature of reserve liability company) *negatived*.

#### *Special Provisions as to Banks.*

Clause 7 (Before registration of unlimited banking company as reserve liability or limited company notice to be published).

MR. J. G. HUBBARD moved the omission of the words—

"Section one hundred and eighty-eight of the Companies Act 1862, is hereby repealed, and in place thereof it is enacted as follows."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, it was consequential upon what had already been done to strike out this clause altogether. It was not required at all.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, that the 4th clause enabled those Companies which could not take advantage of the Companies Act of 1862 to take advantage of it. They had passed a clause which enabled an unlimited Company to limit itself, and he could not see that this clause was wanted.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY had asked the Solicitor General whether there was any objection to have the provision which was in the Companies Act of 1862, whereby every depositor was obliged to have notice, instead of merely advertising in *The Gazette*, as was proposed in the Bill? The hon. and learned Gentleman had told him distinctly that it was absolutely neces-

sary to have this clause repeated, for reasons which might, perhaps, be known to the Attorney General, but which he would not repeat in the absence of the Solicitor General. But the hon. and learned Gentleman saw no objection to every depositor having notice. *The Gazette* notice might never be seen, and he thought that a notice should be given to every depositor individually. It must be remembered that when an unlimited Company became limited the status of every person who had deposited money with the bank became altered; and, therefore, an opportunity should be given by which a man might have the power of withdrawing from his position.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, from practical experience, he had never had any difficulty in giving notice. It was essential that everybody should have a perfectly honest and straightforward story of what was being done.

MR. HEYGATE suggested that they might do without all the rest of the Bill. With regard to the two clauses which followed, they might as well do away with the notice. The unlimited liability, as far as issue of notes was concerned, was provided for already by the 182nd section of the Companies Act of 1862, now proposed to be repealed; and he thought the progress of the Bill would be facilitated by leaving out the two clauses. And as to the form of accounts suggested in the Schedule to the Bill, he feared the discussion would absorb more time than they could afford it. He understood that various forms of accounts had been agreed upon by various authorities on such subjects; but the form contained in the Bill differed from them all, and was not exactly approved by anyone outside the Government. All they had to do was to take the clause suggested to the Committee by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), which would very well meet the case.

MR. SHAW had no doubt that bankers would act wisely in taking their customers fully into their confidence.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER) said, he could not assent to the opinion given by his hon. and learned Colleague that it was desirable, on the change of liability of a bank, that the operation should be brought to the attention of the customers of the bank,

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

not by notice, simply published in newspapers, which customers might never read, but by personal notice, and that the same sort of notice as was provided by the 188th section of the Companies Act of 1862 should be given under the present Act. No doubt, many hon. Gentlemen thought that that was, perhaps, a correct opinion; and it was quite possible that his hon. and learned Friend was perfectly right in thinking that the object would be compassed by allowing the section to remain unrepealed. But he was not quite sure that it would be so. The difficulty was that the Companies Act of 1862 only contemplated the registration, for the first time, of unlimited Companies, and did not apply to the registration of a Company registered under the Act of limited liability. Therefore, it might be that, strictly speaking, it would not be sufficient simply to allow the provisions of Section 188 of the Companies Act of 1862 to stand. It might be said by some astute lawyers that those provisions did not apply to cases where a bank of unlimited liability registered as a Company of limited liability. It seemed to him that the matter might be easily arranged by inserting a provision in the present Bill, to the effect that the provision with regard to notice contained in the 188th section of the Companies Act of 1862 should apply, under all circumstances, to the notice to be given under this Bill. If it turned out, upon reflection, that such a provision was desirable, it could be easily prepared. He trusted his right hon. Friend would, therefore, withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause *negatived*.

Clause 8 (Unlimited liability of bank of issue in respect of notes).

MR. J. G. HUBBARD moved the omission of the words—

“Section one hundred and eighty two of the Companies Act, 1862, is hereby repealed, and in place thereof is enacted as follows.”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought no advantage would be gained by leaving out these words. The Committee would see that the object of the clause was to substitute for the 182nd section of the Companies Act of 1862 another clause which would carry out the exact intention with which that clause was passed, and which they

hoped, in doing so, to make clearer. There had been some confusion as to the exact meaning of the section in question, and it had been thought better, in consequence, to repeal it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA agreed with the view taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If it was understood that an Amendment should be brought up on Report, or that the words should be struck out, then he would suggest that the clause should be read in this way—

“Section one hundred and eighty-two of the Companies Act, 1862, shall not apply, but in lieu thereof, &c.”

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. MUNTZ moved, in page 4, line 20, to leave out “as a reserve liability company or registered.”

Amendment *agreed to*.

MR. COURTNEY moved, in page 4, line 35, to leave out—

“Including, in the case of a reserve liability Company, the amount of the reserve liability.”

Amendment *agreed to*.

MR. MUNTZ moved, in page 4, line 38, to leave out “as a reserve liability company, or.”

Amendment *agreed to*.

MR. RATHBONE said, it would be seen that the paragraph he proposed to add to the clause was purely permissive, and would allow those banks which wished to give substantial security to do so. The proposed Amendment would create a great security to the public. He moved to add the following words at the end of the clause:—

“The foregoing provisions of this section with respect to unlimited liability for notes shall not apply to any bank, the authorised issue of which is fixed and which gives security by deposit to the satisfaction of the Treasury for not less than the whole amount of the authorised issue of such bank. The deposit shall be made in such manner and in the names of such persons, corporation, or officer, and shall consist of Consolidated Three-per Cent. Annuities, or of such Government securities of such amount and valued in such manner as the Treasury from time to time determine, and the fact of the issue being secured by such deposit shall, at the request and expense of such bank, be certified on the notes of the bank in such manner as the Treasury from time to time determine. The holders of notes of a bank which has given security under this section shall have a first charge on the deposited securities for the whole amount of the



notes and the expenses of recovering that amount, subject only to the rights of any other creditors to whom the bank was indebted at the time of giving the security. To the extent (if any) to which the claims of holders of notes are defeated by the claims of such other previous creditors. The provisions of this section shall apply with respect to unlimited liability notwithstanding the deposit of securities.

"A bank of issue may give security by deposit under this section for an amount less than its whole authorised issue, but in that case its authorised issue shall thereafter be reduced to the amount for which the security is given."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not think it would be well to enter upon the large discussion which would be raised by the proposed Amendment, and thought the hon. Member for Liverpool would act wisely in not pressing it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment at that moment; but in the event of its being proposed when a subsequent measure was brought forward he would give it all the support in his power.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 9 (Accounts of banking companies).

MR. HEYGATE suggested that the clause might be omitted for the reasons he had already given.

MR. SHAW was strongly of the same opinion as the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Heygate), and hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would strike out this clause.

MR. COURTNEY said, it was absolutely necessary either to strike out the clause or the words "as a reserve liability company, or registered." He would move that the words be omitted from lines 2 and 3.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA thought the nature of the accounts required by the Companies Act of 1862, then in force, were quite as good as those required by the present Bill. They had, at any rate, stood the test of time, while the present clause was a more experiment. He considered it better to strike out the whole clause.

MR. CHADWICK wished to enter his protest against the withdrawal of the clause, and pointed out to the Committee that the present was the proper

*Mr. Rathbone*

time to insist upon having uniform balance-sheets. These were already furnished by Railway and Insurance Companies; and it was most important in the interest of the shareholders and the public, that all bank balance-sheets should have some general groundwork of uniformity.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG agreed with the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) that it would be much better to strike out the clause and leave the law as it stood.

MR. W. E. FORSTER thought the clause, if passed, would not obtain the uniformity desired, because it would only apply to Companies registered after the passing of the Act. It seemed to him that, with regard to all those clauses, they were rather going beyond the Business of Parliament, and treading upon the business of banking, and that they were, to some extent, open to objection in doing so.

MR. MUNTZ said, no forms that they could fix would secure the credit of a bank, which must rest upon the character of the Directors. It was impossible for creditors to get at a correct understanding of the accounts. How could they estimate, at their true value, the bills of exchange in the hands of a bank. He had seen hundreds of those that were not worth a £5 note.

MR. M'LAREN was of opinion that this clause was one of the best parts of the Bill. There was no doubt whatever that the first Banking Companies in England and Scotland had adopted a form very nearly the same as was indicated by the clause. But there were many banks which did not disclose to the shareholders a full and particular statement of account. That was just what was wanted, and hence the advantage of this clause.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he would agree to the omission of the clause, which was introduced principally with a view to the class of banks originally contemplated.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause *negatived*.

Clause 10 (Audit of accounts of banking companies).

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA moved, in page 5, line 37, to leave out "as a reserved liability company or."

MR. THOMSON HANKEY said, it was impossible to prescribe by Act of Parliament the form in which the auditors should manage their accounts, and he objected entirely to this being laid down in the present Bill.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS did not agree with the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Thomson Hankey) that the clause laid down the form in which the auditors were to audit the accounts. The object of the clause was that the accounts should be audited. He agreed that to put upon an auditor the duty of stating the actual position of a bank was to put upon him what no human being could perform. But the clause imposed upon the auditor only the duty which an honest man could do—namely, of stating to the shareholders that, to the best of his belief, the balance sheets submitted contained a full and fair statement of the assets and liabilities of the bank as these appeared from the books of the Company. He should be sorry to see the clause struck out.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, if the clause remained he proposed to make an addition at the end placing the auditor under certain restrictions. He thought that the part of the clause relating to the business of the auditor might very well stand.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD thought that the accounts to be audited under this clause would be of such a formal character as to give a very imperfect notion of the state of the banks.

MR. W. E. FORSTER did not see anything to object to in the wording of the clause; but thought the clause itself was open to the objection that, by adopting it, they were stepping out of their proper province in interfering with the management of banks, and that the results might be precisely opposite to those at which they wished to arrive. It was perfectly easy to comply with every word in the clause; and yet he could not help thinking that the Directors might avoid the searching examination intended. The fact of the matter was, it was impossible for them to do the work of the shareholders, and to secure that they should have an audit of this kind.

MR. SHAW thought the changes proposed to be made with respect to banking accounts unnecessary. Bankers who were registered under the Limited

Liability Acts were already obliged to publish a very full account twice a-year, and hang a copy up in their offices.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, if the 182nd section of the Companies Act remained unrepealed there was no occasion for the clause, the old machinery being quite sufficient.

MR. MARTEN had no doubt that the banks referred to by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), in presenting their accounts, did so in accordance with their Articles of Association, which, when properly drawn, always contained a clause providing for audits. But the object of the Bill was to make it imperative upon the banks that there should be an audit, and the terms proposed were very much in accordance with the corresponding article in the model form in the Schedule to the Companies Act of the Articles of Association.

MR. MUNDELLA agreed with the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that they could not, by any precaution which might be taken, make Boards of Directors honest. But he also agreed with the Home Secretary in thinking that, had the system of accounts proposed by the Bill been adopted before, many frauds which had been perpetrated could not have taken place. If the Act of 1862 made this system of accounts compulsory, then, of course, there was no need of its being re-enacted; but he believed this was not the case; and, in that event, the present clause was one of the best in the Bill for the protection of shareholders and the public generally.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought it would be a great pity to omit this clause. At the commencement of the Session, and before it began, there had been a great outcry for audits in the case of Banking Companies. That was a matter which he had steadily set his face against. Neither did he think it wise that Parliament should attempt to prescribe a particular form of audit, or to impose upon auditors a duty which they could not discharge. But it was quite within the province of Parliament to take care that, while they were reducing the securities possessed by the public, they should give an additional security with regard to the proper conduct of the business of banks. The clause provided that an audit should take place; and as it had been

very carefully prepared he thought it should be retained.

MR. MUNDELLA was personally acquainted with banks where there were no audits, and where the accounts were simply signed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA maintained that where the auditors were made perfectly independent of the Directors there would be no safeguard, beyond what was already provided by the Act of 1862. Under the circumstances, he thought the clause, as it stood, was perfectly unavailing.

MR. BRISTOWE said, if the shareholders were content to accept balance-sheets signed by Directors only, they must be very remiss and blind to their own interest. It did not appear, by the 6th sub-section, that the balance sheet would show the amount of money paid and received; and it was quite impossible that the auditors could dive into all the accounts of the money in the hands of the bank. How, therefore, was it possible for them to make a full and fair balance sheet? They would be obliged to take the figures supplied by the Directors at the time of the audit. Neither could they ascertain whether the bills in the hands of the bank were genuine, nor place a value upon them. He thought it would be very much better to strike out the clause.

MR. GOLDNEY said, the auditors could always ascertain whether the balance was represented by Consols in the possession of the bank, and whether there was so much cash to its credit in the Bank of England. He agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in saying that this safeguard ought to be given to the shareholders.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY also agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the clause should stand. It was not perfect, but it indicated a certain form and a certain examination to be gone through; and he believed that had the accounts been exhibited to the shareholders in the City of Glasgow Bank in the form indicated by the clause, the failure of the bank never could have happened. He did not quite agree that the balance sheets of banks signed by Directors were valueless. On the contrary, he was disposed to place more reliance in their assertions than in

those of auditors, who had only to give a certificate as a matter of form.

MR. GREGORY agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten) that the present audits of banking accounts were only voluntary, and that without some provision under the present Bill there would, in fact, be no audit. The system of audit had certainly worked very well in the case of Insurance Companies, and was regarded as most valuable. The advantage of having a person to act on behalf of the shareholders was that if anything wrong was going on it gave the shareholders an opportunity of investigation.

MR. COURTNEY suggested to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if the clause remained its provisions should apply to the existing limited banks as much as to those which were about to register.

MR. M'LAREN said, that anyone who had experience of the auditing of accounts, either directly or indirectly, would know that the very fact that accounts were to be audited was, in itself, a safeguard. Had there been an audit of the accounts of the City of Glasgow Bank, that Company would have been bankrupt 20 years ago. No auditor in the Kingdom would have passed the accounts of the bank. He thought it was the duty of the House to make provision for the audit of bank accounts. The requirements of the Act of 1862, with regard to the audit, were optional, and were frequently evaded by Directors, on the ground that the shareholders had not asked for audited accounts in the proper form prescribed by the Act. There was, on the part of certain banks, a desire to evade giving full information to shareholders. Seeing, however, that the first-class banks were perfectly willing to supply this information, why should not the inferior banks be compelled to do the same?

SIR ANDREW LUSK, while admitting the usefulness of a proper audit, thought that the Committee should guard themselves from enacting the provisions of this clause in a haphazard way. By the clause, as it stood, the auditor could do just what he liked; inquire into the affairs of the bank, and then come upon the Directors and examine them. Of course, for these purposes, men of discretion might be obtained; but, on the

other hand, it was to be feared that persons of a different character might sometimes be engaged in the work, who would do more harm than good. The wording of the clause required very careful consideration to make it workable.

MR. CHADWICK said, the hon. Baronet who had just spoken was under a misapprehension with regard to the audit of banking accounts, which would be no more difficult a matter than the audit of the accounts of a Railway Company. He saw very clearly that the present clause was essential to the Bill; and, if time permitted, he could give many good reasons why it should be passed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the effect of the clause would be, as he believed, to improve the real security of shareholders.

*Amendment agreed to.*

MR. RYLANDS thought that it might be provided that the auditor should have a list of the books of the Company delivered to him, any of which he could inspect if he pleased. It was impossible, in the case of a bank where there were a great number of books, for the auditor to have all the books placed before him. He, therefore, begged to move to omit from the clause all the words after "auditor," in line 6, down to the word "and," in line 7, inclusive.

MR. SHAW remarked, that the clause only meant the different classes of books. There were various sorts of books—cash books, ledgers, and so forth.

MR. CHADWICK thought that these words might be allowed to stand in the clause, as they had been in the Act of 1862, and had never been found to work injuriously. It would be practically useless to insist that all books should be necessarily inspected by the auditor; but it was well to have a provision making it necessary that the auditor should know all the books which were kept.

MR. MARTEN said, that the form of Articles of Association of the Companies Act provided that every auditor might be furnished with a list of all books kept by a Company, and should, at all reasonable times, have access thereto. He wished to point out that it was impossible for an auditor to do any good, unless he knew what materials there

were which could be placed by the Company before him.

MR. RYLANDS said that, technically, that was correct; but in the case of banks there were a vast number of books, many of which were kept at the branches. If it were understood that the clause merely contemplated that a general list of all books should be furnished to the auditor, then he would withdraw his Amendment.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. CHADWICK wished to call attention to the fact that one paragraph was omitted from the clause which he thought should be inserted. It was provided, by sub-section 3 of Clause 9 that—

"Every such balance-sheet shall be signed by the secretary or manager, and by the director of the company, or three of them, at the least, and that a printed copy thereof shall, at least seven days before such meeting, be forwarded to every member of the company."

He had been an auditor for the last 25 years, and had had great experience in these matters. He thought that if a further responsibility were thrown upon the managers and Directors it would have a very good effect. He begged to move, in page 6, at the end of paragraph 6, to amend the clause by inserting—

"Every balance-sheet shall be signed by the secretary, or manager, or directors of the Company, or by any three of them."

MR. ASSHETON CROSS pointed out that the Amendment would not come in the clause in which the hon. Member proposed it.

MR. BRISTOWE remarked, that if the balance-sheet was to be of any value to the shareholders it ought to be signed by the auditor, as well as by the manager, director, and secretary.

MR. CHADWICK was not disposed to withdraw the Amendment, for he was persuaded of its importance. He ventured to say that if his Amendment were adopted that clause would be the most important one in the whole Bill. From his experience, he could say that it would be of the greatest value that the balance-sheet should not be submitted to the auditor until it had been signed, not only by the secretary and manager—for that was usual—but by three, at least, of the Directors. He would venture to press upon the Go-

vernment the desirability of adopting his Amendment. If the Government would consider the matter he would bring up the Amendment upon Report; or, if thought desirable, he would have no objection to propose the Amendment as a new clause.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

*Application of Companies Acts.*

Clause 11 (Application of Companies Acts, 1862, 1867, and 1877).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) moved, in page 6, to leave out all the words from the beginning of the clause down to the words "joint-stock companies," in line 38, in page 7.

Amendment *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 12 (Clause A.—Privileges of Act available notwithstanding constitution of company).

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that the Amendment which he had to propose was one calculated to make the whole Bill work extremely well. The proposition then before the Committee was that banks might be permitted to limit their liability to a certain extent. There was only one class of proprietors of a bank who could not be deceived, and who had not the same right to limitation of their liability as general shareholders. He meant the Directors. He thought that it would give the public three or four times as much confidence in its dealings with banks if the Directors were made liable, as he proposed, for one year after they had ceased to hold office. At all events, that provision should be applied, as he suggested, to existing Companies. He begged to move, in page 8, line 16, after "company," to insert—

"But no director of any existing company which shall register under this Act, shall have or be entitled to any limitation of his liability, by reason of such registration, until one year after he shall have ceased to be a director, and then only provided that no order for winding up or resolution for the dissolution of the company shall have been in the meantime made or formally determined upon."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the objection to the

*Mr. Chadwick*

Amendment was that it would discourage men who would make desirable Directors from incurring the responsibility.

Amendment *negatived*.

Clause *agreed to*.

*Forms and Definitions.*

Clause 13 (Applications of forms in Schedule) *struck out*.

Clause 14 (Definitions) *struck out*.

MR. MUNTZ moved, in page 2, after Clause 6, to insert the following clause:—

(Uncalled Capital.)

"Every bank registering under the provisions of this Act shall, by its articles of association as then framed or as altered by special resolution, provide that its uncalled capital shall then be and shall remain not less than three times the amount of its capital called up at the time of registration."

The object of the clause was that there should not be less uncalled capital than three times the amount of the capital called up at the time of registration, so as to give an ample security for the creditors. A good deal had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) with respect to Colonial banks; but he would point out that they were very different from London banks. It was proposed by the Bill to do away with the unlimited responsibility of shareholders, and to enable all joint-stock banks to become limited. They were going, at once, to take away the security from the creditors of those banks which they had hitherto enjoyed. It seemed absurd to suppose that persons would leave their money in the hands of banks when they had no security, by reason of the capital being called up. If £10 were called up per share, the shareholders ought to be liable for £30 more per share. The question had nothing to do with the reserve, but was solely a question of security. Banks had hitherto been unlimited, and persons had been liable for the full amount of their property. The present Bill was to relieve the scare that had arisen from the City of Glasgow Bank failure, and there was a disposition to rush too much to the opposite extreme. He thought that, as the Bill stood, they were taking away, to too great an extent, the responsibility of shareholders; and it seemed to him that it would be a proper provi-

sion to make a shareholder liable for three times the amount of the called-up capital. Some bank managers, to whom he had spoken, were of opinion that if the proposition he had made were adopted it would greatly increase the confidence of the public.

Mr. MUNDELLA remarked, that his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham proposed to introduce a new form of bank, and, while he wanted simplicity and uniformity, was really proposing to introduce a perfectly new and complicated system. The effect of his proposition would be to apply to limited banks provisions and restrictions that did not apply in any other case. He hoped the Amendment would not be accepted.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA did not think that the proposal would work. He hoped that the Amendment would not be pressed.

Mr. GREGORY suggested that the hon. Member for Birmingham should withdraw his Amendment, and move it after the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw).

Mr. MUNTZ said, that he would take that course.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

Mr. WHITWELL said, he had upon the Paper, after Clause 7, to insert the following clause:—

(Restriction as to banks of issue in general.)

"A bank of issue shall not register as a reserve liability company, or, after the passing of this Act, as a limited company, if and so long as it has any house of business or establishment as a bank in any part of the United Kingdom other than that in which the head office or principal place of issue is situate.

If a bank of issue, at any time after it has registered as a reserve liability company, or, after the passing of this Act, as a limited company, opens or keeps open any house of business or establishment as a bank in any part of the United Kingdom other than that in which the head office or principal place of issue is situate, such house of business or establishment shall be deemed to be illegal, and may be prohibited by injunction, interdict, or other order of any competent court; and in addition thereto every director of the company opening or keeping open such house of business or establishment shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a penalty of five pounds a day for every day during which the same is kept open. Nevertheless, the limit of the liability of the members of the company shall not be affected, and such company shall continue to be a reserve liability company or a limited company, as the case may be."

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That was a clause which was the production of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, and was introduced into the original Bill. It was the result of the conviction of the right hon. Gentleman, from his experience as Chairman of the Committee on Banking. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that there were many hon. Members who were desirous of seeing a clause of that character introduced into the Bill. Owing to the changes that had been made in the form of the Bill, its scope had been diminished rather than enlarged, and the clause had been omitted. He did not propose to move it on that occasion; but he should be glad if, on some future occasion, the right hon. Gentleman should see his way to give the country the benefit of the clause.

Mr. SHAW proposed the insertion of the following clause, which he had mentioned at an early stage of the proceedings in Committee:—

"An unlimited company may, by special resolution passed by the members when assenting to registration as a limited company under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1879, and for the purpose of such registration or otherwise, increase the nominal amount of its capital by increasing the nominal amount of each of its shares; Provided, always, that no part of such increased capital shall be capable of being called up except in the event of and for the purposes of a liquidation."

Mr. GREGORY observed, that the clause was merely permissive. A Company seeking to register as a limited Company might obtain all the advantages without making use of the clause. At present, the liability of banks was unlimited, and the Bill, whilst it allowed a limitation of this liability, would leave it to a resolution of the shareholders to increase the nominal amount of the shares as security to the creditors. He thought it would be rather dangerous to enable liability merely to be limited by a resolution of the Company. He very much doubted whether parties would not have the right to say that they objected to a resolution which interfered with the liability upon the faith of which they had taken their shares, and that whilst they accepted the limitation of the liability, they objected to an increase in the amount of their shares. He admitted, however, that if the clause of the hon. Member were made imperative, and the

provision were made a necessary part of the variation of the liability, there would be an end to his argument. He thought that it would be much better to provide for what was to be done by a clause of the Act itself, rather than allow it to be done by resolution.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that it appeared to him that the measure that had nearly got through would leave the shareholders and Directors of unlimited banks to settle with their creditors upon what terms they would think fit to allow them to limit themselves. They could not carry the thing through without the consent of their creditors. That clause would enable an arrangement to be made between the creditors and the Company seeking to limit its liability. He was of opinion that the clause of the hon. Member for Cork would be quite sufficient for the purpose.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, the fact was, that it was proposed to contract the liabilities of Companies in a certain manner. It was not to be done absolutely, but only within certain limits. It would be contrary to the spirit of the Bill and of legislation to make the matter compulsory; and it would be far better to keep the clause as proposed by the hon. Member for Cork, who had done good service by introducing it.

MR. MUNDELLA was in favour of the clause as proposed by the hon. Member for Cork.

Clause read a second time.

MR. MARTEN moved, in order to prevent any possibility of misapprehension, to amend the new clause by leaving out the word "limitation" at the end, and inserting "a company being wound up."

*Amendment agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and added to the Bill.

MR. MUNTZ inquired, whether he was at liberty to move his Amendment as an addition to the new clause?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would be at liberty to move it when the other Amendment had been disposed of.

MR. CHADWICK moved the following new clause:—

*Mr. Gregory*

"The balance-sheet of every bank shall be signed by the auditor, and by the secretary or manager, and by the directors of the company, or by three of them at the least."

MR. RATHBONE thought the clause would be extremely valuable. The effect of the provision would be that balance-sheets would be prepared with much more care than was sometimes the case at present. In his opinion, the Directors of banks were themselves the best auditors that they could have. He hoped that the Committee would adopt the suggestion of his hon. Friend.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought that the clause was a good one, and he was prepared to accept it, but with some qualification. The clause, as drawn by the hon. Member, applied to all banks, and not only to those to be registered under the Act. It might be right to make such a provision for all banks; but they were then dealing only with a particular class of banks. Those banks which did not propose to take advantage of the Act would not imagine that there was anything in the Act relating to them; and, in that case, they might be unexpectedly brought to book for non-compliance with the terms of the Statute. When the time came he should propose an alteration to remedy that defect.

MR. SHAW observed, that the proposed new clause seemed to provide a safeguard which he did not think it would really do. He apprehended that a Director was, at the present time, as liable for the truth of a balance-sheet as he would be if the clause were passed. Moreover, when the balance-sheets were published, the names of the Directors were always upon them. The danger of the clause was, that it would raise a question in the minds of respectable men—men of substance and of standing—as to their responsibility, for they would think that there was something hidden underneath the clause. In that way the clause might have the effect of deterring an excellent class of men from becoming Directors. Still, if the Government thought the clause ought to be adopted, he would not object.

MR. HEYGATE considered that the Government was somewhat hasty in adopting the clause. In many joint-stock banks there were a limited number of Directors. Six was a common number, and by the constitution of the

bank two were "managing" Directors, and they alone were permitted to inspect the accounts of individuals, while the other four only took part in what he might call the higher policy of the bank. In such cases it was hardly right to require three managing Directors to sign the balance-sheet. If the clause were passed, he hoped the number of Directors who should sign the balance-sheet would be limited to two, otherwise such signature would become a mere matter of form. If they wished to bring the responsibility home, they should be careful to place it on the right shoulders only.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS remarked, that it must not be supposed that the Government had adopted the Amendment hastily; they had had it under their consideration for a considerable time.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD thought it a very proper provision that the balance-sheet should be signed by three of the Directors.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA wished to say that he did not think it was fair to make any provision for the Directors of a bank, who were not allowed to see the books or to understand the private affairs. They could not provide that there were to be Directors without any responsibility.

MR. MUNTZ did not think that men ought to occupy seats at the Board of Direction of a bank, unless they made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the concerns of the bank. Any Director who sat at the Board and did not understand its business deserved to be responsible.

MR. MUNDELLA could not understand how any man could be a Director and know nothing about the working of the bank. He considered the clause a very good one, if only for the fact that it would put an end to the practice of Directors not interesting themselves in the concerns of the bank they managed.

Clause read a second time.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved to amend the new clause, by inserting, after the word "bank," the words "under this Act."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to, and added to the Bill.

MR. MUNTZ moved, at the end of the clause adopted on the Motion of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw), to insert—

"Every bank registering under the provisions of this Act shall, by its articles of association as then framed, or as altered by special resolution, provide that its uncalled capital shall then be, and shall remain, not less than three times the amount of its capital called up at the time of registration."

The object of the Amendment was to give such security as the public had a right to demand. He thought that it would be only fair and just to give the creditors a security of three times the amount of capital called up at the time of registration.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA did not think that shareholders would obtain any additional security if the Amendment were adopted. As they had put the banks upon the terms of getting the assent of the creditors, he thought they might very well be left to themselves. The banks would have to obtain the confidence of the persons with whom they were dealing, and it was not right for Parliament to interfere in the matter. He thought that the matter might safely be left in its present condition.

MR. MUNTZ observed, that the hon. Baronet the Member for Youghal had entirely misapprehended the meaning of his Amendment. He wished to provide that the creditors should have something to fall back upon beyond the capital called up at the time of registration. Many banks had all their capital paid up; and if such a bank chose to register under this Act, the shareholders would have no liability whatever. He only asked that banks, however much of their capital might be paid up, should be liable for, at least, three times the amount of capital paid up. By that means only, he thought that a sufficient security would be afforded to the public. But most of mankind knew nothing about banks, and it was necessary for the Legislature to give them some security.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Birmingham was directed entirely against the limitation of the liability of banks. A bank would have to obtain the confidence of the public by taking a certain amount of responsibility; and he did not think they would do wisely in attempting to enforce



a hard-and-fast rule, such as that proposed by the hon. Member.

Amendment *negatived*.

Schedule *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Mr. RAIKES took the opportunity of calling attention to the way in which the Amendments to the Bill, and to other Bills, had been put down on the Paper. There had been considerable carelessness in the way in which Amendments had been prepared, and a great many of them had been placed on the Paper in such a manner as to tend to produce confusion and to impede the progress of the Bill in Committee. He did not for a moment say that any exceptional blame attached to those whose duty it was to prepare the Paper; but he wished to point out that hon. Members ought carefully to revise their Amendments, and to see that they were put down in their proper places where they could be inserted in their proper order.

Mr. COURTNEY entirely agreed in the remarks just made by the Chairman of Committees.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 288.] CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Mr. MONK said, he had given Notice of a Motion to the effect that the Bill should be taken into consideration on that day three months, not in order to prevent the passing of this measure, but that he might express his sense of the conduct of the Government in having introduced in the last week of the Session a new proposal respecting the tribunal by which Election Petitions were to be tried. He objected, also, to the proposal in itself, which, he said, was not called for by the country. It was true that in Ireland there had been an outcry for more than one Judge to try Petitions;

but in England no one had asked for such an arrangement. A very considerable and influential minority of the Select Committee had reported against the proposal now embodied in this Bill; and last Session the Attorney General, on the part of the Government, declared himself strongly against it, on the ground that the present tribunal for the trial of Election Petitions had, in the main, proved satisfactory. He thought the House had a right to know what had produced this sudden change in the mind of the Government on this question within so short a time. When the Bill came on early this morning for discussion the Attorney General was not in his place, and the House had to go through the Bill in his absence. He could not imagine a more inconvenient tribunal for the trial of the matters of fact and law involved in an Election Petition than one composed of two Judges. It was to be regretted that in what purported to be a Continuance Bill debateable matter should have been introduced, and that at a period of the Session when the subject could not be adequately discussed. There appeared, moreover, to be no immediate necessity for the Bill, seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that before a General Election took place it would be the duty of the Government to re-distribute certain seats now vacant.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) said, he remained in the House until a quarter past 6 o'clock that morning, in the expectation that this Bill would come on; but then, feeling a little bit exhausted, he thought himself entitled to some repose. He had not withdrawn from the House, however, until, as he fancied, he had watched away the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) and the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). The hon. Member for Gloucester, he could not help thinking, was a little too hard on the Government. It was admitted on all hands that the Corrupt Practices Act now in existence was not satisfactory in its operation, and he did not believe that there were many Members of the House who would be content to allow that Act to continue even for a year without alteration. In 1875, a Select Committee had been appointed to consider the subject, consisting of men of the greatest eminence, and they had

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

come to the unanimous conclusion that the tribunal for the trial of Election Petitions should be changed, and that they should be tried not by one, but by two Judges.

MR. MONK said, the Committee were not unanimous, while the weight of authority in the Committee was opposed to the change.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE pointed out that the hon. and learned Gentleman had voted against the proposal himself.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER): The hon. Member for Chelsea, he was afraid, confused him with some of his late Colleagues, for whom he had the greatest respect, but for whose opinions he could not be held responsible. It mattered very little, he might add, whether the Committee of 1875 was unanimous or not. They, at all events, recommended that the tribunal should be composed of two Judges. Now, he did not wish to retract anything which he had said on a former occasion on the subject, and he was still of opinion that a tribunal of three Judges would be more satisfactory than one consisting only of two; but, unfortunately, they had not a sufficient number of Judges to admit of the former proposal being adopted. The Government had, therefore, to choose between two propositions—to retain the tribunal consisting of one Judge, and in cases in which personal corruption was imputed to a candidate to give a right of appeal, or to appoint two Judges. At first, the Government were disposed to adopt the former alternative; but the proposal was one which the House did not seem disposed to assent to, and the Government had deemed it right to reconsider their position, and to act on the recommendation of the Select Committee. Instead of being censured, the Government ought to have special credit for their reasonableness; because, knowing the Bill would not be acceptable to the House unless it were an Amending Bill as well as a Continuance Bill, the Government had concluded to adopt the views of the Select Committee, which had been endorsed by a majority of the House. He would admit that it would be better to act upon the principle that they ought to have the concurrence of two minds when a Member was unseated, and that the decision ought not

to depend on the opinion of the senior Judge only. The Government were quite prepared to strike out the latter part of the Amendment, so as to secure the concurrence of the two Judges. It was quite a mistake to suppose that two Judges never agreed upon a question of fact; two or three often agreed about facts in the Courts of Appeal, and five or six in the House of Lords. The Government had yielded to the arguments that had been adduced, and he believed the tribunal would give more satisfaction to all concerned.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he thought he was one who might be allowed to speak on the question, as he had been unseated by one Judge, and condemned, in his opinion, to seven years' penal servitude. He thought it most unfair and unreasonable that one Judge should be allowed to reverse by his vote the decision in favour of a certain candidate by a large majority of any constituency; and, more especially, when the veto not only unseated the candidate who was at the head of the poll, but sent in another man who, possibly, had only one-fourth of the votes which the other candidate had. In his own case, he did not think if there had been two Judges that the same conclusion would have been arrived at; as he thought the restraining influence of the second Judge would prevent the other one from acting in an unfair manner, and would be of enormous advantage in the case of Election Petitions. In a case when, perhaps, a large number of people pronounced a verdict upon the Petition of a small number, a single Judge was sent down to dispose of the case. That Judge might be overpowered in every possible way; he might be asked out to dinner; ladies might strew his judgment-seat with flowers. He had seen that done himself, and could speak to it as a fact; and in many other ways the Judge might be so overpowered that he might think the opinion of the people was the opposite way, because he never met any of the exponents of the other side of the question. That could not take place if there were two Judges, because it would be perfectly ridiculous to send flowers to two Judges, and he only mentioned that as an illustration of what might be done. If a single Judge was sent his head might be turned; whereas the probabilities were that that would never

happen in the case of two Judges. There were also many other reasons why two Judges would be a great advantage. For instance, a single Judge might be attacked, and very powerfully attacked, by popular opinion; but it would be much more difficult to attack two Judges in the same manner. A single Judge might meet with a large number of political enemies in the trial of the Election Petition, and it was a very great temptation to a man in such circumstances; but the chances were very much against the same influences operating in the case of two Judges, for it would require a much more complicated combination of circumstances to produce the same effects in the case of two Judges. He had always objected to the whole of the Bill before the House from beginning to end. He had a very strong belief that no Assembly could get rid of its own right to pronounce on the election of its own Members, and he thought it was a dangerous thing for any Assembly to delegate that right to anybody else. He had said much the same thing in the House at 6 o'clock that morning; but he did not think it mattered much what was said at 6 o'clock in the morning on any subject. It might not do any harm now; but, in troublous times, it would be a very dangerous power to be allowed out of the House, and he should always raise his voice against it being so allowed to pass away to another body. He objected to the Bill, and he also objected to the absurd notion that the expenses of the elections were going to be decreased by the present Bill. He believed, on the whole, that the expenses of elections would be increased rather than decreased. There was another point in the old arrangement—a bill of particulars was always to be furnished, and no witnesses were to be allowed to be called except to speak to facts contained in the said bill of particulars. But the present Bill did not make the same provision, and that, he believed, would lead to additional expense. The man petitioned against did not know what he had to answer, and the petitioner was thus encouraged to go on, whether his case was good, bad, or indifferent. As a matter of fact, if the cases were in large towns, there could be no objection to bills of particulars being granted. He looked upon the Bill as not really diminishing ex-

penses, and, in addition, as open to a grave Constitutional defect. The whole Forms of the House were based upon the idea that one man was very likely to make a mistake; and, as two men were not so apt to err, he approved so far of the Bill, if it was necessary that it should be passed; and, on the whole, he must thank the Government for this provision. He objected to the whole principle of the Judges trying Election Petitions; but, if they were thus to be tried, he would prefer to have two Judges. He had heard the Judges themselves object to this distasteful duty. There was this further advantage of the system of two Judges—that if they disagreed the Member remained seated. It was perfectly legitimate that the law should be thus laid down; because, if a large number of votes were recorded for any one man, there was a strong *prima facie* case that that man should be the Representative of the constituency. When they got into the small boroughs of England with a few thousand votes, or a few hundred, it was quite possible there might be corrupt influence; but when they got into large constituencies, with from 200,000 to 300,000 of a population, then they might be perfectly certain that in 99 cases out of 100 the candidate who got a considerable majority was a good man, and had the good wishes of the majority of the constituency. If there was any fault to be found it would be with the small constituencies. As representing a very large constituency, he thought the Bill, now it contained what it did, would have done great good if it had been in existence eight or ten years ago, and he thanked the Government for the alterations they had made in it.

MR. BRISTOWE said, he had listened to the speech of the Attorney General with the greatest attention. It was good-humoured, and tempered with good sense; but the hon. and learned Gentleman totally failed to explain how the 2nd clause, which he now looked upon as so very important, had never been in the original Bill. Who was the author of this clause, and who would pay the expenses which it would double? The constituencies had never asked for two Judges to try Election Petitions. He, for one, should feel it to be his duty to oppose that clause.

*Major Nolan*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE observed, that at 5 o'clock in the morning a very important Amendment was introduced into this Bill at the instance of the Government; but that Amendment had been attacked by the Attorney General, and it was now to be withdrawn. The Bill itself only dated from Saturday last, and, since then, it had undergone the most extraordinary changes. The whole proceeding was absurd. He was in favour of the House exercising its jurisdiction in this matter, and not remitting it to Judges; but if the latter course were adopted, he thought a case had been made out for two Judges, so far as concerned the trial of Election Petitions in Ireland. If the Amendment were pressed to a Division he should vote for it.

MR. COURTNEY reminded the House that they were called upon to consider a new Bill, and that at the end of the Session. The Government were, in fact, endeavouring to rush important legislation through the House. He protested against that course being adopted, and he further protested against the Bill in its present shape being passed. The Attorney General had offered to the House an humble apology for the abandonment by the Government of the lines which they had assumed at the beginning of the Session. A small majority of the House had expressed themselves in favour of the recommendation of the Select Committee; eight or ten Members had used arguments which had convinced them, and, therefore, they disregarded the opinions of those who had voted, though they had not spoken; they threw aside their own previous convictions, and adopted the opinions which had been expressed and the decision adverse to them of the House. They had originally been in favour of trial by one Judge; now they relegated the decision of questions of fact to two Judges, but for that proposal there was no precedent in the history of English jurisprudence; and he might add that, in the opinion of a very eminent English Judge, to increase the number would be to diminish the sense of responsibility of each Judge. If the two Judges happened to be divided in opinion, then—as the Attorney General had himself stated in March last—they would have an hon. Member sitting in that House who, in the opinion of one Judge, ought

not to have been acquitted of the misdeeds alleged against him. The Bill should pass as a Continuance Bill; but, while he was quite willing that in Ireland two Judges should try and determine Election Petitions, he did not think the Irish Members should endeavour to force a similar law upon England and Scotland.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT pointed out that they might agree with regard to Elections that it was wise to have two Judges or not. One thing must be apparent to the whole of the hon. Members present. They could not have one law for Ireland and another for England. Much as he might agree with what the hon. Member for Liskeard had said, he could not support the hon. Gentleman's proposal, which, if carried, would cast a great slur upon, and do an act of great injustice to, the Irish Judges. Perhaps some Irish Members had not the respect for their Judges which they ought to have. He, however, hoped that this slur would not be cast upon the Judges, and that the Amendment would not be pressed to a Division.

MR. O'CLERY said, English public opinion, and the views of eminent Englishmen who were experienced in these matters, were in favour of the principles laid down in the Bill. The Irish Members supported the Bill, because it was in the interests of the Irish constituencies that Election Petitions should be tried by more than one Judge. For his own part, he should be in favour of constituting the tribunal of three Judges; but, in default of that, he should vote in favour of the proposal of the Government.

MR. YEAMAN remarked, that it was a matter of indifference to Scotland whether these Petitions were tried by one, two, three, or half-a-dozen Judges. There never were Election Petitions in Scotland. [An hon. MEMBER: Wigtown.] If there were, he was sure they were seldom heard of. He trusted the Scotch Members would support the Government. Two Judges were preferable to one, and three would be better than two.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, Irishmen had confidence in their Judges; but all the circumstances pointed to the desirability of having two Judges to deal with Election Petitions in Ireland, and he saw no reason why there should not

be similarly constituted tribunals in England. If the staff of Judges was not sufficient for the duty, why let it be enlarged. With regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Yeaman), Scotland was not an immaculate country. He had heard of a Petition in Falkirk, and two or three in Wigtown; and if he were to examine these matters as accurately as he examined matters of business, he would find that Petitions in Scotland, when compared with the numbers of the population and of elections, were as numerous as those which took place in Ireland. He failed to see the relevancy of the statements made by the hon. Member for Liskeard.

MR. M'LAREN said, that although he had taken a great interest in all political matters in Scotland since the passing of the first Reform Bill, he could not say he ever heard any desire expressed for a second Judge at the trial of Election Petitions in Scotland. He could not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee as to Election Petitions in Scotland, for two had recently occurred in the Wigtown, and one in the Falkirk Burghs, and there might be others which had escaped his memory. Since the passing of Lord Grey's Reform Bill there had not been six cases of corrupt practices in Scotland. By taking more Judges than was necessary for the trial of these Petitions, the administration of justice was hindered; and if one Judge did as well as two—as he thought he did, except, perhaps, in Ireland—he did not see why two Judges should be thrust upon England and Scotland because Ireland thought two necessary.

MR. P. MARTIN said, he could not understand why the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) objected to the proposition. Candidates and their supporters had been subjected to severe penalties by the findings of a single Judge. Those findings were now irrevocable. Yet, in respect to several of these election trials, not only had public opinion strongly condemned the decisions made as to facts, but they had seen the legal principles on which the judgments had been founded disregarded and reversed. If the tribunal had not been composed of a single Judge, the scandal of the Galway case would not have occurred. Not unnaturally, great

indignation had been aroused by that trial and its results. Rightly, as he believed, very many considered it now established, by the decision in the Launceston case, that not only had a majority of the Galway electors been disfranchised, but a gentleman named by the Judge had, as their Representative, sat and voted in that House who had no more right to do so than any of the doorkeepers. He failed to see, looking at the importance of the duty to be discharged, why they should not have two Judges. The hon. Member for Liskeard contended that in England opinion and authority were against the change. In his judgment, however, the weight of intelligent opinion had pronounced even in England in favour of the trial taking place before two Judges. ["No!"] He did not care for mere verbal statements thus made. He relied on the evidence taken before the Select Committee of this House, and the recorded opinion of the majority of the Members who sat on that Committee. Mr. Baron Keatinge's evidence was adverse to trial by a single Judge. It was stated that Lord Justice Blackburn concurred in the same view. Other witnesses experienced in these election trials, and men of the highest eminence, might be cited as in favour of the proposed change in the constitution of the tribunal. In Ireland the weight of opinion was in favour of having three Judges. The Irish Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and other distinguished men, who knew all the surroundings of these inquiries, were in favour of the proposition now contested. It was a misapprehension to consider the dissatisfaction expressed with many of those decisions had been confined to those given by the Irish Judges. The Press and the public had in England been most severe in their comment and censure on those pronounced by English Judges. Loud complaints had been made in some five or six cases that their decisions had been contrary to common sense and reason. In trying Election Petitions, the very best aid that could be obtained was required. What question could be more difficult for a single Judge to determine than the complicated question of agency in such cases? Indeed, there was no precedent in our jurisprudence for such powers as were now given to a single Judge in Election

*Sir Patrick O'Brien*

Petition cases. As to the argument that the expense would be increased by having two Judges, it must be remembered that the Judges were paid by salary, and that the only extra cost of having a second Judge to try the case would be the trifling charge of £10 or £15 for lodgings, &c. In mercy, then, alike to the candidate, the constituency, and the Judge, they ought to strengthen that tribunal.

Motion, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration," *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. MARTEN moved the omission from Clause 2 of words providing that where two Judges differed the opinion of the senior Judge should prevail on certain matters.

MR. CHILDERS asked the Government to explain what would be the effect of a difference of opinion between the two Judges on the question of the withdrawal of an Election Petition.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER understood there were certain rules that would be followed in a case of that sort which would really govern the decision, just as when the Chairman of a Committee gave a casting vote he gave it according to certain principles.

MR. MARTEN said, that when the words which he had just moved to omit were proposed that morning, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) took notice that they were open to exception, and he had himself felt that they were liable to objection. The insertion of words giving, where two Judges were sitting together, the senior Judge such a power, would be entirely without precedent. They had an example in regard to the proper course to be adopted where two Judges sat together in the late Court of the Lords Justices of Appeal, where no such power was given; and if the two Lords Justices differed, from the necessity of the case there was no decision, and the matter fell to the ground. In respect to an Election Petition, they had, first, the decision of the constituency itself, then the application of the Petitioner to set aside that decision, and if that application were referred to two judicial minds it would be necessary to have the two Judges concurring on every material point to set aside the verdict. The

right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) asked what would happen if the two Judges differed in regard to the withdrawal of the Petition? Such a contingency was very improbable, though, perhaps, not impossible. But the answer was very simple. That would occur which always occurred when an application was made to the Lords Justices of Appeal or to two Judges of the High Court of Justice. If the two differed, the result was that the application was refused.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that the one thing desirable in this tribunal was that the two Judges should be of equal jurisdiction. If the senior Judge were considered the higher, public confidence in the tribunal would be taken away.

MR. CALLAN held that while Election Petitions should be tried by two Judges, the question as to the withdrawal of a Petition might properly be left to the decision of a single Judge.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) thought it was somewhat unfortunate that the words which provided that upon certain matters the opinion of the senior Judge should prevail had been inserted. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten), who was so careful in his consideration of Bills, was of opinion that the words ought to be omitted, and had moved an Amendment to that effect. The Government came to the conclusion that it would be better those words should be struck out, and that, in all cases, they ought to have the decision of two minds. In cases where the two Judges did not agree, the result would be in favour of what he might call the defendant.

MR. HOPWOOD thought the Government ought to make an explicit declaration of their views on this part of the Bill.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON explained, that the opinions expressed had induced him to think that it would be setting up a principle foreign to our procedure to give this overruling power to the senior of the two Judges in hearing Election Petitions, and he believed the House would do well to accept the clause proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge—a clause which, he believed, would enact the

regulations which he thought ought to be performed.

MR. BRISTOWE thought the discussion showed that they did not know the real author of the clause.

MR. MONK agreed with the Secretary to the Treasury that the words under consideration had better be left out. He appealed to the Law Officers of the Crown for their opinion as to the reading of the clause. Two Judges were to be substituted for one for the hearing of any application for the withdrawal of an Election Petition. In case they differed, was their divergence of opinion to be interpreted as favourable to the withdrawal or to the maintenance of the Petition?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, the question was not difficult to answer. Two Judges were to be substituted in the place of one. If, then, these two Judges did not agree, then there would be no decision. In cases where Judges had to make a Report, or to certify on whatever might be the judicial act, then, if the Judges differed, the legal effect would be that the act would not be done.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, after the words "so differ," in the Amendment made in Committee in line 23, to insert the words "and if they differ as to an application for the withdrawal of a petition it shall be allowed to be withdrawn, and if they differ as to the statement of a special case to the court leave shall be given to state such case."—(*Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN observed, that for many years the principle had been, when Judges differed, that the matter in dispute should remain *in statu quo*, and he wished to know what reason could be assigned for the totally new departure proposed by hon. and learned Gentlemen?

MR. P. MARTIN said, that he should vote against any Amendment that proposed to do what the public complained of—namely, to increase the cost of procedure by allowing appeals and the statement of cases for the Superior Courts.

MR. CHILDERS remarked that hon. and learned Gentlemen seemed to be in direct opposition with one another as to the result when the Judges differed. Several sets of mutually destructive

reasons had been given by hon. Members who had discussed the question; and he, therefore, appealed to the Government to allow the insertion of words that would remove the whole difficulty.

MR. SPEAKER said, the more convenient course would be that the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten) should be put first, and then the hon. and learned Member for Carmarthen (Mr. B. Williams) could propose his Amendment.

Amendment (*Mr. Marten*) agreed to.

Amendment (*Mr. B. Williams*) negatived.

MR. COURTNEY proposed an Amendment, limiting to Ireland the operation of Clause 2, which provided that two Judges should try Election Petitions in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It appeared to him that only the Irish Members were favourable to the change involved in the law.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 26, at the end of Clause 2, to add the words "Provided always, That this Clause shall apply to Ireland only."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that Scotland having plenty of Judges, he saw no difficulty in getting two to try each Election Petition there; but he did not see in England where the Judges were to come from, their number not being so large in proportion to the work as in the North.

MR. MONK argued that there were no additional Judges available in England for this duty, and that the appointment of three additional Election Judges would entail an expense of £20,000 a-year on the country.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) said, it was proposed that there should be two Judges instead of one, and he had come to the conclusion that even after a General Election the condition of business would not be such as to interfere with the progress of such trials. There was no ground for the Motion of the hon. Member for Liskeard. In fact, the hon. Member had not based his Amendment on the grounds of inconvenience. The hon. Member objected to

*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*

this alteration of the law. He entirely disapproved of the tribunal. He said, in fact, that a tribunal in the shape of two Judges was a bad tribunal, and they did not want such a tribunal in England; but he said—"Let us have such a tribunal in Ireland," his idea being that it would suit Ireland. He hoped the Irish Members would not concur in that proposition.

MR. HOPWOOD questioned whether the judicial strength, especially after the General Election, would be sufficient to carry out the Government suggestion. The measure was a sham, and it was well known that it could not become operative without extra judicial assistance.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD considered it monstrous that there should be no right of appeal, when there was appeal in suits involving sums of £50. He would prefer that there should be three Judges.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 23; Noes 95: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 233.)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

#### NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 246.]

(Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.)

##### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. J. LOWTHER, in moving that the House do go into Committee on the Bill, explained that it was introduced in redemption of a promise made to the House, and was designed to improve the position of the Irish teachers. It was intended to pay pensions to teachers optionally at the ages of 55 for males, and 50 for females, and compulsorily at the ages of 65 for males, and 60 for females, and to provide these pensions compulsorily deductions might be made from their allowances. The deduction would, however, be small compared with the pensions. He had already announced the intention of the Government to introduce a Supplementary Estimate next Session, providing for an addition to the salaries of teachers, so that they would be increased in the cases of the first class by 20 per cent, in the second by 15, and the third by 10. This would enable them to meet the contributions they

would have to make under this Bill to the pension fund. He would not detain the House by any further remarks, but would be prepared to give any other explanations that might be required.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(Mr. James Lowther.)

MR. COURTNEY moved that the House should, upon that day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee. He complained that they had had that evening, in the brief speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, an important announcement that the Government were going to do something which was not contained in the Bill itself. It was not only proposed to take a sum of nearly £1,300,000 from the Irish Church Surplus; but, next year, they were to have charges on the Consolidated Fund, in order to enable the teachers to make their payments to the pension fund. He suggested that it would be better at once to contribute what it was proposed to give to the fund, instead of giving it to the school teachers to be finally passed on to the fund. Hon. Gentlemen around him appeared ready to act on the principle of shutting their eyes and opening their mouths, and taking what Providence might send them; but if such a proposal as that of the Government was seriously entertained for a moment, anyone would have thought that in the statement made by the Irish Secretary there would have been an estimate of what it would cost, and how it would work, what were the estimated receipts, and what the estimated expenditure. Nothing of that kind had been told them; and there was, also, a provision in the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had not alluded—and that was, that if the fund contributed was not sufficient in itself, or with the amount contributed by the teachers, then the Commissioners of National Debt were to make a further payment to supply the deficiency. Contrast this with England and Scotland. In Ireland, the State paid nearly the whole of the teachers' salaries; but in England and Scotland the State contributed little or nothing. He was not there to dispute that the condition of the Irish National School teachers was unsatisfactory, or that many good things might be attained



by improving their condition. The school teachers of Ireland had a considerable influence on public opinion in Ireland, and no one would doubt that that influence had been exerted in a manner not entirely desirable recently. But he did submit that the improvement of the Irish school teachers ought to be made at the expense of the Irish people, and out of their own resources, and not out of a fund which might be left for better and worthier purposes. Why should not the Irish people make some contribution out of the rates to improve the condition of the school teachers, as was done in England and Scotland? That they ought to do so was not his opinion merely, it was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government; because the late Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) introduced a Bill to enable local authorities, Boards of Guardians, &c., to contribute out of the rates. The right hon. Gentleman was urged to make the Bill compulsory, on the ground that, if optional, it would be futile, and that concurrent action on the part of the Boards of Guardians would not be obtained. But the right hon. Gentleman did not consent, and the Act had proved a dead letter. In England and Scotland, the school teachers had no pensions; but they were provided with adequate remuneration, so as to enable them, out of their own means, to make provision for themselves by establishing an insurance fund. That was the true policy with regard to Ireland also. What did the Government now propose to do? They proposed to make the large contribution of £1,300,000, which was to be the nucleus of an annual endowment of that pension fund. He contended that was meddling with a great resource which might be used for much better purposes. What had been the policy with regard to educational endowments in England? Not to provide gratuitous education for the children out of them; but, by the foundation of prizes and exhibitions, to promote the education of youth from the primary to the second class, and even in some cases beyond that, leaving the ordinary daily cost of education to be defrayed out of the rates. By the same means, the Irish fund might be made a useful assistance to education, but not by making it the means of meeting a cost which should be borne by the Irish people.

*Mr. Courtney*

On both sides, parties had shrunk from imposing any burdens upon the Irish people in respect to education. Instead of that, they had suggested the wasting of this treasure which might be made so useful. He repudiated altogether the suggestion that, in taking part against the Bill, he was devoid of sympathy with the Irish teachers and the Irish poor. He wished, as much as anyone, to improve their condition, both by pecuniary advantages and giving them more independence. He would emancipate them from the influence to which they had too long been subjected. He regretted that the offer made to them some time ago by the Government to enable them to obtain some security of tenure in the offices they held was rejected; and he would now, as far as possible, improve the position of Irish teachers, both in means of subsistence and independence of position; but he opposed this Bill because its effect must be mischievous to Irish educational interests, and because it proposed a misappropriation of part of the great Irish fund. He moved that the House resolve itself into Committee that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Courtney*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. MEELDON had hoped that it would not be necessary for him to intrude upon the House by any observations of his own; but after the remarks which had been made he must say a few words. If the speech which they had just heard had been delivered in 1874 it would have deserved grave consideration; but it came too late now, for the position of the National School teachers in Ireland had considerably altered since that time. In 1874 the case of the teachers was brought before the House, their complaint being that they were inefficiently paid, that they had no residences, and that they wanted pensions. On that occasion the case had much assistance from the Liberal side of the House, and not a single voice was raised

against either of these grievances, and the Government admitted their claims; and one would have thought the question was finally settled, and that the pledges of the Government would have shortly been fulfilled, and, certainly, that they would not have been opposed from that side of the House; but circumstances arose to delay the promises of the Government being redeemed, and, in the following year—1875—an attempt was made to deal with two of these admitted grievances in connection with salaries and residences. An Act was passed dealing with the subject of residences, and that Act it was proposed now, in some slight degree, to amend, and, at the same time, the Government proposed that the local rates should be made to contribute to the payment of salaries. That Act had continued up to the present time, though with partial success only; but, however, it was not to be interfered with now. The question of pensions then had been fully considered by the Government; and, in point of fact, a scheme had been prepared similar to the present one. The principle of pensions had been decided, though the fund had not. On many occasions the subject had been brought up in the House, once, and sometimes twice, in each Session; and at last he had obtained, by an unanimous opinion of the House, a Resolution in favour of this subject of pensions for teachers in Ireland receiving the immediate attention of Parliament. Well, that being so, he thought he was right in saying it was too late now to come forward and discuss the matter on the point of principle. That principle had been established in 1874, and confirmed every Session; and it only remained to give effect to it. One word as to the question of pensions. Among the greatest evils of National Education in Ireland was the want of pensions. The teacher entered the service, and spent the best part of his life in it; but because the salary was insufficient to procure for him a pension he remained in the service after he was incapacitated, the managers not being hard-hearted enough to drive him into the workhouse. It had always been conceded that some remedy ought to be put to this state of affairs; and, in the interest of education, it was about the best step that had been taken to make some provision with reference to the claims put forward by

the teachers; but then they were told that the application of the Church Surplus was a waste of treasure in this case. What was it? In the first place, it was an application of the Surplus to the great subject of Education; then, it was a special Parliamentary application of the Fund to the very poorest; and he always understood that this was about the best application of the Church Surplus that could be made—namely, to relieve the poor and promote education. In the Bill inducements were held out to the poor to be self-reliant. Unless they were so, the Government would not give them assistance. If ever there was a scheme which it was desirable to pass this was one. As to the time when pensions became available, the teachers thought the age required was a little too great. If the teachers continued in harness until 65, certainly they deserved this pension; but he himself regretted that the Government had not seen their way to give pensions at the age of 55, or that they had not taken into account the length of service. He was most assuredly of opinion that this Bill ought to pass, and was gratified to the Government for the way in which they had dealt with that question. He hoped his hon. Friend would see his way to allow the Bill to progress, because it was a measure as to which the Irish Members were entirely unanimous.

MR. CHARLEY said, that the Government had descended in showers of gold on Irish Roman Catholic Gentlemen opposite. The Intermediate Education Act of last Session had provided Irish Roman Catholic scholars with prizes, and Irish Roman Catholic seminaries with result fees. The Irish University Bill would provide Irish Roman Catholic students with University emoluments. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had promised an increase of pay to the extent, he believed, of £40,000 to Irish Roman Catholic primary school teachers, and this Bill would provide them with pensions. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government, while redressing the grievances of Irish Roman Catholics, would not forget their Irish Protestant friends. He thought that the most microscopic examination of the Appropriation Clause of the Irish Church Act would fail to discover that it was the intention of the framers of that

clause that Irish National School teachers should be dealt with as provided in this Bill. It was true that in the Intermediate Education Act of last Session, which took £1,000,000 from the Irish Church Surplus to build up the fabric of a system of Intermediate Education in Ireland, there was a departure from the principle of the Appropriation Clause of the Irish Church Act; but, more recently, Parliament had decided that the infringement upon that principle should not be extended to Irish University Education. This Bill, however, was a departure, to a considerable extent, from that course of action by providing pensions out of the Irish Church Surplus for the teachers of primary schools. However, he would not have the House suppose that he intended to vote against going into Committee on this Bill, far from it. He had the highest respect for the Irish National School teachers, who had a claim for the favourable consideration of Parliament; but he wished to point out that whatever their claims might be the claims of the minor Irish incumbents on the Irish Church Surplus were much greater. By minor incumbents he meant incumbents with less than £200 a-year at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act; and if the words of the Appropriation Clause of that Act were taken literally—if the Surplus was to be devoted to “the relief of unavoidable suffering and calamity,” there was no class to whom the words of the clause were more applicable than to the minor incumbents. The numbers of the Irish minor incumbents at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act were 450; but their numbers had been thinned by death and privation, and were now only 250. Parliament had, by a series of enactments, held out inducements to them to accept small livings on the distinct understanding that these livings would be increased in due course. A tax was levied by Parliament on all Irish benefices of more than £300 a-year, for the purpose of augmenting all Irish livings of less than £200 a-year to £200. That tax was still levied. All the incumbents with benefices of more than £300 a-year at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act received from the Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners a proportionately smaller annuity on account of this tax. The tax amounted to

£18,000 per annum at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN rose to Order. He did not see the relevancy of the remarks of the hon. and learned Member.

MR. CHARLEY said, he was pointing out that whatever the claims of the National School teachers might be on the Surplus Funds of the Irish Church, those of the Irish minor incumbents were greater. These incumbents said that there was a sum of £314,000 which was ear-marked, so to speak, for their benefit. That sum was formerly in the hands of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and was transferred by the Irish Church Act to the Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners. It was applicable in the hands of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the augmentation of small livings. The minor incumbents contended that they had an equitable claim upon that sum. It might be said that there was no precedent for such an appropriation of the Surplus Funds of the Irish Church; but he could assure the House that there were several. The prospective interests of Divinity students of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland were taken into consideration, and compensation was given in respect of these interests under the Irish Church Act. He would not take up the time of the House at that late hour by going through all the precedents; he would content himself with citing one other—a remarkable precedent. The Roman Catholic owners of Irish advowsons were compensated under the Irish Church Act for their loss of patronage, although they could not have exercised it, unless they had conformed to the Irish Church. He contended that the granting of this compensation would not be any infringement of the Appropriation Clause of the Irish Church Act. The Conservative Party had endured five years of exile from power through their loyalty to the Irish Church. With Conservatives, at all events, it ought to be a point of honour not to leave these poor incumbents to starve. In the name of justice and humanity, he asked Her Majesty's Government to consider—and, he trusted, to consider favourably—their claims during the Recess.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, while thanking the Government for having in-

*Mr. Charley*

introduced this Bill, he could not help congratulating his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) for the manner in which he had fought this question, and for the success which had at last crowned his efforts. With regard to the observations of the last speaker, he would remark that the Bill did something more than assist the Irish teachers. It did something for the education of the Irish people. Their first duty was to provide primary education for the people. That could not be done without placing the teachers in that position which, thanks to the Government and his hon. Friends, they would attain under the Bill. He could not understand the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who, like other men of intelligence in England and elsewhere, was possessed of doctrinal opinions. That hon. Member, and others who were like him, believed they were right in the development of their nostrums. All he could say was that if they were practically applied it would be found that they were altogether impracticable. The hon. Member for Liskeard had alluded to what the Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that evening as to the intention of the Government in the coming Parliament, and had said that that was the reason why he had put down his opposition to the Bill. The hon. Member must, however, know that he put down his opposition a fortnight ago. He failed to understand why religion had been dragged into the discussion, as this was in no sense a religious question, the body of National School teachers in Ireland consisting of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. Those teachers were treated no better than shepherds were in England and Scotland; and now that the Government had made a fair proposal in order to improve their position, he objected to hon. Members coming forward to oppose it on mere *doctrinaire* grounds. He sincerely trusted that the Bill would be passed.

Mr. NEWDEGATE objected to proceeding with this Bill on the 13th of August. The House was but a skeleton of itself, and its recent proceedings were calculated to wear out the patience and strength of the great body of its Members. This Bill was introduced on the 15th of July, printed the same morning, and read the second time late at night,

without discussion. The hon. Baronet who last spoke had entirely misrepresented the statement of the hon. and learned Member for Salford (Mr. Charley). The hon. Baronet was completely in error when he accused the hon. and learned Member of having reflected on the loyalty of Irish Roman Catholics. It was rather singular that there should be such touchiness on the subject of loyalty; and when one Member went out of his way to misrepresent what had fallen from another he deemed it necessary to protest.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN rose to Order, and inquired whether the hon. Member for North Warwickshire was entitled to attribute intentional misrepresentation to him?

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member for North Warwickshire must confine himself to the Question before the House.

Mr. NEWDEGATE had imagined that the speech of the hon. Baronet was in Order, and that any Member of the House would be entitled to comment upon it. If it became a practice to introduce important Bills so late in the Session, it would either be necessary for hon. Members to remain up to the very date of the Prorogation, or legislation would be productive of discredit to the House. He felt strongly what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Salford. It was only on the previous day that a Bill was passed through that House stretching religious equality to the very utmost in favour of Roman Catholic education, and last year money was taken from the surplus of the Irish Church Fund for purposes which were essentially denominational; and now it was proposed that a further portion of the Fund should be appropriated for purposes not contemplated, if not forbidden, by the Irish Church Act, although there were claims, on the part of the denomination from whom Parliament originally took the Fund, still remaining unsatisfied. The latter omission was all the more painful, because a large part the Disestablished Church Fund had, under the original Act, been appropriated to wealthy members of the Protestant Church in Ireland, to the holders of advowsons, and others, who did not need assistance. The Fund had already been diverted from the purposes indicated in the Irish Church Act.

He held that before any more of this money was otherwise appropriated the claims of the poor incumbents of the Disestablished Church ought to be considered; and, on that ground, he should vote against the further progress of the Bill.

MR. SYNAN desired to rescue the debate from the irregularity into which it had fallen, and to impress upon the House the necessity of avoiding the topics which had been introduced by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire. What had the Bill with respect to the claims of the minor clergy, the Order for which had been discharged, to do with the present measure? The Irish Members would be quite ready, at the proper time, to listen to whatever arguments might be adduced in support of those claims; but why they should now be brought forward, with the view of defeating the admitted claims of the National School teachers in Ireland, was beyond his comprehension. He was also at a loss to understand why certain Members should endeavour to make this a religious question, as there were both Roman Catholics and Protestants among the teachers. The purpose of the Bill before the House was to provide, out of money belonging to the Irish people, a fund to help National School teachers in Ireland, and enable them to enjoy a pension in their old age. The matter had been discussed several times, and the claims of the teachers had been admitted. It had been suggested that the object of the Government was a corrupt one; but, so far as he could see, there was not the slightest foundation for the suggestion. Who, indeed, were to be corrupted? The Irish Members, or the Irish teachers? In what way were they to be corrupted? The aim of the Government was perfectly consistent with the Irish Church Act. The Fund created by the operation of that Act had already been used for the purpose of advancing Intermediate Education in Ireland, and was about to be used in support of University Education, and the object of the Government on the present occasion was again educational. He hoped, therefore, that no attempt would be made to defeat the claims of a most deserving body of men.

MR. M'LAREN said, that before going to the point with which he wished principally to deal, he must take excep-

tion to the principle laid down by the hon. Member who had just spoken. The hon. Member for Limerick County seemed to imagine that only hon. Gentlemen from Ireland had a right to deal with a question of this kind; but that was a principle to which he altogether demurred. The Irish Church Fund was devoted by Act of Parliament for special purposes, and the House was now practically asked to repeal that Act, and allow the Fund to be applied to a different purpose. They were the Parliament, not of England, Scotland, and Ireland separately, but of the United Kingdom; and he held that every hon. Member had just as much right to speak and vote on such a question as the purest born Irishman, though, no doubt, good feeling and good fellowship would make the House give considerable weight to the opinion of Irish Members. He did not object to the Bill as being unnecessary and unjust; but he objected to the monetary provision as coming from a wrong source. He thought the proper course was to raise the teachers' salaries in the same manner as they had been raised in England and Scotland. Why should not the fund for pensions be raised by means of a rate levied on houses and lands? It was but a short time since that Irish Members had contended for the same law for Ireland as for England in the case of Election Petitions. Let them apply the same principle to this case. He found, from the Reports respecting Ireland and Scotland, that the whole amount of the education rate in Ireland in one year was £21,687, while in Scotland it was £320,000, or nearly 20 times more than in Ireland. So, again, in respect to school pence. In Ireland, the school pence amounted to £84,000; and in Scotland, although the population was much smaller, to £162,000, being just about double the sum raised in Ireland. These were the sources from which the salaries of teachers were so properly and sufficiently raised in England and Scotland, and these were the legitimate sources. The money to meet local wants should be raised from local funds, and these were the local funds. There were in both countries some small endowments, and the total sum raised from local sources of every kind in Ireland was £119,000. This was all that Ireland raised for the education of her children;

*Mr. Newdegate*

but in Scotland the sum was £529,000. Nothing could be more cruel and unjust than to pay an additional large sum to Ireland out of the Consolidated Fund, as would be done next year, according to the Secretary to the Treasury, and to make England and Scotland pay large proportions of that additional sum merely to relieve the pockets of the Irish landowners. As to the cost of education, he found that each pupil in Ireland, according to the Report of the Commissioners, paid 4s. 1d. per year towards the cost of his education; whereas in Scotland he paid 12s. 9d. Well, then, if Scotland paid such a large sum, on what principle of justice could she be asked to raise another sum for Ireland, when the lands and property in the latter country were just as available for the levying of rates as those of England or Scotland? During the present year the Civil Service Estimates showed that £673,000 had been voted to Ireland, and £469,000 to Scotland. He did not complain that one sum was too large for Ireland, or the other too small for Scotland. But he mentioned the fact simply to show what the difference was. If population were taken as the rule, Ireland did not get too much; but if the rateable value of land and taxation were taken into account, Ireland either got too much, or Scotland too little. As he had already said, however, he did not complain; but he wanted to know why the Irish landowners should not do their duty towards the tenantry on their own estates? These were considerations which ought to be taken into account before any patchwork Bill like the one before the House was passed, and he begged to support the Amendment.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in one respect, differed from those of his hon. Friends who had spoken, because he thought there could be no more appropriate destination for the Surplus of the Irish Church Fund than primary education in Ireland. The clergy had had the lion's share of the Fund already. He had seen many of them in Scotland, and found that they had brought a great deal of plunder with them from Ireland. He believed that it was putting the Funds to a better use in assisting primary education than in endowing University Education in Ireland; but he had doubts as to the particular object of the providing of pensions for the teachers. There

might be a good deal to say in its favour; but it struck him as singular that neither in Scotland or England were teachers provided with pensions; and he could not see why it was found necessary in Ireland. He would not, however, complain, if this as an Irish object was met by the Irish Church Fund and thus settled the matter; but they had had the statement from the Chief Secretary that their pockets were pledged also to some £40,000 or £50,000 a-year, out of which England and Scotland paid the large proportion for salaries to these Irish teachers. Seeing very strong objection to this, he should support the hon. Member for Liskeard; because he believed that, in devoting these Funds to the purpose, they were paving the way to a large demand upon England and Scotland next February. The only interference English and Scotch Members objected to was the interference of Ireland with their pockets; and he thought the remark of an hon. Member was right that a shower of benefits was being conferred by Her Majesty's Government upon the Irish people, and particularly upon Irish schoolmasters. He hoped this was not being done merely for the purpose of gaining ground for the Government in Ireland in view of a General Election. He thought there was great force in the question of the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) as to why all that was necessary had not been done by means of rates. It was, he thought, perfectly puerile to say that the existing law had as yet been fully and fairly tried. It seemed to him that the real truth was that our only reason for keeping Ireland lay in the fact that a considerable number of Englishmen owned property there—a fact but for which the British Parliament would have been prepared long ago to grant Home Rule to the Irish people, instead of granting funds from the Imperial Exchequer for the maintenance of the police and educational institutions in that country. England and Scotland having to maintain their own police, and to see to the education of their people, he saw no sufficient reason why Ireland should not do the same. Further, he saw no grounds for refraining from applying the Surplus Funds of the Irish Church to Irish education; but he thought that when that Fund had been exhausted the balance

should be raised by means of rates, payable by the Irish people, and not from the Consolidated Fund.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he was much surprised at the want of knowledge of Irish fiscal arrangements which had been shown in the course of the debate. Ireland contributed 5s. 3d. in the pound of her income under all Schedules to the Imperial Exchequer. Her fair proportionate contribution to that Exchequer was something short of 2s. 6½d. in the pound; but, at the same time, it was urged in some quarters that Ireland was robbing the Imperial coffers, as if more than her actual contribution had ever been devoted to purely Irish purposes. A great deal of the opposition sprung from the fact that hon. Members forgot, in the expiring days of the Session, that a debt was due to Ireland in the matter of the primary schools. He, therefore, hoped that, if the Amendment was not withdrawn, a Division would be taken as early as possible, in order that they might go home.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON objected to that portion of the Bill which sought to impose a portion of the cost of Irish primary education on the Consolidated Fund of the country. He should offer a most strenuous opposition to this portion of the measure; and should, when the Bill got into Committee, endeavour to make good what he had to say on this point.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 6, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Clause 7 (Commissioners of National Debt may advance funds).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. COURTNEY moved the rejection of the clause. He said that, whatever the Committee might think of the impolicy of devoting a part of the Irish Church Surplus Fund to the provision of pensions for Irish school teachers, they ought not to be asked to supplement in an unknown manner from the Con-

solidated Fund. This was a part of the Bill concerning which the Chief Secretary had not given much information. If it should be necessary to supplement the available portion of the Church Fund, Parliament ought not to be asked for this supplementary sum without full and detailed explanation as to the source from which it was to be derived.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that as the Committee was aware, the Government had already hypothecated certain sums for the purpose of providing the necessary funds; but it might happen, from time to time, that it would be necessary, in the case of interests which had to be bought out, to make payments at an uncertain rate, and at such times the Consolidated Fund might be called upon to contribute the money; but he did not anticipate that any such necessity would arise. In any case, the Consolidated Fund would only be called upon to meet temporary necessities, and would not have to bear a permanent charge. He proposed to add words to the Schedule, fixing the number of those who would come within the Act. That number would be in excess of those now actually in service.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, that he was bound to say that he did not think that the explanation of the Chief Secretary was in any degree a satisfactory one. He objected, as a matter of principle, to any charge whatsoever being placed on the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of primary education in Ireland. It was not the case in either England or Scotland. The proportion which the Irish nation paid per head was 16s. as to 40s. paid by England and Scotland. There was no particular reason for placing a charge of this nature on the Consolidated Fund. The Chief Secretary said that the charge was only temporary; but the principle was wrong. He should, therefore, feel bound to take a Division.

MR. O'CLERY reminded the Committee that the system of national education, so-called, in Ireland was forced on the country 35 years ago. It was known then as the mixed system of education, and was contrary to the wishes of the Irish people. If the English and Scottish people chose to force the system upon Ireland, it was very hard that the Irish people should have to pay for it.

*Sir George Campbell*

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT thought that it was going much too far to seek to throw the payment of these pensions, or any part of them, upon the Consolidated Fund. He, at the same time, had no objection to what he understood as the original proposal — namely, that they should be paid out of the Surplus Funds of the Irish Church. He, therefore, agreed with the views expressed by the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. C. Beckett-Denison).

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had no explanation to give beyond that already made by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary. It was estimated, on the basis of actuarial calculations, that the amount available from the Irish Church Fund would be sufficient; but there must necessarily be some little uncertainty as to the number of years in which provision would have to be made. It was estimated that the sum required to provide these pensions would be £1,300,000; but in a matter of this kind there must necessarily be fluctuations; and it would be rather hard that in a year in which the amount drawn was in excess of the sum provided there should be a deficiency of funds, when, in another year, it would be on an entirely different scale, and the one would right the other. Therefore, a Proviso was introduced that in such case an advance, which should be temporary, should be made out of the Consolidated Fund; but such advance was to be specially certified to Parliament.

MR. FAWCETT said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not met the objections raised by the hon. Member for Liakeard (Mr. Courtney), and the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), as to devoting a portion of the Consolidated Fund to the payment of these pensions. If, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, there might be some years in which the sum necessary was larger than the sum provided, why should not that fall upon the Irish Church Surplus Fund, instead of upon the Consolidated Fund? When the question as to the provision of funds for the higher education in Ireland was again raised in the House he should not forget the line taken on the present occasion by supporters of the Go-

vernment so prominent as the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire and the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex. If the present debate had no other use, it would have been productive of not unimportant utterances in that respect.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 71; Noes 16: Majority 55. — (Div. List, No. 237.)

Clause *agreed to*.

Clause 8 (Extension of borrowing powers of Commissioners of Church Temporalities).

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, this clause required some explanation. It proposed to make certain alterations, and to extend certain borrowing powers; and he wished to know why it was not provided that the whole of the money required for the purposes of the Bill should be charged to the Church Surplus Fund?

MR. J. LOWTHER replied, that no actual charge would be made upon the Consolidated Fund; but in case of any unexpected demand of a reasonable character being made it was thought desirable that there should be access to the Treasury for the purpose of meeting a temporary emergency.

Clause *agreed to*.

Clauses 9, 10, and 11, *agreed to*.

Clause 12 (Extension of power to make loans for residences).

MR. COURTNEY asked for some explanation of its purpose, remarking that he did not understand why the mere advancing of money necessitated the alterations which the clause proposed to make.

MR. MELDON pointed out that, under the Teachers' Residences Act, the managers of schools and others interested in them were enabled to go to the Board of Works and obtain a moiety of the necessary funds for the purpose of erecting the necessary building. By the provisions for the non-vested schools, the managers would be entitled to go to the Board of Works and borrow the entire amount of the purchase money, which was to be repayable by annual instalments at 5 per cent interest, and he understood the intention of the clause



was to place the vested schools on the same terms as those on which the non-vested schools were.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the hon. and learned Gentleman was quite correct. The clause would not impose any charge either upon the Church Fund or upon the Consolidated Fund. It was to enable money to be borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners on proper security under their control.

Clause agreed to.

Schedule.

MR. J. LOWTHER moved to insert the following new paragraph:—

“(10.) For the purposes of this Act, the several classes of teachers above the third class shall be deemed to consist of the following numbers (hereinafter called ‘the standard numbers’), that is to say:—

| Males.                      |    |    |       |
|-----------------------------|----|----|-------|
| First Class—First Division  | .. | .. | 150   |
| First Class—Second Division | .. | .. | 410   |
| Second Class                | .. | .. | 1,850 |
| Females.                    |    |    |       |
| First Class—First Division  | .. | .. | 130   |
| First Class—Second Division | .. | .. | 350   |
| Second Class                | .. | .. | 1,550 |

Should the teachers actually paying premiums in any class above the third class reach at any time the standard number, a teacher thereafter promoted to such higher class shall continue to pay the premiums and be entitled to the pension of the class below, until a vacancy occurs in the standard number of the teachers paying the premium of such higher class, when he shall be entitled to claim to pay the increased premium assigned to his then age, and to secure the pension of the higher class. If the total number of male-classed teachers paying premiums exceeds five thousand three hundred, or the total number of female-classed teachers exceeds five thousand four hundred, the junior teachers in excess of those numbers shall not be entitled to the benefits of this Act until by seniority they come within such numbers, and their so coming within such numbers shall be held for the purposes of this Act to be their appointment to the service.”

The right hon. Gentleman said this was the Amendment which he had before referred to, as showing that the calculations on which the actuaries proceeded would not be liable to be set aside by any influx of new teachers. Under this proposal, new teachers, who exceeded the numbers stated, would, for the first few months or a year of their holding office, be placed in a position somewhat analogous to that of a student in view of a vacancy. In that way the new teacher would not be entitled to avail

himself of the benefits of the Act until there was a vacancy for him within the limits prescribed by the Bill.

MR. COURTNEY was afraid the defence to be afforded by this scheme would be very unsatisfactory, and, in practice, would not be found to be trustworthy. It was quite clear they would not be able to exclude from this scheme schoolmasters in excess of the prescribed number. He wished to ask at what rate of interest had these calculations been made? He observed that the sum for pensions to females was a good deal less than for pensions to men of the same age.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the calculation was of a very elaborate character, and had been carefully gone through by able actuaries. It seemed to be an average calculation, based upon the experience of Life Offices and Post Office annuities. The teachers were to provide a quarter of the pensions, and the other three-quarters would come out of the fund. Of course, in the case of existing teachers, the loss to the fund would be considerable, because they would be entitled to reap advantages which would accrue to them, they having remained in the service until they were 40 years of age; so that, in their case, it was difficult to say what average to strike; but the whole were taken together and represented by the whole capital sum which was mentioned. If a teacher quitted the service otherwise than by death before becoming entitled to a pension a premium was paid, and to that extent the scheme would act very much in the light of a savings' bank.

MR. COURTNEY said, he asked on what rate these calculations were based? What interest was to be allowed to depositors in the savings' bank?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it was not a savings' bank at all; it was an insurance.

MR. COURTNEY knew that; but wished to know what rate of interest was assumed in working out the scheme?

MR. J. LOWTHER replied, that was an elaborate calculation. He submitted that it was of the nature of a savings' bank with regard to those who left the service otherwise than by death; but with regard to those who died in harness, or took their pensions in their turn, it was not a savings' bank at all.

*Mr. Meldon*

It was an actuarial calculation, and it was impossible for him to say what was the rate of interest.

MR. COURTNEY said, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would find out, because the actuary had gone upon the assumption that a certain sum of money paid in would meet all demands. That assumption was based on the supposition that a certain rate of interest could be relied upon, and he wished to know what was the rate of interest? One rate ran through the whole. It might be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent.

MR. J. LOWTHER inquired whether the hon. Gentleman meant the rate of interest used for the £1,300,000?

MR. COURTNEY: Yes; upon that and upon the other funds coming into the hands of the Commissioners.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that was a different thing. He understood the hon. Gentleman to wish to know the rate at which the calculation was based as to contributions. The rate of interest was calculated at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

MR. GRAY remarked, as regarded the difference between males and females, it was a well-known actuarial fact that the chances of life were in favour of females, and that annuities could be granted to them at a lower rate.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, first, he gathered from the scheme that at present there existed a system of grants for those who voluntarily retired at any time. Under the Bill there were pensions for all who retired after the age of 55. He wished to know at what period after the passing of this Act must anyone have served in order to entitle him to a pension under this Bill?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it was a matter of age, not of mere service.

MR. COURTNEY would like to point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if the calculation was based on the assumption that  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent would be received by the Commissioners of the National Debt on the money in their hands it was inevitable that a large loss must ensue. The Commissioners did not make anything like that. They were only able to allow  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to the Post Office, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to the ordinary savings' banks, and they lost largely in their dealings with the latter; and if they took to allowing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to these schoolmasters for the pension

fund there would certainly be a deficiency, which would have to be provided out of the Consolidated Fund.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the money was not to come from the Commissioners, but from the Church Surplus Fund.

MR. COURTNEY said, yes, a certain fixed sum; but that was paid to the National Debt Commissioners, and then became part of their funds.

*Amendment agreed to.*

MR. J. LOWTHER moved, in paragraph 15, page 8, line 20, to leave out "teacher," and insert "male teacher under the age of fifty-five, or a female teacher under the age of fifty."

*Amendment agreed to.*

*Schedule, as amended, agreed to.*

*Preamble agreed to.*

*House resumed.*

*Bill reported.*

MR. J. LOWTHER believed it was the general wish of the House that the Bill should be able to proceed in "another place;" and, with the consent of the House, he would move that the Bill, as amended, be now considered.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Bill, as amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.*

#### LOCAL COURTS OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL [Lords.] [BILL 146.]

(Mr. James Lowther.)

##### COMMITTEE.

*Order for Committee read.*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was sorry to say that, looking at the position of the Business, and considering that it was now too late to take this Bill to-night, he feared it would be impossible to proceed with it; and he would, therefore, move that the Order be discharged. He did so with regret, and he hoped in another Session to have an opportunity of bringing in a Bill which he believed would be very useful and very acceptable to a great number of the people of Ireland.

*Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for Committee be discharged."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)*

against the noble Defendant to compel payment of an amount of £2 8s. for coal sold to him by the plaintiffs. I do not think it would be becoming in me to pronounce an opinion upon a point of law which has been decided by a competent Court. The learned Judge of the Brompton County Court is a man of great ability and experience, and I think we may presume his decision was right. With reference to the last portion of the hon. Gentleman's Question, I should not myself be disposed to advocate an extension of the power of commitment for the non-payment of debt, or to interfere with the long-established privileges of the Peerage. It is to be regretted that the privilege should have been relied upon in the case in question. The plaintiffs, however, may be consoled by the reflection that as the noble Defendant thought proper, for the purpose of evading the payment of a debt, to envelope himself in the mantle of the privileges of his order, he may be left to resort to the same mantle for the purpose of keeping himself warm. The plaintiffs can refuse again to supply the noble Lord with coals.

**BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—MULCAN DRAINAGE WORKS.—QUESTION.**

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has received any report from the Board of Works in Ireland with regard to the damage done by the Mulcan drainage works to the lands bordering that river; and, whether in particular the local board have made any report on the subject?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the Memorial which the hon. and learned Member forwarded to me from the farmers of the district was forwarded to the Board of Works, and a Report has been received, in which the Board states that, so far as it is aware, the drainage works have not proved such a failure as is represented. But as the Board is not responsible either for the construction of the works, or their maintenance, the information in its possession is not sufficient to enable it to pronounce a decided opinion. But, whatever the condition of the works, the Government is not, as I understand, responsible for them. The responsibility attaches to the local drainage board.

*The Attorney General*

**EDUCATION (IRELAND) — THE COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.—QUESTION.**

MR. W. M. TORRENS asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Commissioners of National Education have signified their approval of an increase of salaries to teachers in Ireland according to class and not according to results; and, if not, whether their opinion will be taken by Government on the subject before any decision is come to?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (for Mr. J. LOWTHER): Sir, I am not quite certain that the Commissioners of National Education have been consulted; but, if not, no doubt they will be.

**MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — DISTURBANCES IN TYRONE — THE OMAGH MAGISTRACY.—QUESTIONS.**

MR. CALLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the conduct of Mr. John Raphael and the other magistrates presiding at Petty Sessions, in Cookstown, county Tyrone, on Friday, the 23rd of May last, when that bench of magistrates, in the case of Sub-Inspector Smith, R.I.C. against Devlins, Canavans, &c.—

"That they, with divers other persons, did unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assemble together to the disturbing of the public peace, and did commit a riot,"

decided under the Towns Improvement Acts, and sentenced the Catholics to a month's imprisonment or a fine of forty shillings, whilst they inflicted a penalty of only ten shillings on the Protestant party for the very same offence; whether it is a fact that some of the Catholic party paid the fine of forty shillings at once, whilst from the others, who did not then pay, payment of the fine imposed has been since refused to be accepted; whether the magistrates of the Cookstown Bench have, since April last, privately consulted the Law Adviser as to the legality of their proceedings in the case in question; and, if so, if he would state the nature and effect of the opinion of the Law Adviser; and, whether, in the opinion of the Law Adviser, the magistrates had the legal power to deal summarily with these

cases, and to impose the penalty referred to; and, if not, what redress are those who paid the fine imposed to receive?"

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND** (Mr. GIBSON) (for Mr. J. LOWTHER): Sir, my attention has been called by the Question to the case referred to by the hon. Member, which relates to an occurrence when a small party of Protestants and a much larger number of Roman Catholics met, and had an affray, and I believe the magistrates came to the conclusion that the latter were the aggressors. That circumstance will probably account for the difference referred to as being made in the fines respectively imposed on the parties. It is not accurate to say that any of the Roman Catholic party paid the fine imposed of 40s. at once; but, subsequently, three of them paid the fines. The father of another tendered half the fine, which was not accepted, and the others did not pay them at all. All the Protestants convicted paid the fines imposed. The Law Adviser having been consulted, subsequently, by the Constabulary, advised that, having regard to the form of the warrant, and the particular Acts relied on—the Towns Improvement Acts—the convictions could not be upheld. None of the warrants were ever executed, and I believe that all the parties who paid the fines received them back, with the exception of one person, who refused to take it; but he has the right to receive it back whenever he likes.

Mr. CALLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, within the last month, a Memorial was presented to the magistrates of the Omagh Bench by the Town Commissioners of Omagh, praying for a more stringent measure of punishment being meted out to all disturbers of the public peace, as being absolutely necessary for the restoration of peace and quiet to town and district; that a Mr. John J. Harvey was charged before the same Omagh Bench of Magistrates with being drunk on the 14th July, when it was given in evidence that Mr. Harvey threatened to draw a revolver and fire upon two parties, who lodged a complaint to that effect with the police, but that, nevertheless, the penalty inflicted was only one shilling and costs; whether the Mr. Harvey in question is assistant clerk to the Grand Jury of the

County Tyrone; whether it is a fact that Mr. James Riordan, a solicitor, residing at Omagh, swore on a recent occasion that—

"The magistrates of the county of Tyrone, if they only wished, could at once put a stop to all disorderly displays;"

whether his attention has been drawn to the causes, by which it appears that the population of the County Tyrone in 1871 was 215,000, of whom upwards of 119,000—more than one-half—were Roman Catholics; and whether the number of magistrates in that county is over 125, of whom not even one is a Catholic?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND** (Mr. GIBSON): I have read the hon. Member's Question carefully, and have come to the conclusion that it would take a considerable period of time and correspondence in order to obtain materials for a complete answer—at least, one week—and I expect that by the end of another week we may be all elsewhere.

## MOTION.

### PUBLIC BUSINESS—WEDNESDAY SITTINGS.—RESOLUTION.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER**, in moving that the Standing Orders respecting the Sittings of the House on Wednesdays be suspended that day, said, he did not anticipate that the Sitting would be prolonged beyond the usual time; but it was necessary to take the power, in order that certain measures might be advanced a stage.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Standing Orders respecting the Sittings of the House on Wednesday be suspended this day."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE moved that they be not suspended, on the ground that it would set a bad precedent. If there had been the slightest risk of checking the progress of the Appropriation Bill, he should not have raised any objection to the proposal; but he objected to the Motion on the ground that the Government had not, as was usual on such occasions, placed the Appropriation Bill first on the Paper, but had put it low down on the list, in order to pass some other measures in

which they were interested. There was no necessity to suspend the Standing Orders, as far as the Appropriation Bill was concerned, for it was in no jeopardy. But there were one or two other Government Bills against which strong opposition existed, which the Treasury Bench were evidently determined to force through. Against that he protested, as it gave the Government an unfair advantage. Were the Standing Orders suspended, they could keep the House sitting as long as they liked, until they obtained all they desired in the passing of certain Bills, which, to certain Members, were very objectionable. He did not think that the suspension of the Standing Orders would be fraught with any danger; but it would certainly be setting an evil example and precedent. He regretted that the Government had made the proposal, and he hoped they would not press it.

MR. ANDERSON seconded the Amendment, and contended that the House ought not to be asked that day to do more than pass the various stages of the Appropriation Bill, and one or two other Government measures, such as the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill and the Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill.

Amendment proposed, after the word "be," to insert the word "not" in the said Motion.—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*.)

MR. B. WILLIAMS pointed out that there was a strong objection to the passing that Session of the Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill.

MR. ASSHETON agreed very much with hon. Members opposite that they ought not to be asked to suspend the Standing Orders; but, on the other hand, no harm could happen by their doing so that day, as the Government, he understood, had arranged to visit Greenwich soon after 6 o'clock, and must, therefore, leave by the steamer at a fixed hour.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thought the fact just stated was a good reason for dropping the opposed Bills.

MR. RYLANDS complained that the Appropriation Bill was not the first Order so that any matter of urgency might be raised upon it; but, in the actual position of affairs, would support the suspension of the Standing Orders, in the hope that the objection-

able Bills would be dropped, and no assistance would be given to private Members to proceed with opposed Motions.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER explained that the Government had been partly driven to the course they had taken by the necessity of providing time for the discussion of the Motion of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) with respect to the London water supply. He hoped they would be able to pass the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill, as it was very important; but if they could not deal with it at the present Sitting it must be put off until to-morrow. With respect to the Great Seal Bill, and the Border Summons Bill, if they threatened to give rise to discussion, he had no objection to their being put off till Thursday.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL complained of the way in which the Scotch Business had been treated that Session. The Government had been hurrying their Bills through in such a way that, as regarded the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill and the Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill, which had not been re-printed, there was not one hon. Member in 50 who now knew what was in them, though they were now asked to pass them finally. There was one Scotch Bill which had not even got the chance of a hurried passage, but which had been dropped altogether. The last days of the Session had been occupied in giving great gifts to Ireland; far in excess of what had been given to other parts of the United Kingdom. The Scotch Bill was not intended to give to Scotland a gift not given to other parts of the country, but was intended to put Scotland, in regard to medical relief grants, on the same footing as other parts of the Kingdom. It seemed to him a monstrous thing that, while these great gifts to Ireland were pushed through at the end of the Session, the Government could not find time to give Scotland a little bit of financial justice. It almost appeared as if Scotland would not get justice until they made themselves more disagreeable and objectionable. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had stated yesterday that if the Scotch Bill did not pass it was the fault of those Scotch Members who had put down Notices preventing it being

*Sir Charles W. Dilke*

taken after half-past 12. But he (Sir George Campbell) protested against the doctrine that they should be content with what they could get at 3 in the morning without objecting, or get nothing at all. If Scotch Business was to be brought forward, it ought to be at a reasonable hour. Besides, the Bill would never have been blocked, had the Government not tacked on to the one object they all wanted some contentious matter, which hon. Members were entirely right in objecting to. The Government might have given them a little quarter-of-an-hour at a reasonable period of the Session for this Bill.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that after that concession on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

*Ordered*, That the Standing Orders respecting the Sittings of the House on Wednesday be suspended this day.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS).

##### RESOLUTION. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [12th August],

"That, in view of the fact that the Metropolitan Board of Works has been unable to pass any measure dealing with the water supply of London, this House is of opinion that it is a subject which ought, without further delay, to be dealt with by the Government." — (*Mr. Fawcett*.)

Question again proposed.

MR. FAWCETT, in resuming the discussion, said, it appeared to be scarcely necessary to impress upon the House the importance of the question. He must, however, take that opportunity of expressing his sincere obligations to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for favouring him with an opportunity of bringing it forward. The question which they had to consider divided itself into two parts—what was the nature of the water supply, and what was its cost to the people of London? The subject obviously presented itself in four aspects. First of all, pure water affected the

health of the community; secondly, pure water affected the moral condition of the people, because, without pure water, it was hopeless to expect temperance; thirdly, the security of the life and property of a great city depended upon a pure and adequate supply of water; and, fourthly, it was a condition naturally important that the millions who dwelt in London should obtain their water at the lowest cost possible. The practical questions they had to determine were—whether the quality of the water was sufficiently good; whether the mode of supply was what it ought to be; and whether the price charged was excessive. With regard to the last, he thought if there was a right which the people of a great community could claim more indisputably than another, it was that they should have a supply of water given to them at the lowest possible price. He wished particularly to impress upon the House that they had to consider not only the quality of the water, but what was, perhaps, of more importance, the mode of supply; for he believed he should be able to show conclusively that London at the present moment was suffering far more from defects in the mode of supply than from defects in quality, because it was obvious that the very best water that could be obtained from the purest spring might be polluted and hopelessly spoilt if that water was so stored as to be subject to the contamination of noxious gases and vapours. Keeping as distinct as possible the quality of the water in London and the mode of supply, he would, in the first place, direct the attention of the House to the quality of the water supplied to London. It was, perhaps, well known to hon. Members that they obtained their water from eight Companies. Five of those Companies—namely, the Southwark and Vauxhall, Chelsea, Lambeth, Grand Junction, and West Middlesex—drew their supply from the Thames; the East London from the River Lea; the New River Company from the springs at Amwell, Hertfordshire; and the Kent Water Company from some deep wells in the chalk. Therefore, six out of the eight Companies supplying water to the Metropolis derived their supply from a river source entirely, and that river source, the Thames, supplied about 51 per cent, or rather more than half of the

entire water which was used in London. In speaking of the quality of the water supply, he would be most anxious to avoid all exaggeration. Now, with regard to the quality of the water which was drawn from the Thames, there were two opposite opinions. There were those who said that river water passed through so many towns—the Thames in its course flowed through many large towns—and it drained so many acres of cultivated land, that no amount of filtration could make its water fit for human use. That was the opinion arrived at by the Rivers Pollution Commissioners which sat in 1868. But he was bound in candour to state that an entirely opposite opinion was arrived at by the Water Supply Commission of 1866, over which the Duke of Richmond presided, and also by a Select Committee of that House which sat in 1871, and to which the Metropolis Water Bill of 1870 was referred. They stated that if the Thames water were properly filtered, that water might be made suitable for all dietetic purposes. He did not wish to decide between those rival opinions; but he was bound in fairness to say that he thought the opinion he had last referred to was confirmed by a Report which he thought deserved the careful attention of the House. It was well known that Dr. Frankland, one of the most eminent chemists in the world, was officially employed by the Government to analyze the water of various Water Companies. In a Report dated June he said that the water supply of three Companies—namely, the Southwark and Vauxhall, the Grand Junction, and the West Middlesex—drew water from the Thames, and that that water was so excessively polluted by organic matter as to be entirely unfit for dietetic purposes. But what was almost the next sentence in the Report? It was, that the water supplied by the Chelsea and Lambeth Companies, who drew it from exactly the same source—the Thames—was of a very superior quality; in fact, that it was even somewhat better in quality than the water of the New River Company, which drew its supplies from the springs at Amwell. It would, therefore, be imprudent hastily to condemn the present sources of supply, because, if that were done, the cost of improving the supply would be enormously increased. From that Report, it seemed to him that

two conclusions of paramount importance were to be drawn—that over a considerable area of London, supplied by the three Companies to which he had just referred, the people were drinking water which was unfit for human use, and that its inferiority was not due so much to the sources from which the supply was drawn, as to the fact that the water was badly stored and imperfectly filtered. In those circumstances, and seeing how desirable it was that insuperable obstacles should not be thrown in the way of the Government in improving the supply of water, by making the cost of any change too great, he would point out that what demanded their attention was the improvement, in the first place, of the mode of supply, and, when that was done, the perfecting, as far as possible, of the sources of supply. As to the mode of supply, every Commission and Committee which had inquired into the subject had arrived at the same conclusion, and that was, that the purest spring water which ever flowed from the mountain side must be spoilt if it was stored in such a manner as it was stored in the houses of the poorest classes in London at the present time. If pure water were placed in a cistern which was close to a cesspool in some damp and dingy back-yard, where soot and other kinds of filth could find their way into it, and if that cistern were filled only once a day, and had no fresh water poured into it for 48 hours—from Saturday morning till Monday morning—then the water treated in such a manner would become hopelessly contaminated. The quality of the water used affected the poor as well as the rich. If there was poisonous organic matter in it, it might find its victims among the latter as well as among the former class; but the mode of supply was a question which particularly concerned the poor. In large houses there were patent cisterns, in which, if water was put into them pure, it remained pure until it was used. As those who were acquainted with the condition of the habitations of the poorer classes in the Metropolis, however, knew, in the case of the hundreds of thousands of houses which were being erected for them, not to speak of those already in existence, the state of things was such that it was idle to expect that the water used in them could be free from pollution. The Bishop of London,

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who for years had been one of the most hardworking of the parochial clergy in London, said that when he was rector of a Metropolitan parish there were no means in almost every one of the houses in which the poor resided in that parish of storing water, except the butt in the area, which, when filled, generally overflowed the basement, rendering the house so damp as to be most unhealthy; and he added that, as those who lived at the top of the house had to descend to the basement for every drop of water they required, a hopeless impediment was thrown in the way of the cleanliness of the people. The Bishop of London went on to remark that that state of things had not been one jot improved since he had left the parish; for, speaking only last week, he said that the system of having butts on the basement still continued, and that there was scarcely a house which even now had a constant supply of water. What, in those circumstances, could be a more idle farce than to seek to promote by means of legislation in that House habits of temperance among the people, when they had no water within their reach fit for use? The question was no Party one, and he might refer to another eminent divine, Cardinal Manning, than whom no one knew better the condition of the poor of London, and than whom no one had devoted his unselfish life to a greater extent to promote their welfare. Cardinal Manning said that the water supplied to the poor was such as to render it absolutely unfit to be drunk, and that they were, in consequence of its impure state, driven to the public-houses, and a fatal obstacle was thus placed in the way of all temperance movements. Again, Sir Charles Reed's experience as a member of the London School Board fully confirmed the view which was taken by Cardinal Manning, and Sir Charles Reed added—

"I know of my own knowledge that the children in our schools suffer most seriously from the bad water they have to drink, and they often say they wish they could get at home as good water as we supply them with in the playgrounds."

But the question was not one affecting simply the morals and the health of the people; it was a question which also affected the safety of life and the security of property, because it had been shown conclusively, before the Committee over

which the present Secretary to the Treasury presided, that they could not in a large city like London have proper security against the risk of fire without an adequate supply of water. What happened when a fire broke out? Why, the turncock had first to be sent for, necessitating, in many instances, the loss of half-an-hour before a supply of water at low pressure could be turned on, the consequence being that, in the meantime, the fire would probably have taken such hold of the premises that, in order to extinguish it, a volume of water had to be poured upon the building, which often did more harm than the fire itself; whereas, if London possessed a supply of water at high pressure, such as that which Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, and other large cities had, the fire might be speedily extinguished with comparatively little damage to property. Before Manchester had the advantage in respect to the supply of water which it now possessed, he found that 21 per cent of the houses attacked by fire were destroyed; whereas, since, the number had been reduced from 21 to 6 per cent. Why was it, then, he would ask, that while almost every large town in the North of England had a constant supply of water, London should be left without the advantages in that respect which they enjoyed? It was sometimes said that it was because the cost of introducing a constant supply into London would be so very great; but the system of intermittent supply was, he contended, as wasteful as costly. He found that in London the average daily consumption of water per head of the population was 32 gallons, and in Manchester only 16 gallons; and he did not in the slightest degree exaggerate when he said that quite one-half of the water which was daily supplied to London was wasted, or worse. But now he came to the important question—Did London obtain any compensating advantages, by having its water at a lower cost than those towns which had a constant supply? He would show that the system in London was as costly as it was defective. Probably no people in England were paying such an excessive price for water as those of London, and the price, instead of diminishing, was constantly increasing. The water rate on rental was, on an average, 1s. 2d. per pound; in many instances it



was much higher. He had received letters which would show conclusively that the lower middle class, living in houses of £25 or £30 a-year, had to pay a water rate of 1s. 6d. in the pound; and, in many instances, notwithstanding this enormous charge, they had to go many hours without, water not being turned on for many hours together. On the other hand, in Glasgow—which was a most instructive case—they had not only to buy up the Water Companies which supplied the city with water, but they had to incur the expense of opening a new source of supply; yet the water rate, which had been 1s. 7d. in the pound, was now only 9d., which not only paid the entire outlay for the acquisition of the Water Companies' rights and the expenses of the new supply, but formed a considerable sinking fund, which would eventually accumulate enough to pay off the original outlay. The people of Glasgow were, therefore, receiving an admirable supply of water at something like half the cost now paid in London. But, not only was the price paid in London excessive, it was constantly increasing. In many instances the price had been doubled, in others trebled. Two years ago, the hon. and gallant Member for Oxfordshire (Colonel North) stated to the House that, without obtaining a single additional gallon of water, or having its quality improved, his water rate had suddenly increased from £20 to £30; and, in many instances, in a still greater proportion. The mode in which this increase had been brought about was worthy the attention of the House. In 1869 an Act was passed, called Goschen's Valuation of the Metropolis Act. It was never intended to give Water Companies the power of almost indefinitely increasing their charges; it was simply an Act for re-valuation of the Metropolis, at periods of five years, for rating purposes. It must be obvious to the House that, so far as poor rates were concerned, if £3,000,000 had to be raised for Poor Law purposes, it made no difference whether those rates were levied on a high or a low standard of rental; but the case was quite different with respect to the charges of the Water Companies, because, as they levied charges on the gross rental, it was clear that, if the nominal rental in the valuation list was increased 20 or 30 per cent, the

water rate was proportionately increased, and the people, in return, did not get one single gallon of water more than before. That was exactly what the Water Companies had done. They claimed to levy their charges on the gross rental, whereas all rates for parochial or Imperial purposes were levied on the annual rated value. The charges, therefore, went on increasing. The basis of assessment for Imperial taxation and for the profit of private trading Companies was entirely different. He had lately seen an advertisement announcing the sale of a large number of shares in the New River Company. The auctioneer, parading the advantages of the investment, said the income of the Company must increase with the increase in the annual value of house property in London, and, according to the present rate of increase, it would in 20 years be something like 100 per cent. The auctioneer went on to say that between 1860 and 1872 the dividends on the shares of the Company had increased nearly 150 per cent. This additional amount had all been taken from the pockets of the unfortunate people of London. The New River Company supplied a considerable quantity of water in London, and, notwithstanding the great increase in their dividends, what had they done to improve the supply? Out of 150,000 houses they supplied with water, not more than 15,000 enjoyed the advantage of a constant supply. He thought the time had come when this indefinite increase of dividends should not be maintained at the cost of the health and convenience of the people of London. He thought he had proved three things—first, that the quality of the water in London was uncertain, and, in some instances, bad; second, that the mode of supply was radically defective; and, third, that the price paid for this imperfect and bad water was excessive. If, then, the present system was condemned on sanitary, moral, and financial grounds, what were the improvements which ought to be introduced, and how ought they to be carried out? Too much importance could not be attached to the assertion of this principle, that it was not safe to allow the supply of the first necessary of life to be administered for the purpose simply of increasing the profits of private trading Companies. Many mu-

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municipalities had taken the supply of gas into their own hands for the public advantage; and the case in favour of water was infinitely stronger, for there was an important difference, for example, between the supply of gas and the supply of water. If the gas was bad and the charge excessive, the householder might cut off the supply, and say to the Company—"Send me no more impure gas at your extravagant price." But, in regard to water, the people of London were the helpless victims of the Water Companies. The water might be unfit for dietetic purposes; but they had no means of improving it. They might know their health and that of their children was suffering but they could not go anywhere else for a supply, nor substitute anything in its place. But perhaps it might be said, could they not do something by more stringent legislation? Could they not impose more stringent regulations on the Water Companies, and thus remedy the present unsatisfactory state of things? His (Mr. Fawcett's) answer was, that was what they had been trying to do for the last 30 years. Act after Act had been passed to insure a constant supply of water, and he would now tell the House what had been the result. Practically, there was only one Company which gave a constant supply to a considerable extent, and that was the East London Company. In their district more than half the houses had a constant supply; but it was worthy of notice that it was at such a low pressure that the people often found themselves without water in their upper rooms. In the district supplied by the New River Company there were 15,000 houses, in the Kent Company's district 9,000, in the Lambeth Company's district 3,000, in the West Middlesex district 2,000, in the Southwark and Vauxhall district 450, which had a constant supply; in the Chelsea district scarcely any, and in the Grand Junction district not one. Therefore, after 30 years of effort, the result was that, excluding the East London Company's district, considerably less than 10 per cent of the houses of London had a constant supply. But that by no means exhausted the case, because the number of houses which had an intermittent supply, instead of diminishing, was increasing; or, in other words, the extension of the constant supply did not keep pace with

the growth of London; for, comparing 1872 and 1877, some 20,000 more houses were served with an intermittent supply in the latter year than in the former. In face of such facts, it seemed to him impossible to resist the conclusion that they required to go on a new tack, and to adopt a new course, to meet the state of things he had described, and that was the conclusion arrived at by every Committee and every Commission which had sat upon the subject. Wishing to confine his remarks as far as possible, he would simply refer to the Report of one of those Committees, and he laid particular stress upon it, because it was the latest Committee which had investigated the subject—he referred to the Committee known as Mr. Ritchie's Committee, over which the present Secretary to the Treasury presided. He was going to quote the very words of the Chairman—a responsible official of the Government—to prove his case, and to show what the hon. Gentleman and the Committee unanimously thought was required—

"Your Committee came to the conclusion that, in order to carry out such improvements as a constant supply and high pressure, it will be necessary to consolidate the superseded Water Companies under a single authority, which should administer the supply of water not so much for profit as for the public advantage."

Now, as that was the unanimous conclusion of the Committee—a conclusion which he regarded as forming the basis of future action—two questions at once suggested themselves. In the first place, if the Companies were consolidated and placed under a single authority, what was the process of consolidation which should be adopted? And, secondly, when the consolidation had been effected, to what authority should the consolidation scheme be intrusted to be carried out? In speaking of the mode of consolidating the existing Companies he wished to speak with great caution; because, if he attempted to force from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department a premature opinion as to the terms on which he might acquire these Companies, his hands would be tied and great harm might be done. But he wished to throw out some suggestions which might strengthen the right hon. Gentleman's hands. No one would be so unreasonable as to desire, if such a

consolidation scheme were adopted, that these Companies should not be fairly compensated for the property they possessed; no one would be in favour of a policy of spoliation. But if the property of these Companies was required in the interest of the public, it was important to bear in mind that an extravagant price must not be extorted from the public, and the scandal of the telegraph purchase must not be repeated. In speaking on this subject he felt a considerable amount of responsibility; but it seemed to him of the utmost importance to define exactly the nature of the property possessed by these Companies. It was sometimes said that they had an exclusive and permanent monopoly. That he must deny, and would assert that it was an entire mistake. He had searched through almost all the Water Companies' Acts, he had been assisted by one of the most eminent lawyers in that House, and he believed it to be absolutely impossible for the Companies to establish that claim. They had no exclusive or permanent monopoly, any more than the Gas Companies possessed. In certain districts, they had the right to place pipes in the streets; but, over and over again, this principle had been asserted with regard to the Gas Companies—that if it should be for the public advantage that a new Gas Company should be introduced into any town, that House reserved to itself the right of empowering it to do so without a penny compensation. Some time ago, an Act was passed to establish a new Gas Company in Cambridge; but not a penny compensation was awarded. In one Committee, presided over by Lord Cardwell, and in another, he believed, by the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair, this doctrine was distinctly laid down—that if it should be for the public advantage to introduce a new supply of gas, that House would consider it simply as a question of the public advantage, and a new supply should be introduced without giving compensation to existing Companies. And that opinion could be confirmed, because, by the Sewers Act of 1856, and by one of the Metropolitan Board of Works Acts, the local authorities of the City and the Metropolitan Board had a right to sink wells and supply themselves with water without giving any compensation to the existing Companies. He was not making these re-

marks with the idea of advocating that the House should sanction the creation of new Companies to supply water to the entire Metropolis without compensating the existing Companies; but it was important to remind those Companies of the exact nature of their property, in order to convince them that we were not helpless victims in their hands, and that if they tried to place insuperable obstacles in the way of a great reform, and insisted upon an exorbitant price, Parliament had a weapon which it could use with effect. He advised that to prevent that exorbitant price being paid for their property the exact nature and character of it should first be ascertained. It was said that in acquiring this property there would be three elements of compensation—that the Water Companies would have to receive compensation, in the first place, on their gross income; secondly, on the prospective increase of their income; and, thirdly, for compulsory sale. But before we compensated them on the basis of their present income, it was of the first importance for the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or whoever dealt with the matter, to consider most carefully whether the whole income which the Companies now derived was fairly and legitimately obtained. In speaking of the manner in which, under Mr. Goschen's Act, the Companies had increased their charges, he had reason to believe that they had no legal or equitable right to impose such charges as they had lately done. If that could be established, it would be wrong to use the money of the people in compensating the Water Companies for having, during the last few years, taken from the public a great deal more than they were justified either in law or equity in taking. Now, he might be asked—"What are the advantages you hope to gain from consolidation?" In the first place, the Committee he had already quoted had said that without consolidation we could get no constant supply, and without a constant supply, however good the water was, it would become so bad in store, in the case of the poor, as to make it unfit for use. Secondly, there would be a great saving from consolidation in many ways. No less than £18,000 a-year was paid by the various Companies in Directors' fees. This part of the subject had been most carefully investigated, and

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those most competent to express an opinion said that the saving, under the head of management, resulting from consolidation would be no less than £100,000 a-year. Thirdly, there would be the greatest possible economy with regard to the construction of new works. Anyone who went up the Thames, as he was in the habit of doing, must know perfectly well that two small works were often used to supply two contiguous districts, which might be more cheaply and efficiently supplied by one larger reservoir and set of works. There would also be a great saving in pipes. He knew the Water Companies tried industriously to frighten the ratepayers of London, by saying that if their rights were acquired, a great additional charge would be imposed on the rates. But all experience proved the contrary. Wherever constant supply and consolidation had been introduced, there the rates had been diminished 50, 60, 70, and, in some instances, 100 per cent, and the quality and supply of water had, at the same time, proportionately improved. It would not be necessary to raise a large loan. It would be perfectly possible to create a Water Stock at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. No inconsiderable portion of the capital of the Companies was in debentures, bearing interest at 4 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, whereas, on the security of the Metropolis, money could be raised certainly at not more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. If Manchester, if Birmingham, if Glasgow, and almost every other large town in the country—if Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, nay, even Calcutta, had a far better and cheaper supply of water than we had, why should London submit any longer to be treated worse than those cities? He now came to consider what, after all, was the most difficult part of the problem—namely, when the Companies were consolidated, what was the authority to whom we should intrust the work to be done? No doubt, the solution of the problem was more difficult in London than in Birmingham, Manchester, and other provincial towns, because London had properly no municipal government. Some friends of his had asked him to wait for the creation of a new municipality. We might as well wait for the Greeks Kalends; but he was not sure, if we had one great municipality, the work would be done as well as by a division of labour. The work would be

too large. Then he might be asked whether he wanted to intrust the work to the Metropolitan Board of Works. In the absence of his hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Board (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), he would not say a single word to disparage that body. But, undoubtedly, the Metropolitan Board did not, and, he believed, would not, until elected in a different manner, sufficiently possess the confidence of the ratepayers to have the management of the water supply of the Metropolis intrusted to it. The Board was already overworked, and it would be most unwise to throw on it this additional duty. Then, again, it was said—"Why do you not leave this matter to the Metropolitan Board, and why do you ask the Government to take it up?" A conclusive reason, which showed that it was absolutely impossible that this question should be dealt with by the Metropolitan Board, or any other local authority, would be found in the procedure of that House. If a Water Bill for any provincial town was introduced, it was a private Bill; it was referred to a Select Committee, and, if the Committee approved, the Bill was passed. But, with regard to London, a different system of Parliamentary procedure prevailed. He had consulted the authorities of the House on the subject, and he found that a Water Bill for London would be treated as a Public Bill, and what chance was there of an independent Member forcing a Public Bill of such magnitude through the House, unless he was assisted by the Government?—and if the Government were willing to assist, it would be far better that they should make themselves directly responsible for what was done. After the experience of the last few weeks, many a long year would elapse before the Metropolitan Board would have anything to do with the question of the water supply in London, for the unfortunate members of that Board were surcharged £16,600 out of their own income, for the praiseworthy efforts they had made to improve our water supply, and were it not for the assistance they received from the Government, they would have been obliged to pay that surcharge. He did not want to ask the House prematurely to express itself in favour of this or that particular scheme. He did not want the House to tell the Secretary of State for the Home De-

partment, he must do this work in one way rather than another; but it seemed to him that when the Companies were consolidated, a public Water Commission might be appointed for the administration of this consolidated property. At any rate, what was important was this—that whatever authority was appointed to do the work should be appointed in the interest of the public. With regard to his Resolution, he had carefully worded it, so as not to ask the House to express itself in favour of any particular scheme. He had shown, however, that the mode of supply in London was so bad that it must be remedied, that the quality of the water was so bad that it must be improved, and that the cost was so excessive that it must be diminished. He hoped the Government would not oppose his Resolution, or ask him to withdraw it. If passed, it would certainly strengthen the hands of the Government, because, no doubt, they would have many obstacles to surmount; and the hands of the right hon. Gentleman would be strengthened if he could say that if he had those difficulties to encounter, they must be vanquished, because the House of Commons had unanimously resolved that the existing state of things must be remedied, and the matter must be dealt with by the Government. In conclusion, he had to thank the House. The subject was a large one, and he had endeavoured to condense his remarks. He had no Party motive in bringing this subject forward. If he had only thought of Party, he should be inclined to let a Liberal Government have the credit of solving this great problem, because he knew that whatever Government solved it would confer an inestimable boon upon the millions who lived in London and would justly earn the gratitude of posterity. But it was not a Party question; it was a question which could not wait. It was a question which concerned the health and moral well-being of the Metropolis, and, such being the case, he earnestly recommended it to the favourable consideration of the House and the Government.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he did not propose to enter into the elaborate argument of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett); but he wished, as that Department of the

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which had been for some years intrusted with the duty and responsibility of supervising the action of the Water Companies, to make a few observations in reply to the able speech the House had just heard. In the first place, he would express his sense of the great forbearance and moderation with which, on the whole, the hon. Gentleman had dealt with this important and difficult question; but he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) must say he did not agree with the hon. Gentleman in all the criticisms he had made. In particular, some of the hon. Member's statements as to the excessive prices and the bad quality of the water might, on examination, be discovered to be less well founded than he supposed. But he admitted there was a great deal in the case which the hon. Member had brought forward, and which he had supported by a very powerful consensus of opinion, which required the attentive consideration of the Government. As he had said, he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) spoke on behalf of the Department charged for five or six years with the supervision of the Water Companies. There was a great deal in the existing law which enabled supervision to be exercised over the Water Companies in some respects, but not in all. Over the question of a constant and intermittent supply, there was some supervision, and if the extension of the constant supply had not been as rapid as could be desired, there had been some progress. There was, however, no power whatever to interfere with the statutory rights of the Companies with respect to the rates they charged. He would admit that in consequence of the recent action of the Water Companies, that was a matter which required the intervention of Parliament. The hon. Member had divided his subject under three heads—namely, as to the quality of water, the mode of supply, and the price. As regarded the quality of the water, he extremely rejoiced that the hon. Member had withdrawn himself altogether from the assumption that a new source of supply was absolutely necessary for the action of the people of London. The hon. Gentleman had very wisely withdrawn himself altogether from that part of the subject. It would greatly ease the difficulties of the subject to have the Government take the lead in the matter.

any possibility of effecting economy in the charges on the people. Assuming for a moment that £20,000,000, or any sum which might be named, would be required to buy up the existing Water Companies, and to improve the distribution by means of economy in administration, we should entirely destroy the whole of our chance of economy and diminished cost, if we insisted that, in addition to the existing sources of supply, some new source should be found and water conveyed from it to every householder in London. Therefore, he had heard with great satisfaction the hon. Gentleman's observations on that head. The hon. Gentleman had quoted, with some unction, one of the well-known Reports by Dr. Frankland, who spoke highly of the water which was supplied by the Chelsea Company, in comparison with that of other Companies, and which, at that moment, appeared to be in a satisfactory condition. He (Mr. Selater-Booth) could, however, point to a number of other Reports which took an exactly opposite view of their relative purity. The fact was, that these monthly Reports could only be relied on for what they were worth at the time. It was evident, however, from the variation in the Reports of Dr. Frankland, that these Companies could, and with proper care and caution did, supply sufficiently good water for the use of the inhabitants of London. He did not, in saying this, rely upon his own opinion in this matter, nor would he say, on the other hand, that the supply was not capable of improvement. We must have some regard to what our Predecessors had done. The Duke of Richmond's Commission in 1866, after a most elaborate investigation, made a distinct Report in favour of retaining the existing sources of water supply as being sufficient in quantity for many years to come, and capable of being supplied with due regard to quality. That recommendation was examined by the Select Committee of that House, over which Mr. Ayrton presided, and of which he (Mr. Selater-Booth) was himself a Member; and the Committee distinctly endorsed that opinion. From that time to the present, continuous efforts had been made, under the provisions of the Thames Conservancy Act, at great cost, to improve the water. The Thames Conservancy had a new standard point,

standard of quality, we might assume that the existing sources of supply were sufficient for our purpose. He was not prepared, however, to deny for a moment that there was something wrong and anomalous in regard both to the quality and the cost, and in the mode of distribution. This was obvious from the fact that no fewer than five Companies drew their water from the Thames, without having any means of facilitating arrangements *inter se*. Again, with regard to the variability of the charges made by the Companies, he entirely agreed with the hon. Gentleman that something ought to be done; and that there should be no variation in the charges of the Water Companies without some corresponding improvement in the quality of the water. The House was probably aware that there was a notice annually inserted in the Local Government Board's Report of the proceedings which had been taken during the year in regard to this particular subject-matter of their administration. The Report recently issued stated that considerable advance had been made in extending a constant water supply to the Metropolis. The number of houses to which a constant supply had been extended during the last 12 months was no less than 20,768. The Report went on to state that the supply of water frequently deteriorated after having been delivered by the Companies into the cisterns of the houses. This was a very well-known fact. The moment the question of a constant supply was raised, it became necessary to improve the cisterns, &c. The owners and occupiers of houses in London frequently objected to this; and, indeed, they were themselves the great obstacle in the way of a constant supply. That difficulty must in some way be got over, and nothing was more important than the consideration of the means of surmounting it. Although the statements of the Bishop of London, of Cardinal Manning, and of others who spoke in Exeter Hall the other day, were doubtless true as far as they went, he could not admit, on the other hand, that no advance had been made towards a constant supply. There was already a constant supply to a great many important thoroughfares and streets of London. With regard to the price of the water, he was not sure that he could agree with the hon. Member for Hackney. Taking London all round, the price

charged for water was not so heavy as the hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose. On the contrary, he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was informed that, taking the whole of London, the price for water was less than it was in Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow.

MR. FAWCETT inquired whether it was less per gallon?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said it was. A thousand gallons cost in London between 8*d.* and 9*d.*, in Glasgow the cost was 9*d.*, and in Manchester and Liverpool about 1*s.*

MR. FAWCETT said, he had never pretended that the cost per gallon was more in London. There was so much waste of water in London, that it was not a fair comparison to refer to the price per 1,000 gallons. What he contended was that the rates were higher in London than in Glasgow and other towns.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH quite agreed with that. The mode in which the rates were charged might be objectionable; but, at the same time, the actual cost to London of this water was not so great as people commonly supposed, and, assuming that we were to purchase the Companies, with an additional expenditure of £5,000,000 or £10,000,000 for a fresh supply, we should be removing the question of economy to a distance which was almost incalculable. He believed that the operation of the system under which the charges were made upon the ratepayers in London was certainly injurious to the smaller class of householders, and that the houses of the wealthy did not pay so much in proportion as the houses of the poorer classes. At the same time, it should be remembered that the Companies had statutory provisions, and there was really no means of escape from the fact that, although they had from time to time raised their charges, they had not, as he was told, in any one case gone to the maximum of the charge which they might levy, while the figures before him showed that they were very much within the maximum, taking London on the average. As regarded the effects which the quality of the water supplied to the Metropolis might have upon its inhabitants, he had obtained a Return from the Registration Office, in order to show the death-rate in the different quarters of the town which were supplied by the eight dif-

ferent Companies. It showed, at all events, that the water supply was not so bad in any part of London as to have an appreciable effect on the death-rate. He found that in the districts supplied by two of the Thames Companies—the Grand Junction and the West Middlesex—the death-rate was 18·1 and 19·6, whereas in the district supplied by the Kent Company, it was 21·1. In the district supplied by the New River Company, which was equal in extent to Manchester and Liverpool, the death-rate was a good deal higher than it was in the two Thames Companies' districts. If it were true that the water was as bad as many of the gentlemen who wrote to the newspapers were apt to assume, he thought they would see some more perceptible results flowing from it than the death-rate Returns exhibited. He had stated the other day, in reply to an hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Andrew Lusk), how much had been done of late years to improve the condition of the Thames, and he was convinced that in the course of a few years, the Thames would be as free from pollution as it was possible for a river in the circumstances to be. He was far from saying that the result would be as satisfactory as could be wished; but when they came to inquire into the cost of bringing water to London from Derbyshire or from Wales, he thought they must look at this matter from the point of view of common sense and of reasonable economy, and not merely from the standard of requirements which a scientific purist might deem desirable. With regard to the remedy which the hon. Gentleman proposed, he would not enter into that, because he did not wish to anticipate what his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department might say at the close of the debate, nor did he think it expedient to go at all into the discussion of that subject. But he might say that one of the great difficulties of the question of the area supplied by the Water Companies was that it extended so far beyond the area of the Metropolis. The Metropolis was really not one-quarter of the size of the districts which those Companies had control over, and, therefore, it was extremely difficult to combine a unification of the Water Companies with any municipal authority within the metropolitan area. It would not be

*Mr. Sclater-Booth*

just to charge the districts lying exclusively within the Metropolis with the cost of creating a Water Stock, and they had no power to charge the rates of those extended districts for anything of that kind. The powers of the Companies over their districts enabled them to charge the consumers of water for the water they supplied; but no means existed, that he knew of, by which the rateable value of the extra metropolitan parts of those districts could be rendered chargeable for the capital that would be required for the purchase of those rights. That would have raised a formidable difficulty, even if there had been no other objection, to the proposals made last year and the year before by the Metropolitan Board of Works. The indication by the hon. Gentleman of the best solution to which he saw his way was one much more practicable than that proposed by his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) last year. But the question was one of great difficulty and importance, and he would not enter further into it at this time. In summing up, he would merely say that, in his judgment, it was possible to exaggerate the mischiefs of the existing system, and thus to increase the difficulty of obtaining any practical reform; that it was reasonable that the five Thames Water Companies should be placed under some system of unification; that it was desirable that the supply should be put under some uniform and central administration for London; and that the economy which might be effected by superseding the separate management of the companies would be considerable, although it would not amount to £100,000 a-year, as the hon. Member had assumed; and even against that saving must be set the outlay for improving the means of distribution. He might add that, although the authority exercised through the Government Department which had this matter in charge had, he believed, been carefully and judiciously exercised since the constitution of the Local Government Board, he was not at all prepared to say that their power was sufficient for redressing all the complaints which reached them. On the other hand, he was bound, in fairness, to admit that the Water Companies showed an earnest desire to remedy mischiefs as far as they could do so compatibly with their existing

practice and operations. He had found the greatest readiness on their part to meet any complaint or suggestion that was from time to time offered for their consideration, whether as regarded the construction of new works or the furnishing of a constant supply. That reference to new works reminded him of a point made by the hon. Gentleman with great force—namely, that the engineers of those eight different bodies, not acting together, nor in consultation with each other, nor under one central supervision, recommended frequently to their Companies a duplicate and extensive system of works, to be carried out at an enormous cost, for the supply of their particular districts, which must be prejudicial to the consumer as well as to the Companies, and that vast sums of money might be saved if some central control were exercised over their operations in that respect. In conclusion, he would only compliment the hon. Gentleman again on the general moderation of his speech, and also express a hope that he would not expect to elicit anything very specific from the Government on that occasion.

MR. ARTHUR PEEL said, that his excuse for intervening in this debate was that, 14 years ago, he had sat on a Committee of that House appointed to consider the subject under discussion. One of the incidental parts of the Report of that Committee was, that the several Water Companies of London should contribute the sum of £5,000 each to have the sources of the water supply of the Metropolis looked after, in order that the water they supplied to their customers should be of a purer quality. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Selater-Booth) had observed upon the inconvenience of taking a new source of supply as a postulate upon any arguments upon the subject, and he had complimented the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) upon the fact that he had put out of view any other source for our water supply than the Thames. On that point, he (Mr. Arthur Peel) begged to differ from both the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for Hackney, because he did not think that they should disregard altogether the possibility of obtaining water for the supply of the Metropolis from any other source than that of the river. While far from advocating



that we should look to Plinlimmon or the Welsh mountains, where the rainfall amounted to some 75 inches per annum, for our metropolitan water supply, he did not think that the possibility of improving our present water supply should be altogether disregarded. The hon. Member for Hackney had dwelt with great force upon the way in which this question of water supply affected the poorer classes of the Metropolis, and especially upon the evil resulting from an intermittent water supply and from the water being stored in butts. Something had been said with regard to the manner in which the water was stored for the use of the West End Clubs; but the evil was magnified ten-fold in the East End of London. The sixth Report of the Commission upon the Pollution of Rivers was a great reservoir of information on this subject, and it showed how much the Legislature had neglected to look after the interests of the poorer classes in the matter of water supply. By the Metropolitan Water Act of 1862, the Legislature forbade the Water Companies from storing large quantities of water within five miles of St. Paul's; and it was a proof of the inconsistency of the Legislature that they, at the same time, permitted water to be stored in the poorer districts of London in small quantities in foul water-butts. Surely, they went on to urge, the care which was enforced by law as to the use of open reservoirs for drinking water within five miles of Charing Cross ought, before this, to have been called in to check a system by which the water was necessarily exposed gallon by gallon and house by house in small reservoirs to far fouler exhalations than could possibly be imagined to exist in the open air of any London suburb. The arguments of the hon. Member for Hackney as to the necessity of putting the management of the water supply under one public body were very strong and, he might even venture to say, unanswerable. The hon. Member had dwelt upon the enormous advantages that resulted from the municipal management in Glasgow, both with respect to the purity of the water and to the saving in the rates; and in regard to all that, he (Mr. Arthur Peel) ventured to think they would agree with the hon. Member. There were, he believed, eight Companies who dealt with the water supply of London.

*Mr. Arthur Peel*

Of these, four had adopted the constant supply system. It was said that, in fact, the supply was not actually constant, but only intermittent. Still, the fact remained that four Companies had adopted what was at least nominally a system of constant supply. Two of these were the New River Company and the East London Company; and if they could give a constant supply to such districts as Newington and Shoreditch, the arguments against a constant supply to other portions of the Metropolis were very much weakened. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, he understood, was to favour them with his views upon the subject, what had been done with the large sums of money contributed by the Water Companies for the purification of the Thames? The amount used to be £5,000, but was now, he believed, much larger. How was that money expended? The Companies, who had appeared by counsel before the Committee, declared that they would not have been justified in offering even £5,000 per annum, if it were not that the Bill contained express provisions for the purification of the river. What steps had been taken to purify the river in the sense intended? The necessity of having some public body to manage the water supply had been dwelt on both by the Commission of 1869, and also by the Committee on the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, which reported in 1877. Both had reported in favour of some public and responsible body. The advantages to be derived from such a body were unity of action in cleansing the source of supply, and in securing a constant supply to the inhabitants. The authorities who clashed with one another in dealing with this question were well known to the House. There were the Metropolitan Board of Works, who burnt their fingers in attempting to deal with the subject in 1878, and the Thames Conservancy Body, whose Report for 1878 had just been laid upon the Table of the House. In that Report, the Conservators stated, that as soon as the sewage works at Oxford were completed, there would be no sewage coming into the Thames above the sources of the London supply. The Conservators were very sanguine. If that were true, it would be a considerable argument in favour of the present

supply. But he did not believe they could have examined all the sources, from which contamination came throughout the whole course of the stream; but even if they had, no account was taken of that vast area of land from which water percolated into the river, bringing with it, in times of flood, immense quantities of the most foul manures. Floods were on the increase, and the quantity of foul matter they introduced into the stream was incalculable. He most heartily agreed with the hon. Member for Hackney, that the supply of such a necessary of life as water ought to be managed by a public body; and that that public body should not be subject to the caprices of a commercial body, or to the requirements of shareholders, and to the fluctuations of policy, which a regard to their sole interests involved. He thought the hon. Gentleman had done great public service in calling attention to the subject, even at that late period of the Session. His Motion contained no reference to cost, and nothing to which the Government could not agree. He, therefore, earnestly hoped they would accept it.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, that no one who had heard the speech of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) could fail to be grateful to him for having brought that subject forward, and for having done so in a speech of very great research and moderation, and with an evidently earnest desire to carry out his object, whether the Motion passed or not. He (Mr. Assheton Cross) wished to say that this was a question which had been brought under his notice for some time past. It had received a great amount of consideration already, and would receive, he hoped, still more. He had received deputations on the subject from a great number of influential persons of all classes in the Metropolis, and no one who had gone into the question, as it had been his duty to do, could believe that it was possible to set it aside, without a most stringent inquiry as to whether any measures ought to be adopted, and, if so, what ought to be done for the purpose of remedying the evils complained of. Undoubtedly, the matter had been so prominently brought before him that even, although no Motion had been presented to the House, he would have been guilty of great dereliction of duty if he had

not undertaken to investigate the subject very carefully. The hon. Member for Hackney had submitted three special points as deserving of serious consideration. They were these—(1) The quality of the water supplied; (2) the mode of the supply; and (3) its cost. The hon. Member asked very fairly—“Cannot you improve the quality of the water; cannot you secure a much greater efficiency in the mode of supply; and cannot you manage to do this at a diminished cost?” First of all, with reference to the quality of the water, whatever view they took of that which had been done—and he quite agreed that a great deal had been done to improve it in late years—it was impossible for anyone to say that the quality of the present supply was such as could be wished. This was quite sufficient to engage the attention of a Minister when the question had once been brought under his notice. The hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Arthur Peel) had entered into a very large question, and one which would have considerable bearing on the last of the points raised by the hon. Member for Hackney; for, besides discussing the supply of water from existing sources, he had suggested what would necessarily be a very large scheme—namely, that of drawing it from new sources for the sake of securing additional purity. That was a scheme that could not be undertaken without incurring a very great expenditure of money.

MR. ARTHUR PEEL, interposing, said, that his idea was that the water of the Thames might be reserved for certain purposes, while recourse was also had to other sources, such as deep wells in the chalk, and the like.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS could not discuss the details of any such scheme on the present occasion; but he felt that any such undertaking would be attended by great expense. He wished, while he was speaking on the subject of the water supply, to mention the exertions of Cardinal Manning, and to bear his testimony to the care with which he had investigated the question, and to the integrity of the purpose with which he had sought to benefit the poorer classes. In his own opinion, putting aside the question of the sources of supply, a vast amount of impurity was directly due to the mode in which water was kept in

dwelling-houses; and in this connection he thought that the powers which were placed in the Vestries might be exercised with greater vigour than at present for the purpose of securing that cisterns and other receptacles for water were clean and in a proper condition. In a great city like London the mode of storage of water ought to be far better than it was. The actual supply, too, ought to be much improved. He quite admitted that the Companies had already done a good deal, and probably would do more; but no one could be satisfied with the supply at present, or as long as the pressure was not constant. Before Londoners had a right to be satisfied, the water supply would have to be sufficient for all purposes, both for domestic uses and for the extinction of fires and the watering of the streets. Of course, he did not wish to impose upon the Companies any duties not immediately connected with the supply of water; watering the streets and putting out fires were matters wholly beyond the province of any Government Body, as far as the supply of water was concerned; and they only insisted that there should be an ample supply for the use of those to whom those duties belonged. He did not wish to institute any comparison of the water supply of London with that of other large cities, for elsewhere the supply was provided in very different circumstances. Nor would he assert off-hand that large towns could not be satisfactorily supplied with water by private trading Companies. He thought it most unfair to make sweeping charges against Water Companies in general; though, at the same time, the local authorities might be very well charged with the supply. He wished rather to free some of the Companies from the serious charge that they had neglected the public interest for their own private advantage. He quite concurred, however, with his right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth), that the Water Companies, by the Valuation (Metropolis) Act, had been placed, without an effort on their part, in any enormously advantageous position, from which the consumer had derived no benefit whatever. Passing on to the question of cost, he would remind the House that, at present, there was no power of any kind, or in any form, by which the Companies could be controlled,

if only they kept within their statutory limit of charges. The question had been mooted about two years ago, and he had been obliged to ask in return what power he possessed, if the Companies did not exceed their privileges. That was a point for the future consideration of Parliament; but it might be doubted whether, as the hon. Member for Hackney had suggested, any change for the better would be effected by more stringent regulations. The Select Committee, presided over by the Secretary to the Treasury, had gone specially into the subject, and their Report was well worthy of the attention of the House. The hon. Member for Hackney had said, very properly, that he was obliged to treat that part of the subject with great caution; he (Mr. Assheton Cross) thoroughly agreed with the hon. Member that it would not be judicious in that debate to treat it otherwise than with caution, considering how much money had been spent on the stock of the Companies, and the effect that the debates or transactions of the House might have on the price of that stock. For that reason he would not discuss the monopoly of the Companies, or the principles of the compensation alluded to by the hon. Member for Hackney. No doubt, there was much to be said in favour of the view the hon. Member had taken; but it was not desirable that Parliament should express its opinion on the question. How far the best course would be to buy up the interests of the Companies was a matter for future discussion; but he might venture to say that, in the face of the difficulties that would have to be surmounted, it would probably not be worth while to encourage the amalgamation of Companies. He wished, however, to guard himself against being understood to express the opinion of the Government. He was not prepared to deny the assertion of the hon. Member, that a great saving might be made if they were to be consolidated and handed over to a Board; that might, perhaps, be so, and it was likely that a saving would be effected, not only in the expense of direction and management, but also in the reduction of the waste consumption. The whole question, however, would require careful investigation, in order to discover in what way such a reduction of expense might be brought about as would render possible a con-

*Mr. Assheton Cross*

stant supply at considerable pressure, without any increase in the cost of the water. The hon. Member for Hackney had stated that the cost of water to the consumer was greater in London than in other towns. He (Mr. Assheton Cross) was disposed to agree with him on that point; for, though he had not completely inquired into the matter, the calculations he had made all led him to that conclusion. The House was of opinion, and had already decided, that the Metropolitan Board ought not to undertake the water supply of London, and there were many reasons why they were an unfit body to do so. One, and the principal one, was that the water supply extended far beyond the area of their jurisdiction, and that those who resided outside that area might never consent to come under their jurisdiction. That had always presented itself to his mind as a conclusive reason why the water supply should not be handed over to the Metropolitan Board of Works. He had already said that the subject not only required attention, but immediate and serious attention. From the manner in which the public mind had been engaged with this question, especially during the last few years, it was clear that matters could not be allowed to rest as they were. They were asked to deal, however, with a very difficult question, and could not well draw comparisons between Manchester or Liverpool and London. A vast amount of money had been invested in the stock of the Water Companies, and if any notion was to go forth that a transaction was to take place such as that suggested by the hon. Member for Hackney, there would be a disturbance in the value of the stocks of the Companies which might result in the greatest injury and disappointment. On behalf of the Government, he was prepared to state this—If the Motion were carried, he believed it would produce the result to which he had just alluded; but he was as anxious as anyone could be that the whole subject should be thoroughly investigated, and he was perfectly willing to undertake that the question should be looked into in all its bearings before the House met again, with the view of seeing whether the supply of water could not be greatly improved for the benefit of the inhabitants of London; whether, if that were done, it could be done without seriously increasing the

cost of the supply to the individual consumer; whether the mode of supply could not be vastly improved; whether it would be necessary for the purpose that the whole of the Water Companies should—of course, by agreement—surrender their powers to some body which should be practically appointed by the Government; and whether that would be the only way in which, if the Companies were dealt with at all, they could be dealt with. He would not like to express any opinion upon that point. All he could undertake to say was that, before Parliament met again, such an investigation should be made as would, in his opinion and in the opinion of the Government, satisfy both sides of the House. Under these circumstances, he hoped the hon. Member for Hackney would not press his Motion to a division. For his part, he could not speak more frankly than he had done. He was perfectly alive to the importance of the subject and to the necessity for immediate inquiry. There were difficulties to be got over, but they were not, he thought, such as could not be surmounted, and he therefore, as he had said, trusted that the hon. Member for Hackney would not tie the hands of the Government in the matter by going to a division. To do so at that particular moment would, in his opinion, have a very injurious effect upon the value of the stocks of the Water Companies. It might raise hopes among their servants which could not possibly be realized, and, on the other hand, it might cause a serious depression in the value of the stocks. He wished only to add that if the Government did undertake a scheme which might be recommended, they would not have regard to any prospective addition to the value of the stocks of the Water Companies. They would take those stocks as they found them on such a day as, say, the last day of the last half-year, and no speculative change in the value of the stocks or the action of the Companies would have the smallest weight with the Government in any proposal they might have to make. That he wished to be most clearly understood by all those who might desire to deal in the stocks of the Water Companies either by buying or selling. If the Government undertook any such scheme, they would do so only on the conditions he had stated.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) deserved their thanks for having brought this subject forward, and it was due to Her Majesty's Government to add that the statement just made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was altogether satisfactory. He hoped, therefore, that his hon. Friend would not press his Motion to a division. The thanks of the House, too, he thought, were also due to Cardinal Manning and the Bishop of London, for the action they had taken out-of-doors upon the subject. His hon. Friend the Member for Warwick (Mr. Arthur Peel) had expressed a hope that the Government would accept the Resolution. Well, the acceptance by the Government of a Resolution was sometimes a prudent course to adopt; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had shown sufficient reason why it should not be adopted on the present occasion. Very great satisfaction would, he thought, be felt, both in that House and throughout the country, at the character of that speech; although, hereafter, there might be differences of opinion as to the mode in which a particular scheme should be given effect to. On one point only did he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) differ from his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney, and that was as to the quality of the present water supply. The opinions expressed on that subject at the late meeting at Exeter Hall were founded on official documents, and his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney had relied rather on the less disputed points of the case. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Selater-Booth) had stated that the House ought to have some regard to the opinions of their Predecessors, and had quoted the opinions of two Committees which had considered the subject; but since that time—in 1871—another Committee, presided over by the present Chairman of Committees, had sat, and the Report, which was drawn up by the right hon. Gentleman who at present presided over the deliberations of the House, spoke of the evils of the present system of supply, and although the Committee made no recommendations, the Report was in favour of a change in the present source

of supply. The Reports for the present year, which he had had an opportunity of seeing, confirmed the view of Dr. Frankland that the existing sources of supply could not be improved to the extent required in such a town as London. Representing, as he did, a district which was partly supplied by a company, the Chelsea Waterworks Company, which had spent larger sums of money than any other in trying to purify the existing sources of supply, and, judging from the result of those efforts, and efforts made in the same direction by other Companies, he did not think that even a resort to larger areas for subsidence and to storage for long periods would make the existing sources of supply satisfactory in character. The Reports of Colonel Bolton showed that, in spite of the great expenditure which the Companies had incurred, a worse state of things existed last year than ever before, and in the present year matters were still less satisfactory. That being the case, he could not share the very hopeful views of the President of the Local Government Board, who contended that it would be possible, by continuing the steps that had already been taken, to render innocuous the existing sources of supply. For his own part, he was strongly disposed to think that those sources would never be satisfactory. In conclusion, he wished to tender his thanks to the hon. Member for Hackney, by whose efforts the Secretary of State for the Home Department had been induced to bring his mind to the question of how the difficulty could be best dealt with. The right hon. Gentleman's promise to the House had brought the whole question to a stage more advanced than any which it had hitherto occupied.

MR. BAILLIE-COCHRANE said, he was glad that a question of so much importance had been brought forward, for it was intimately connected with the health, welfare, and sobriety of a great part of the population. It must be admitted that the question was well worth considering, when it was remembered that in London the deaths caused by fire were three times as numerous as those in any other great city in the Kingdom, and that this state of things was in great measure due to the deficiency of the water supply. Everyone, he thought, would admit that the supply in London was neither sufficient in

quantity nor constant. From his own personal observations, he was in a position to say that the state of the water supply in the East End of London was a disgrace to civilization. In that quarter of the town there were houses, as had already been observed, dependent for their supply of water upon butts so placed as to catch the rain-water. It was the fashion now to talk a great deal about the necessity of education, and we spent enormous sums upon instructing the masses; but, in his opinion, the provision of what was required to confirm the poor in habits of cleanliness and decency was a question of still greater importance than that of education. In all the cities of Europe it would be found that there was a better supply of water than in London, and it was even the worst supplied in that respect in this Kingdom. Manchester had spent about £6,000,000 in order to obtain a proper supply, and £10,000,000, he held, would be well spent in securing a good supply for the Metropolis. He contended that economy would be the result, if they grappled with the difficulties of the question at once. But by any arrangement that might be made, however, he hoped we should not be tied to the Water Companies, who had not, up to the present time, adequately fulfilled the duties intrusted to them, and therefore could not be said to have given the least satisfaction. He suggested that the Government should turn their attention to the whole question of metropolitan improvement, and frame a Bill to meet all the difficulties connected with Water Companies, Gas Companies, &c. By doing this, they would be more likely to immortalize their term of office than by any other course which they could follow.

Mr. SAMUDA said, he wished to pass under review some of the observations made in the course of the debate; and, first, he wished to correct the erroneous impression that would be caused by the statement of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) with reference to the cost of water in the Metropolis. The sum paid for water for domestic purposes, instead of being 1s. 2d. in the pound on the rental, as the hon. Member had said, was in reality something like 7½d. His hon. Friend held that the Water Companies had availed themselves of the increase which they had been able

to surcharge on their customers since the passage of the Act of his right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen). He (Mr. Samuda) had not the exact figures before him; but he believed the New River Company had charged for their supplies on only one-third the annual value of the property in the City of London, which came to about 6½d. on the gross, or 8d. on the rental, value over the whole district supplied by the New River Company. These figures ought to have been quoted by his hon. Friend, when comparing the New River Company with other Companies whose charge averaged 1s. He agreed with a great deal of what had been said as to the difficulties which must necessarily arise in dealing with this matter; and he was also clear that it would be unwise to intrust the whole control and management of the water supply to the Metropolitan Board of Works. That body was wholly unfitted for such a duty, seeing that their district only ranged over 120 miles; while the Water Companies' district extended over 520. He thought a Water Commission might be constituted which would act with uniformity and with advantage to the ratepayers; and it would insure harmonious action between the different Companies if such Commission were composed of representatives from each Company and of parties acting on behalf of the Government. The main difficulty that would arise in selecting a body to whom the water supply should be intrusted would be the largely-increased area over which the operations of any such body must necessarily extend. He would suggest, however, that that difficulty might to some considerable extent be got over by limiting the interest of the existing Companies to such stock as they possessed under the existing legislative powers intrusted to them, and by adopting the auction clauses in future Bills, or some such means, so as to give the ratepayers a kind of reversionary interest in all sums raised in future for the purposes of the water supply of the Metropolis. He could not for a moment admit the practicability of the suggestion that there should be separate mains—one for the supply of potable water, and the other by means of which the Metropolis should be supplied with water for washing and domestic purposes, for the extin-

guishing of fires, and other purposes in reference to which water of the purest quality was not required. Such an arrangement would never work in practice; and, in addition, it would involve immense increase in cost and public annoyance by the constant extra disturbance of streets for repairs of mains. As to the quality of the water, he thought joint action on the part of the Companies might be expected to produce pure water; for it was shown that out of the five Companies who took their water from the Thames, three Companies were objected to, while in the case of the other two, the water was said to be admirable. If, however, it became necessary to seek other sources of supply, the case became a very serious one. Then he saw no way out of the difficulty except taking the powers out of the hands of the Companies, and giving them fair compensation. He believed, however, that, as far as the present sources of supply were concerned, it had been fully shown before the Commissions and Committees on the subject, that the Thames and Lea and the deep wells in the chalk could supply as much water as was likely to be necessary for 30 years to come, even though the requirements went on increasing in the same ratio as in the 30 years last past. To utilize the whole supply that could be drawn from the Thames would, of course, involve the expenditure of a large sum of money; but this expenditure would be spread over an increased and increasing population, and would not, therefore, be likely to add much, if anything, to the water rates; but if the supply was to be drawn, not from the Thames, but from the Welsh lakes or any other distant source, the cost would be immensely increased, as, according to Mr. Bateman, the cost of such an operation would be £160,000 for every 1,000,000 gallons supplied per day. The whole cost would, therefore, amount to £40,000,000, and would entail a rate of 1s. 6d., instead of 8d. in the pound. Unquestionably, an important element in bringing about a better condition of water was generally admitted to be by insisting on a constant supply. The difficulty of getting a constant supply did not lie with the Companies, but with the public. The public should have means of storing water. The cost of that would be about £3 a-house. He

*Mr. Samuda*

was told that for a small house the cost would be about £1. If, as was the case, the East London Company had given a constant supply to the extent of one-half of the whole of the houses to which they supplied water, it did not follow that, by introducing compulsory arrangements for insuring constant supply throughout the Metropolis, any hardship would be occasioned. By something like an amalgamation of all the Companies, and by requiring that the future profits of the future capital should not be for the benefit of the shareholders, but for the ratepayers, a just and fair arrangement might be made which would give general satisfaction. Having said so much, he would not detain the House any longer, though he could not conclude without saying that the mass of facts elicited by the exhaustive examinations of this subject, and the authority that they were based on, showed conclusively that the deficiencies in quality, where found to exist, were not due to the sources of supply, but to the imperfect manner that some of the Companies adopted, using the water without proper storage, and with imperfect filtering processes.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had listened with great pleasure to the statement of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which contrasted most favourably with the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. The statement made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with regard to shares was very important. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had most carefully considered this subject, and he was of opinion that there was no necessity for any of the schemes for bringing water from distant places, such as the Welsh lakes, to London. The supply from the Thames was ample, and, when properly filtered, that water was good. It was not, however, so much the question of supply, as that of its distribution, with which they had to deal, so as to secure a constant service. It was clear that they could not have that carried out, unless the subject was left in the hands of some local authority. He was fully aware of the great difficulties which stood in the way of handing over the water supply of London to the Metropolitan Board of Works; but he hoped the Government would be

able to adopt some mode of dealing with the question, such as the establishment of a Commission on which the Metropolitan Board and the Corporation of London would be fairly and adequately represented, which would work satisfactorily. He would, in conclusion, suggest to his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) that, after the statement of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, he should not press his Motion to a Division.

MR. RITCHIE said, he wished, on the part of his constituents, to express his cordial thanks to his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the manner in which he had taken up the question, and for the promise he had given. It was a question with which the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly familiar, and in which he took a deep interest, so that the public might rely upon it it would receive the fullest attention at his hands. There were two considerations involved in the matter; one was the distribution, and the other the source of supply. As to the distribution, he thought they were all agreed that it was absolutely essential that it should be in the hands of some public body. As to the source of supply, however, he did not agree with those who regarded the present source as satisfactory. He thought by no amount of purification could the Thames water be made into pure and wholesome drinking water. Polluted by the sewage of several large towns through which it flowed, it could not be freed from the taint.

MR. YOUNG, on the other hand, thought the Thames might be considered a fair source of supply for the Metropolis, or a greater part of it. He admitted that a constant supply was a necessity of a good system; and he claimed, on the part of the Companies, that they had done all they could towards bringing it about. It did not always rest with the Water Companies to give or refuse a supply of water as they liked, and if the House were to pass a Bill compelling landlords to put up proper fittings in the houses of their tenants, those tenants might have a constant supply of water with little or no delay. He hoped that the Government, in dealing with the Companies,

would seriously take into consideration the amount of property which they had in their hands, and would not lose sight of the fact that when those Companies were called into existence, an increased supply of water was very much needed, that the Companies had supplied the want when no one else would do so, and that they had carried out their undertaking in a very liberal spirit, and were ready to continue so doing.

MR. ALDERMAN W. M'ARTHUR said, as one of the Representatives of a large Metropolitan borough, he wished to thank his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) for the admirable way in which he had brought forward that question. The speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department would be received with great satisfaction throughout the whole of the Metropolis. He agreed that there were difficulties, and great difficulties, in the way of dealing with the question; but he did not believe but that they could be overcome in a way which, while it would secure fair play and justice to the Water Companies, would, at the same time, give the inhabitants of the Metropolis a constant supply of pure water.

MR. FAWCETT said, that after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which he considered was entirely satisfactory, as pledging the right hon. Gentleman to come to some decision before next Session, he should beg leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### PRIVILEGE (TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE).

##### REPORT OF SERJEANT AT ARMS.

The *Sergeant at Arms* reported to the House that in pursuance of the orders of the House, and in obedience to Mr. Speaker's Warrant, he had this day taken Charles Edmund Grissell into custody.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I give Notice that to-morrow I shall, at the meeting of the House, call attention to this subject.

*Ordered*, That the said Report be taken into Consideration *To-morrow*.



## BANKING AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES BILL—[BILL 264.]

(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

## CONSIDERATION AS AMENDED.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

Clause 4 (Registration anew of unlimited company as limited company).

MR. SAMPSON LLOYD moved, as an Amendment, the insertion of words at the end of the clause, providing that limited companies might come within the provisions of the Act.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, as there was no objection to them, he would not object to the insertion of the words proposed, although he thought they were unnecessary.

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 5 (Establishment of reserve liability company).

MR. COURTNEY moved an Amendment, to insert at end of the clause, a provision, giving power to banking companies, in cases where no increase of nominal capital may be resolved upon, to determine that a portion of the uncalled capital should not be called up, except in the event of the companies being wound up.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA objected to the Amendment.

SIR ANDREW LUSK thought that it was reasonable.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the proposition of the hon. Member for Liskeard was a reasonable one, and would increase, and not diminish, the security of the shareholders. He had, therefore, no hesitation in accepting it.

Amendment *agreed to*; words *added*.

Clause 10 (Audit of accounts of banking companies).

MR. COURTNEY moved, as an Amendment, the insertion of words providing for the annual audit of the accounts to limited banks, already regis-

tered, as well as to those about to be registered.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 37, after the word "company," to insert the word "whether."—(Mr. Courtney.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'whether' be there inserted."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in assenting to the Amendment, pointed out that its result would be to carry the effect of the Bill beyond the bounds originally intended. He had no objection in point of principle to the Amendment; but he should like to hear what hon. Members, representing the banks, had to say on the subject, as he should not like to take them by surprise in accepting it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA would wish to say, that whilst it was an open question whether this was the best occasion to select for legislation on the point, he did not think that the Amendment would affect existing banks unfairly.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON questioned the propriety of passing a provision of that kind in a thin House. If such an Amendment were accepted at that late stage of the Bill, many hon. Members who were now absent would think that the Government had broken faith with them.

MR. RYLANDS endorsed the opinion of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. C. Beckett-Denison) that however good the principle of the Amendment might be, and they all approved of it, it was undesirable to introduce it into the Bill in its present stage, seeing no Notice had been given of it.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, although strongly in favour of the principle of the Amendment, did not think that the present was a favourable time for introducing it. As some surprise and astonishment would be caused by its adoption, he would suggest that the hon. Member for Liskeard would be doing good service if he introduced a Bill of a single clause next Session to carry out his object.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Other Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

**SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE  
(OFFICERS) BILL.** [*Lords*].—[Bill 235.]  
(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

**COMMITTEE.**

Order for Committee read.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, in moving that the House go into Committee on the Bill, said, it carried out the recommendations of the Committee which sat in 1877. It was proposed to amalgamate the officers of the Common Law Divisions in one Central Office at the new Courts of Justice, and to enact that in future all the necessary steps in connection with any action should be taken in the Central Office, without reference to the Division in which the action was to be tried. The Bill would fuse the duties of certain heads of Departments, and of certain clerks in different Departments; and it would not only save expense, but facilitate the transaction of business. He moved that the House do go into Committee.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*),—put, and agreed to.

Bill considered in Committee.  
(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 13, inclusive, agreed to.

Clause 14 (Abolition of certain offices and continuance of others).

MR. RYLANDS moved that the Chairman report Progress, remarking that the Bill would enable the Lord Chancellor to add unduly to the expenditure of the country. He had known some Lord Chancellors to resist the economical views of the Treasury in regard to legal salaries; and that might also be the case in the present instance. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer of his promise not to press the Bill should any serious opposition to it arise. He (*Mr. Rylands*) felt more dissatisfaction with it the more he saw of it, and as it could not be properly discussed at that late period of the Session, it would be no disadvantage to the public to put it off until next year.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Rylands*.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (*Sir John Holker*) protested against the course adopted by the hon. Member for Burnley (*Mr. Rylands*).

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that as opposition had been offered to the Bill, and as the clause under discussion evidently required some consideration, he would assent to the Motion for reporting Progress, and would fix the resumption of the debate for to-morrow. He wished, however, to say that, although he did not profess to be thoroughly familiar with all its details, this Bill was one the object of which was to reduce expenditure. He could state further that the Treasury had never found in the present Lord Chancellor an opponent of economy; but, on the contrary, it had always found in him a great assistant in its efforts to keep down expenditure.

Question put, and agreed to.

House resumed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

**CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.**

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

**THIRD READING.**

Order for Third Reading read.

**IRELAND — PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
CONSTABULARY AT DUNDALK.**

**OBSERVATIONS.**

MR. CALLAN, in rising to call attention to the action of the Royal Irish Constabulary on the 6th August last at Dundalk, said, he availed himself of that opportunity, because the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had said there was not sufficient time to provide an answer, after official inquiry, to a Question for to-morrow. He (*Mr. Callan*) did not intend to occupy the attention of the House very long, but he thought that the right hon. and learned Gentleman should inquire into the circumstances to which he was about to refer. The proceedings objected to were on the part of the Constabulary, who insisted on forcing their

way into the bedroom of a dying man named Armstrong. On the day referred to, the Rev. Mr. Rainsford called at the house of Mr. Armstrong, and was there met by Mrs. Armstrong, who told him that the Rev. Mr. Dodds was at that time administering the last consolation of religion to her dying husband, and that he could not see him. He left the house, and immediately wrote to the sub-inspector of the police at Dundalk, stating that he required an escort. One of the magistrates residing at Dundalk thereupon issued an order, directing that two police constables should accompany Mr. Rainsford as an escort. He (Mr. Callan) believed that that was done without any sworn information. They proceeded to the house of Mr. Armstrong, and although the Rev. Mr. Rainsford was not wanted, he persisted, under the protection of the police, against the remonstrances of Mrs. Armstrong, in forcing his way into the bedroom of the dying man, who told him that his services were not required, and that he had seen another clergyman. He therefore left, but within half-an-hour he again returned, and forced his way into the room, and was once more assured that his services were not required. He (Mr. Callan) was not aware by whose authority the police constables acted as they did, and the question was, whether there had been a breach of the peace in regard to this escort. No one, he contended, had a right to ask for an escort of such a character. He also wished further to direct attention to the conduct which followed in the graveyard. The minister sent word, on the morning of the death of Mr. Armstrong, that he would not permit the burial to take place in the graveyard, and owing to the refusal to allow the burial service, the funeral had to be postponed upon two different occasions. Upon the day of the burial, Mr. Armstrong's relatives went to the burial place, but they found that the gates were locked. The gates were broken open in the presence of two policemen; but, afterwards, the police locked them. Ultimately they were opened, and the burial took place. He (Mr. Callan) was informed that none of these illegal proceedings would have taken place with regard to the conduct of the rector had it not been for the countenance given to him by the resident magistrate, and the

*Mr. Callan*

sub-inspector of the police. It was a remarkable circumstance that a clergyman, under the protection of the police, could force his way into a dying man's room. It was strange that formerly, owing to a compromise, it was agreed that the Dundalk bench of magistrates should be composed of three Catholics and three Protestants, and for a number of years this compromise was carried out with satisfactory results; but, upon the death of the late Lord Lieutenant of the County, a new state of things was instituted. Now, in Dundalk, a town essentially Catholic, under the present Lord Lieutenant, the bench was composed of only two Catholic gentlemen of property residing in the district, while the rest, six in number, were Protestants who were not persons of property, position, or intelligence. He did not wish to raise any discussion upon that question; but he begged to give Notice that he would to-morrow move for a Return of the information upon which the sub-inspector gave directions for the escort to the house of the late Mr. Armstrong, and he hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would express his disapproval of the conduct of the magistrate, Mr. William Robson, in directing the police in this case to act without a written and sworn information, and to take what he maintained was the illegal course they had adopted in this case.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he was glad that the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan) had referred to the matter, which was one of great importance. He contended that a *prima facie* case had been made out, and that it called for an inquiry. He trusted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would offer some explanation in regard to the subject. If the case as stated was true, those implicated ought to suffer for their conduct.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) said, that the statement of his hon. Friend (Mr. Callan) was only *ex parte*, and, therefore, it would be unbecoming of him (Mr. Gibson) under the circumstances to offer any opinion upon it. He had listened most attentively to the statement, and it would be his duty to inquire into the case.

NAVY — RECENT PROMOTIONS  
IN THE MARINES.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. ANDERSON called attention to the proceedings of the First Lord of the Admiralty in connection with recent cases of promotion in the Royal Marines. The right hon. Gentleman had changed the whole system of the Service, having substituted promotion by favouritism for promotion by seniority, which had existed during the past 100 years. He had done this on the Report, made in January, 1878, of a Departmental Committee of the most inadequate character, and had thus sown dissension among all the officers but the few who expected to profit by the change made in the system. There were several cases of individual grievances, and the officers were generally dispirited under this system of having favourites passed over their heads. He gave Notice that next Session he would move for a Committee to inquire into the subject, unless an improvement should have taken place in the meantime.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the principle of promotion by seniority to important commands, without reference to the ability of the officers who might be chosen under it for vacant posts, had long been abandoned, and he was amazed to hear the views of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow on the subject. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) must decline to follow the hon. Member into the discussion of the names he had mentioned. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) had selected, according to the best of his ability, and the best information he could get from time to time, the officer who seemed to him to be most fitted for the command of the divisions, and he was prepared to accept the responsibility; and he should continue to do his duty, and, if necessary, to explain and defend in that House any action that he might take. If he was not fit to perform a duty of that kind, he was not fit to hold the position in the Government which he had the honour to fill.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN made some lengthened observations in support of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson).

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—  
DRAINAGE WORKS IN LIMERICK.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY, in rising to call attention to the circumstances connected with some drainage works in the County Limerick, said, that there had been a Memorial on the subject, and the question, he hoped, would be raised next Session. Was there, he asked, to be no remedy for failures of this kind, where works, as he understood, were initiated under the supervision of the Board of Works of Ireland? He thought that the principle involved was a dangerous one—namely, that if the Board of Works approved of a certain plan an immense amount of money was to be spent upon it. If they were to be free from responsibility, he thought it was a grave defect in the system. They ought to examine the works while they were in progress, and see that the plans were carried out before any public money was expended upon them. He doubted whether the law, as it stood, relieved the Board of Works from this duty. If they looked into 26 & 27 *Vict.*, they would find that a duty was imposed upon the Board not merely of planning these works, but of suggesting, from time to time, any works which might be necessary. He thought that the whole matter really deserved to be inquired into, in order to see whether the present state of things was the result of a system, or was due to maladministration. He would endeavour to bring this matter in a formal way before the House hereafter; but, at the same time, he hoped that some explanation would be given now.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he could fully sympathize with the hon. and learned Member in the disappointment that must be felt in the district at the failure of such an important scheme as this seemed to have been. With regard to the responsibility falling upon the Board of Works, he thought it ought to be definitely understood that the responsibility did not rest with that body. In this particular instance the plans were approved of, and were intrusted to another engineer, who carried out the scheme under the drainage authorities of the district. When he reported it to the engineer a meeting was held, at which objections were to

be taken. At the second meeting the scheme was submitted to those present, and no objections being taken the engineer apportioned the expenditure, and after that the responsibility on behalf of the Board of Works practically ceased. He did not deny the necessity of an inquiry into the question whether better supervision could not be established; but he was advised, in this particular instance, that the responsibility of the Board of Works had ceased since September, 1877.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN  
(EDUCATION) BILL—[BILL 93.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Scott,  
Mr. Isaac, Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Wheelhouse.*)

MAJOR NOLAN opposed the third reading. He had no objection whatever to the Bill as it originally stood; but it had been altered, and, therefore, he opposed it.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after  
Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 14th August, 1879.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading—Committee negatived—Considered—Third Reading*—National School Teachers (Ireland) (199); Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices\* (200); Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)\*; Banking and Joint Stock Companies (201); Public Works Loans (No. 2)\* (202), and *passed*.

*Third Reading*—East India Loan (£5,000,000)\*; East India Loan (Annuities)\*; Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2)\*; Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Extension\* (181); Endowed Schools Acts Continuance\* (182); Expiring Laws Continuance\* (183); Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses)\* (184); Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment\* (186); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money)\* (188); St. Giles Ancient Church (Edinburgh)\* (189); Lough Erne and River (Continuance)\* (190), and *passed*.

*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*

COUNTY COURTS—PRIVILEGES OF  
PEERS.—STATEMENT.

LORD SKELMERSDALE: My Lords, in the absence of my noble Friend Lord De L'Isle, I have been asked to make a statement on his behalf. On the 20th of July last, Lord De L'Isle underwent a serious surgical operation, and he has since been confined to his room. Yesterday, for the first time, his attention was called to a paragraph in a weekly newspaper stating that a judgment had been applied for against him in the Brompton County Court for a sum of £2 8s., in respect of coals supplied to him by a certain firm, but that he did not appear, and, as on a previous occasion, pleaded the privileges of a Peer. This morning a well-known daily paper published an article on the subject. I have the authority of Lord De L'Isle for stating that there is not a word of truth from beginning to end in the whole statement—that it is a gross libel; that Lord De L'Isle has never been a defendant in such an action; that he never had any dealings with the firm in question; that he has never been sued in the Brompton County Court; and that he has authorized his solicitors to take proceedings against the author of the libel.

NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRE-  
LAND) BILL—(No. 199.)

(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

SECOND READING. THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

VISCOUNT ORANBROOK: This Bill, my Lords, affects the salaries and position of National School teachers in Ireland. The subject has in various forms frequently been before the other House of Parliament, and also before your Lordships' House as well. The present measure affords a means by which National School teachers in Ireland can, by contributions on their own part, and by assistance from the Irish Church Fund, receive pensions in certain cases and under certain conditions. There are powers in the Bill, by which National School teachers can retire at certain ages, and by which they can augment these pensions. The Bill has been very carefully considered in the other House of Parliament, and I believe the result arrived at in it will be very acceptable to the

National School teachers of Ireland, who have hitherto been not overpaid. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

On Question, *agreed to*.

Committee *negatived*; Then Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and *passed*.

# BANKING AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES BILL—(No. 201.)

(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

## SECOND READING. THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was only part of a larger measure which was introduced into the other House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but which, from the state of Business and the opposition it was likely to meet with, it had not been thought desirable to press it in its entirety; and therefore Her Majesty's Government, abandoning those provisions of the original Bill which had given rise to controversy, and might have imperilled the passing of those sections which were universally accepted, had retained only those clauses which enabled unlimited Companies to register themselves anew as limited Companies, and those which provided for the limitation of liability and the powers of audit.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, the discussion yesterday was quite irregular, and if the Bill which I heard read a third time at 5 o'clock in "another place" had been sent up in time, the observations I made, and which were objected to, might have been attended to. In my remarks with reference to the Trustees Relief Bill, I wished to allude to the enormous powers which creditors and depositors possessed in being able to make trustees liable; because the change is so great from a power to make several innocent persons contributories, to limiting the liability to

any fixed sum. My Lords, as I ventured to say in the presence of the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor), I consider the case of *Buchanan v. Ridsdale* to be erroneous, and many Scotch advocates, and every English barrister who knows much of the matter, will agree with me in what I say. In your Lordships' answer to the Speech from the Throne, you say—

"We humbly assure your Majesty that, after full deliberation upon the matters which have led your Majesty to anticipate our usual time of meeting, we shall be prepared to give our careful consideration to such measures for the public benefit as your Majesty may hereafter direct to be submitted to us."

But I ask your Lordships, how can we "carefully consider" that which has only been in our hands a quarter of an hour? The proposal of the noble Earl now on the Woolsack (the Earl of Redesdale) in 1855 to refer the first Limited Liability Bill to a Select Committee is applicable now. A Minister has proposed that a new clause for a Bill should be brought forward next Session. Following the example of the Irish Education Bill, which, instead of plodding through "another place," was begun in this House, a Bill on the whole subject might be introduced, and the opinion of such noble Lords as Lord Overstone and Lord Wolverton might be taken. At present, the House does not contain the usual number of Government supporters. The liquidation of the City of Glasgow Bank is not yet finished, and the trustees are at the mercy of the liquidators. My Lords, to show how hardly shareholders are dealt with, I may mention the case of a shareholder in the Western Bank, in which a Baronet supposed to have £20,000 for his wife's fortune lost it all, and had to pay the same amount by way of calls; but in the City of Glasgow Bank a shareholder of five shares, purchased by an agent, had to pay £5,000, being all, with the assistance of relatives, that could be paid, and if the full amount of calls now made had been within the power of the shareholder, £16,000 would have been the amount beyond the loss of the shares. My Lords, I earnestly beseech your Lordships to postpone the consideration of the Bill to the beginning of next Session. The subject is one which is worthy the consideration of every depositor, every shareholder, and every

trustee; but it is impossible at this time of the Session that it can be adequately discussed. Many of your Lordships will remember that in 1855 the question of an independent audit was considered; and, in my opinion, if there had been an independent audit of the City of Glasgow Bank accounts, the disaster which is deplored by so many thousands, and which has ruined so many families, would not have occurred. I earnestly hope, my Lords, that the measure will be postponed at present, and will be re-introduced the first day of next Session. I move that the Bill be read a second time this day three months.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the Affirmative.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly; Committee *negatived*; Then Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> and *passed*.

#### SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (OFFICERS) BILL.

#### CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS AMEND- MENTS.

Bill returned from the Commons *agreed to*, with Amendments.

Amendments *considered*.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) said, the Amendments which had been inserted by the Commons were such as their Lordships would agree to; and he, therefore, moved that their Lordships do concur with the Commons in their Amendments.

*Moved*, "That this House do agree to the Amendments made by the Commons in the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

On Question, *agreed to*.

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven  
o'clock, till To-morrow,  
Two o'clock.

*Lord Denman*

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 14th August, 1879.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILL — Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading — Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) [235], and *passed*.

### NOTICE OF MOTION.

#### NAVAL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN, in rising to give Notice of a Motion on this subject, complained that the report of his speech of the previous evening upon Naval Administration appeared in only one of the London papers. He was proceeding to comment upon this matter, when—

MR. SPEAKER said, he understood the hon. Baronet was about to give Notice of a Motion. The House having given him some indulgence upon a personal matter, it would be for the hon. Baronet now to state the terms of his Motion.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that the observations he had made on the previous evening had reference to both Naval and Horse Guard administration, owing to some accident, he presumed, his observations had been suppressed. The terms of his Notice were as follows:—

"To call attention to the maladministration of the Admiralty as regards the Corps of Royal Marines, and also to the violation by the Horse Guards Department of the five years' rule regarding the Staff."

### QUESTIONS.

#### ARMY (INDIA)—THE 10TH HUSSARS.

##### QUESTION.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can inform the House if the 10th Hussars received the order to make forced marches on their return to India while suffering from cholera; and, if so, from whom the order proceeded, and what was the countervailing reason for increasing the pace at the risk of the health of the men?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I cannot yet say whether the 10th Hussars received

the order to make forced marches on their return to India. If such an order was issued, it was, probably, not in spite of, but because of, cholera, it being of the first importance, and at almost any other risk, to remove cholera-stricken troops from the infected district.

#### NAVY—COMPOSITIONS FOR COATING IRON SHIPS—QUESTION.

CAPTAIN PIM asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Chief Constructor at a dockyard is the officer whose duty it is to report upon the merits of various compositions used for coating the bottoms of iron ships at the several dockyards; and whether he submits recommendations as to the use of these compositions, and regulates the time during which ships are allowed to remain in dock for the application of such materials, as also the number of coats to be applied in each case; whether he be aware that at Portsmouth the son of the Chief Constructor is now, and has for some years been, the agent for the gentleman whose compositions have been among those offered for competitive trial; and, whether it is not the case that the compositions to which reference is now made have been more largely brought into use and more favourably reported upon at Portsmouth than at the other dockyards.

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is the duty of the Chief Constructor, in conjunction with the Senior Constructor, as it is also that of the Admiral Superintendent, to report upon the merits of the different compositions. They submit a Report of the state of vessels' bottoms, when docked, to the Admiralty, and recommend what composition, and how many coats, should be applied. In all cases the Admiralty decide and give directions as to the course to be taken. The Admiralty have been for some time aware that a son of the Chief Constructor of Portsmouth Dockyard was connected with one of the gentlemen whose compositions for the protection of ships' bottoms are used in the Navy; but the Admiralty have not had reason to believe that this fact has influenced the officers of the Dockyard in their Reports on the merits of any of the compositions under trial. The question as to the merits of compositions is decided by the Controller's Department at the

Admiralty from their own personal inspection, as well as from the Reports received from the Dockyards on foreign stations, and that Department is responsible for the adoption of any composition, and not the officers of the Dockyards. It is not the case that the composition to which reference is now made has been more favourably reported on at Portsmouth than at other Yards; it has been most favourably reported on by the Dockyards at Malta and Bermuda; and if its use has been more extended at Portsmouth than at other Yards, it is due to the Admiralty officers acting in accordance with their own observations, and the Reports they have received from the foreign Yards.

#### FIJI—SMALL POX.—QUESTION.

MR. ALDERMAN W. M'ARTHUR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give any information as to the prevalence of smallpox in Fiji, and will lay upon the Table of the House any Despatches on the subject from the Governor of Fiji?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: The *Leonidas* arrived at Fiji, from Calcutta, with Coolie immigrants, on May 14. There were then cases of small-pox on board. The ship was at once placed in quarantine; great energy and resource were shown by the Administrator, Mr. De Vœux, Dr. Macgregor, and other authorities, in making the necessary arrangements for preventing communications with her; and, by the last accounts, it seemed that their exertions had proved entirely successful in preventing the spread of the disease. On first receiving this intelligence I telegraphed to the Governor of New South Wales to send temporary medical assistance to Fiji if the small-pox extended beyond the quarantine station, and on June 19 I sent out an extra medical officer from this country to the Colony.

#### ARMY—FIRST APPOINTMENTS IN THE 60TH RIFLES.—QUESTION.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether first appointments in the 60th Rifles are made by H.R.H. the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, as in other Infantry Regiments (excepting the Brigade of Guards and Rifle Brigade, in



which the Colonel commanding the Regiment personally selects the recipients of first commissions), in the ordinary course, or are made by the personal selection of His Royal Highness in his capacity of Colonel commanding the 60th Regiment?

COLONEL STANLEY: The practice is not different with regard to the 60th Rifles from that which exists in every other regiment. As I had occasion to point out the other day, the Field Marshal Commander-in-Chief exercises the double function of Commander-in-Chief and of colonel of the regiment. I do not know that I could explain how he could keep the two characters apart.

POOR LAW—CARDIFF BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—QUESTION.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked the President of the Local Government Board, If his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Board of Poor Law Guardians of Cardiff, as reported in the "South Wales Daily News" and "Western Mail," of the 11th instant, in reference to the appointment of Catherine Gwyn, a Roman Catholic, as a nurse, and the efforts of the Guardians to change the appointment and dismiss Catherine Gwyn because she was a Roman Catholic; whether the Guardians have not heretofore acted illegally in requiring a particular religious qualification in the officers appointed by them; and, whether he will take steps to insure that no person shall be disqualified from holding office in the administration of the Poor Law (except in the case of chaplains appointed for particular denominations) on account of his or her religious belief?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Sir, all I know officially about this case is that the Cardiff Guardians have recommended the sanctioning of the appointment of Catherine Gwyn as a nurse in their Union, and I have sanctioned the appointment. I have had no other communication from the Guardians on the subject. The hon. Gentleman has drawn my attention to a newspaper report of a discussion which occurred among the Guardians subsequent to the appointment, in which there was an objection made to it on the ground that the person appointed was a Roman Catholic. It is impossible for me to check the observa-

*Sir Patrick O'Brien*

tions made in debates of Boards of Guardians. I do not know what steps I can take to insure—in fact, it is impossible so to insure—that Guardians should not give preference, if they choose, to members of their own religion, however objectionable and unauthorized that may be. The tendency is rather to relinquish control in such matters over Boards of Guardians by the Central Authority.

MALTA—REPORTS OF SIR PENROSE JULYAN AND MR. KEENAN.

QUESTION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is yet in a position to say when Sir Penrose Julyan's report on Maltese matters will be laid before Parliament; and, whether he will lay Mr. Keenan's report on educational matters at Malta upon the Table?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I understand that Mr. Keenan has just completed his Report, but I have not yet received it; and I cannot say whether either this or Sir Penrose Julyan's Report will be laid before Parliament. Certainly the letter, if published at all, should first be published in Malta.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—CETEWAYO.—QUESTION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he has seen in the "Daily News" of the 12th, that the statement is repeated by Cape Town correspondents that Sir Garnet Wolseley has put a price on Cetewayo's head; and, if he can yet say whether there is any foundation for the statement?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I can only say that this statement does not appear in any communication that I have received from South Africa. Sir Garnet Wolseley has stated that he thinks Cetewayo's continued presence in Zululand undesirable, a view which appears to be shared by the Zulus themselves, and I do not doubt that he will do his best to take Cetewayo prisoner if he can.

MR. ANDERSON: I feel very reluctantly obliged to make some remarks to the House, and in order to put myself in Order I shall conclude with a Motion. ["Oh!" and "No!"] I am compelled

to do so in consequence of the extraordinary answer which has been given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and I can assure the House that I shall be exceedingly brief in what I have to say. We are now about to separate, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies will soon be out of reach of being asked any Question, and out of reach of being called on to give an explanation; I, therefore, feel bound to ask the Government what their views are as to offering a reward for Cetewayo's head? [*Interruption.*] I will not detain the House above three or four minutes. Sir, I think the country generally will agree with me in the opinion that this country has already reaped a sufficient crop of infamy out of the Zulu War, and we do not want to be dragged down to the lower depth of infamy still by the employment of brigands and assassins to take away the life of the man opposed to us. Cetewayo is no criminal—he is no criminal to have a reward set upon his head. I do not think such a course of warfare has been adopted by this country since the time when £30,000 was put upon the head of Charles Edward Stuart, the Pretender, and that was a very evil example, which I should not like to see followed now. The verdict which history will pass upon Cetewayo will be that he was a gallant Monarch, defending his country and his people against one of the most wanton and wicked invasions that ever could be made upon an independent people. That will be the verdict of history; and if we go down to the depth of infamy of offering a reward for his head, the country will condemn any Government that does it. I think we are entitled to hear from the Government before we separate some explanation of what their views are on the matter. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in answering my Question, has given a reply which seems to show not only that he does not know, but that he does not care, whether the statement that was made, and has now been repeated by the Colonial papers, is true or not, and that, probably, Sir Garnet Wolseley would adopt that course; because, he said, Sir Garnet Wolseley had sent word home that there would be no peace in the country so long as Cetewayo was there. We see what he is doing, and that, although the country is not yet conquered, he is send-

ing home troops, as if he were now going to trust to some other means than honest warfare for the attainment of his ends. These things will excite suspicion in this country; and I hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will give us the assurance that such a course as has been stated to have been taken will meet with the strongest disapproval from Her Majesty's Government. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to let us know the opinion of the Government on this important point, and I beg now to move the adjournment of the House.

MR. COURTNEY seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the House will be of opinion that I need not trouble it at any length on the subject. What I said in answer to the hon. Gentleman's Question was, that I had no doubt that Sir Garnet Wolseley, having expressed his opinion that it was undesirable that Cetewayo should continue in Zululand—an opinion which is shared, it appears, by a very large number of Cetewayo's late subjects—would do his best to take him prisoner. I should like to know how what I have said, or what has appeared anywhere else, justifies the hon. Gentleman in charging Sir Garnet Wolseley with hiring assassins and murderers to put an end to Cetewayo's life? If we cannot trust the people we send out to a distant country to manage the affairs of this great Empire better than the hon. Member for Glasgow appears to trust them, we shall do the gravest injustice to those who are serving us.

MR. COURTNEY said, the right hon. Baronet seemed to have misunderstood the Question. He (*Mr. Courtney*) did not know what was the intention of the hon. Member for Glasgow; but he assumed it was this. He utterly disbelieved that any English commander, in the position of Sir Garnet Wolseley, would ever put a price on the head of his enemy; and as the statement had been made and repeated in the Colonial papers, he desired to receive from the Secretary of State for the Colonies an indignant denial. Unfortunately, the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not deny it. He did not even say it

was impossible to suppose it to be true. He treated it as a thing that might possibly happen to be within the policy of Sir Garnet Wolseley. What he certainly expected to hear from the Secretary of State for the Colonies was an indignant statement that such an imputation as this could not be cast on the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces engaged in a warfare which we must conduct with some regard to the maxims of war among civilized nations.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN had understood the hon. Member for Glasgow to ask a simple Question—namely, whether the statement in a morning journal was correct or incorrect; and, if it was correct, whether Her Majesty's Government would send out a telegram to the Cape expressing their disapproval of such a course? He (Sir Patrick O'Brien) was not aware that the hon. Member for Glasgow had exceeded his right as a Member of that House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The Government have no information of anything of the kind, nor of any such statement that Sir Garnet Wolseley has put a price upon the head of Cetewayo. They do not believe it. But how are we to answer Questions of this sort put to us upon information in Colonial newspapers which we have not seen? The hon. Baronet says—"Why don't you telegraph out?" and to that I must answer, because the telegraph has not yet been completed.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN explained that what he meant was that they should telegraph to Madeira.

MAJOR NOLAN thought the hon. Member for Glasgow was quite right, and added that there was a precedent much later than that of Charles Stuart, for the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico put a price upon the head of Juarez, and issued an order that all men found fighting under him should be shot as rebels. Under that order, when Juarez became the stronger, the Emperor Maximilian was himself shot. This country certainly ought not to follow such a precedent as that.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that he would not have risen except to remove an aspersion which his hon. and gallant Friend had incautiously cast on the memory of the Emperor Maximilian. The Emperor never set a price on the capture of those who were in arms

against his Government. What he really did was this. He issued a Proclamation that the war was at an end, and that he would treat those thenceforward found in arms against the Empire, not as prisoners of war, but as rebels. Shortly after this Proclamation certain Mexican leaders were taken in arms, and were shot. It was done on the assumption that they were criminal disturbers of the peace. The war, however, was not over. Juarez was simply at bay. He, subsequently, resumed active operations, and eventually took the Emperor prisoner, and brought him to trial by court martial for having issued the Proclamation under which the Mexican leaders had been condemned and shot. They all knew that the Emperor Maximilian was found guilty and shot, not, however, for having set a price on anyone's head, but for what his captors held to be a capital breach of the laws of war.

MR. ANDERSON: If the Secretary of State for the Colonies had answered as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done—that he did not believe the statement—I should not have troubled the House; but his reply led to the impression that he did believe it, and would not condemn it. After the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I beg to be allowed to withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### INDIA—THE NIZAM—LOANS.

##### QUESTION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If Her Majesty's Government have any information of the truth, or otherwise, of a statement in the Indian newspapers, that the regency of the Nizam's country being in pecuniary difficulties are trying to raise a large loan in Bombay?

MR. E. STANHOPE, in reply, said, he had made careful inquiry into this matter, and he was not able to give any information whatever on the subject.

#### NAVY—KRUPP GUNS.—QUESTION.

MR. E. J. REED asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will inform the House what officers of the Admiralty were recently sent to Westphalia to inspect the Krupp breech-loading guns

*Mr. Courtney*

and the various mechanical appliances connected therewith, and to report upon their performances; and, whether any skilled mechanical officer was among the number of those sent?

**MR. W. H. SMITH:** The British naval officers witnessing the trials are Rear Admiral Hamilton, First Director of Naval Ordnance; Captain Herbert, Her Majesty's gunnery ship *Excellent*; Captain Cyprian Bridge, a member of the Heavy Gun Committee and also the Committee on Explosives; and Commander Grenfell, Naval Attaché. The Admiralty are not charged with the duty of manufacturing their own guns, and they have, therefore, no mechanical officer employed in the manufacture of guns.

#### ARMY—THE AUXILIARY FORCES— MILITIA SERGEANTS—QUESTION.

**MR. CALLAN** (for Mr. GRAY) asked the Financial Secretary for War, What changes, if any, have recently been made in the fuel and light allowance of first-class staff sergeants of Militia; and, whether the change is in accordance with the provision that these non-commissioned officers should be placed in this respect on an equality with corresponding non-commissioned officers in Line Regiments?

**COLONEL STANLEY:** Sir, from the information given to me since Notice of this Question was put on the Paper, I am led to suppose that I was correct in the statement I made the other day—that no difference exists between the allowances to staff sergeants of Militia in England and the allowances to staff sergeants of Militia in Ireland. The Question, probably, has arisen from the circumstances that an erroneous issue at a higher rate than that which ought to have been issued was made in the case of certain staff sergeants. Of course, that issue will not be continued.

#### CATTLE DISEASE (IRELAND).

##### QUESTION.

**MR. CALLAN** (for Mr. GRAY) asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether cattle disease has recently again broken out in the Phoenix Park, Dublin; whether the Park has in consequence been "closed" under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act by the Board of Guardians of the North Dublin Union;

whether, when this was done before, the Government did not seek to have the closing order set aside; and, whether, in view of the constant recurrence of disease in the Phoenix Park, Government, instead of endeavouring to have the provisions against the spread of infection more relaxed, will consider the propriety of excluding cattle and sheep altogether therefrom for a reasonable period?

**SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON:** Sir, there have been three cases of pleuropneumonia in the Phoenix Park since the 27th of June last. The Guardians have not declared the entire Park to be closed under the Contagious Diseases Act in consequence of the infection, but only a field at Whitefields has been so declared. The Irish Government declared the Park to be free from pleuropneumonia by Order dated the 27th of May last, no case of the disease having occurred therein since the 30th of October, 1873. The Irish Government does not consider that there is any necessity at present for excluding cattle and sheep altogether from the Park.

#### IRELAND—THE POLICE, DUBLIN.

##### QUESTION.

**MR. CALLAN** (for Mr. GRAY) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that under present arrangements the citizens of Dublin pay twice over a large proportion of the salary of every policeman employed by the local authority in sanitary duty, first, through the police tax, and second by having to pay the full salary and cost of clothing of every policeman so employed, no allowance being made for the proportion already received by the Treasury in the former shape; and, whether he will give directions to have this injustice remedied?

**SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON:** The Question referred to has been fully investigated by the Irish Government and the Treasury, and the conclusion come to has been that there is no injustice in charging to the Corporation of Dublin the full salary and cost of clothing of the police employed on sanitary duty. The addition of these men to the police force makes no addition to the amount of the police tax, which has remained unchanged since 1837. The increased expenditure for these men falls

wholly on the Vote, not on the rate-payers; and as they are maintained solely for the use of the Corporation, it is only right the Corporation should pay the total cost.

**BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS—  
REGISTRARS' FEES.—QUESTION.**

MR. CALLAN (for Mr. GRAY) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether superintendent registrars of births, deaths, and marriages in England are allowed a fee of 5s. for each index to a register book prepared by them; and, whether any similar fee is allowed for the discharge of a similar duty in Ireland?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the fees paid to the superintendent registrars in England are 7s., not 5s., for each index. No similar fee is paid to superintendent registrars in Ireland.

**THE SLAVE TRADE—PAPERS.  
QUESTION.**

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Slave Trade Papers for 1878 will be laid upon the Table; and, what progress has been made in getting the Red Sea Slave Trade Convention signed at Constantinople?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, the Slave Trade Papers would be in the possession of hon. Members in a few days. The Red Sea Slave Trade Convention with Turkey had not yet been signed; but the Government had every reason to believe that the negotiations on the subject would very shortly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

**AFGHANISTAN—THE WAR—LOSS OF  
CAMELS.—QUESTION.**

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can give to the House any information contradictory of the following telegram from Simla, contained in "The Times" of the 9th of June, respecting the alleged loss of camels during the campaign in Afghanistan, viz.:—

"The statement that 16,000 camels have been lost may be correct with regard to a portion of our forces, but at least twice this number have perished altogether, without counting other baggage animals. An estimate, which ought to be trustworthy, makes the total number nearly

40,000. It is earnestly to be hoped that the successful termination of the campaign may not prevent fullest inquiries into the cause of mismanagement so discreditable and dangerous. The Khyber force was for some time so helpless, owing to the want of transport, that it could not have advanced to Cabul if Yakoob Khan had defied us;"

and, whether the camel owners will receive compensation from the Government only for camels captured or destroyed by the enemy, and not for those which have perished from other causes?

MR. E. STANHOPE: We have telegraphed for detailed information on this subject; but it has not yet reached me. I am afraid that there is no doubt that the loss of camels was heavy; but there is nothing in any of the Correspondence from India to lead to the idea that the force could not have moved forward if required to do so. It is understood that the terms offered to camel owners covered all risks of death or loss from any cause.

**TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE 23—  
THE TURKISH PROVINCES.**

**QUESTION.**

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can yet say whether the very first step required by the provisions of the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin for granting autonomous constitutions to the several provinces of European Turkey, viz., the appointment of special commissions for each province, has yet been taken in regard to any; and, if any, to what province, or if any real step whatever has been taken or is likely soon to be taken towards establishing these autonomies?

MR. BOURKE: At the end of June last, Sir Henry Layard made an urgent appeal to the Porte to appoint the Commissions which were necessary under the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin as soon as possible. A month after that, since the new Prime Minister was appointed, Sir Henry Layard renewed that appeal, and received from Aarifi Pasha an assurance that the Commissions would shortly be appointed. I must say that it is earnestly to be hoped that the Porte will see it is to the interest of the Sultan, just as much as to the interest of the populations in the Provinces of European Turkey, that these Commissions should be appointed without any delay.

*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*

**INDIAN NATIVE TROOPS—RETURN OF  
LIST OF CONVEYANCE TO EUROPE.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. SHAW LEFEVRE** (for Mr. **WIDDELL**) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, The cause of the delay in finishing the Return, ordered by this House early in the Session, as to the time of bringing the Indian Troops to Europe?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** The information had to be got from India, and that led to some delay. When it arrived it was sent to the War Office, and it has now been prepared, and was laid upon the Table of the House yesterday.

**ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE LONDON  
STOCK EXCHANGE.—QUESTION.**

**MR. KIRK** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is a fact that not only portions of the evidence of some of the witnesses, but the entire of the evidence of at least one other witness, and that given at more than one sitting of the Royal Commissioners, has been omitted in the Minutes of Evidence contained in the Blue Book presented to Parliament relating to the Inquiry by the Royal Commissioners into the constitution, custom, and usages of the London Stock Exchange; and, further, what authority, and under what circumstances, certain portions of the evidence of Mr. Cooper, and the entire of the evidence of the Right honourable J. Goschen, in relation to the production and the subsequent winding-up of the Imperial Land Company of Marlborough, has been suppressed from the Blue Book on the customs and usages of the London Stock Exchange, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I have no knowledge whatever of this subject, and I only saw the Question to-day. I have sent over to the War Office, where the Report has been sent; and I am informed that all the evidence that was sent in by the Royal Commission was presented by the War Office, and that nothing was cut out there. Therefore, if there has been an omission, it rests with the Royal Commission; but I have no knowledge of the matter myself.

**MR. CALLAN:** As to the second part of the Question, the right hon. Gentleman has not informed us whether a Royal Commission has authority to cut out any portion of the evidence.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I really do not know. I apprehend that they took such evidence as they thought right, and presented it to Her Majesty. Whatever was presented to Her Majesty would have been sent to the Home Secretary. He is not now in London, as he is in attendance upon Her Majesty at Osborne; but, as I understand, the Report, as it was sent in to Her Majesty through the Home Secretary, was presented without any alteration to this House.

**MR. CALLAN:** I beg to give Notice, as it is a matter of deep interest to us, especially now that another important Royal Commission has just been issued, that none of the evidence should be suppressed—I beg to give Notice that I will to-morrow ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether a Royal Commission, in presenting the evidence it has taken, has any power to suppress any of that evidence? If evidence is suppressed in one case it may be in another; and we have just had an important Commission appointed to consider the agricultural distress of the country.

**SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—  
THE MARINES AND NAVAL BRIGADE.  
QUESTION.**

**MR. B. WHITWORTH** asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If Despatches have been received from the Commodore at Natal, mentioning the services of the Marines and Naval Brigade, particularly the men of the "Shah," at Ekowe and Ghirgelova; and, if so, why they have not been laid before the House?

**MR. W. H. SMITH:** All despatches mentioning the services of the Naval Brigade and Marines are already in print, and will shortly be issued by the Colonial Office.

**THE INDIAN MUTINY—CASE OF MR.  
W. TAYLER.—QUESTIONS.**

**SIR HENRY HAVELOCK** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been drawn to the statement made in several public

journals that the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India in Council by Mr. William Tayler (late Commissioner of Patna during the Indian Mutiny) between the months of October and December, 1868, together with six original letters which accompanied that memorial, are not forthcoming amongst the records of the India Office; whether he can give the House any information as to the truth, or otherwise, of that statement; and, whether he will cause to be laid upon the Table of the House and printed, before the House rises for the Recess, the counter-statement lately sent in by Mr. Tayler to the allegations made, in his case, by Sir Frederick Halliday?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The Memorial of 1868 was recently moved for by the hon. Member for South Warwickshire, and is now being printed. It will, I hope, be in the hands of hon. Members before very long. As for the counter-statement recently sent in, it appears to me, after a careful perusal, to be in such a form, and to contain statements affecting individuals of such a character, that we should not be justified in recommending the House to have it printed.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK asked, Whether there would be any objection to referring the Memorial back to Mr. Tayler, and pointing out to him the objectionable passages, in order that he might excise them, and present the Memorial in an amended form?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, there could be no objection to Mr. Tayler revising his Memorial, and presenting it in an amended form.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—EXPLOSIONS ON COAL-LADEN SHIPS.—QUESTION.

MR. CHILDERS asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to an incorrect statement recently published as to the dangers connected with explosions on coal-laden ships; and, whether he will put forward, by authority, some statement to remedy the very great danger arising from the acceptance of misleading statements on the subject?

VISCOUNT SANDON, in reply, said, the important subject to which the right hon. Gentleman called attention had been under the consideration of the Board of Trade, and it was not impro-

bable that it would deal with the matter in some such way as the right hon. Gentleman had indicated; but he could not give any definite assurance.

#### COUNTY COURTS—PRIVILEGES OF PEERS.—QUESTION.

MR. MONK: I wish to ask Mr. Attorney General a Question, of which I have given him private Notice, with reference to a report that is prejudicial to the character of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley. That report, having appeared in the public Press, appeared to receive confirmation from an answer given by the hon. and learned Member in this House yesterday to a Question put by the hon. Member for Leominster (Mr. Blake). I now ask the Attorney General, What grounds he had for stating that he believed the facts mentioned by the hon. Member for Leominster to be correctly represented; and, whether it is within his knowledge that any Peer of the Realm has acted in the manner described by the hon. Member? Owing to illness, Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, who is confined to his room, is unable to attend in "another place" to deny that there is one word of truth in the report.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER): Before I answered the Question put to me by the hon. Member for Leominster, I had seen a report in a newspaper of proceedings in the Brompton County Court, and of a judgment, or decision, pronounced by the learned Judge of that Court. I assumed the report to be correct. What I meant by saying that the facts appeared to be correctly represented was that the statement contained in the Question corresponded with that given in the newspaper. I have no knowledge whatever of the matter, except from information derived from the newspaper report, and from the Question of the hon. Member for Leominster, and I should be glad if it turns out that the report was incorrect. I may say that I studiously avoided mentioning any name whatever.

MR. MONK: The Question was in reference to a Peer of the Realm, and Lord De L'Isle and Dudley is the only Peer of the Realm of that name. On his behalf I beg to give the statement in question a most unqualified contradiction.

*Sir Henry Havelock*

**MR. BLAKE:** Perhaps the House will allow me to state that in the Question I asked of the Attorney General there was no mention of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley's name. It is rather inconvenient that the noble Lord should take this mode of clearing up an inaccuracy which appears in a newspaper report. I handed a copy of the Question to the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) that he might be prepared to answer it.

**SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—  
THE BATTLE OF ULUNDI.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. ALDERMAN W. M'ARTHUR** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received from the Aborigines Protection Society a letter calling his attention to a statement published in the special correspondence of the "Daily Telegraph," on August 4th, to the effect that, at the Battle of Ulundi, our Native Contingent despatched all the Zulu wounded who were found after the action; and, whether he intends to accede to the Society's request that he will make a searching inquiry into the truth of this statement?

**COLONEL STANLEY:** I have received the letter in question, of which, I believe, an acknowledgment has been sent to the Society. But I have made a similar inquiry, at the instance partly of the Society, about similar reports which were made earlier in the Zulu campaign, and I called the general officer's attention to them, and directed that inquiries should be made. Therefore, I have not conceived it to be necessary, in respect of this particular occurrence, to give any fresh instructions, taking for granted that it was covered by the instructions previously given.

**SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE  
(OFFICERS) BILL—QUESTIONS.**

**MR. CHILDERS** wished to make an appeal to the House and the Chancellor of the Exchequer about this measure. Its passing this Session was of great importance, as it would result in the saving of several thousands a-year. But several clauses were most objectionable. What he asked was, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should

withdraw the most objectionable clauses, and then that the Bill should be passed this afternoon, so as to receive the concurrence of the House of Lords.

**MR. GREGORY** asked, Whether the Government intended to proceed with the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts Amendment Bill?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** said, it would be hopeless to proceed with that Bill. There was no doubt that the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill was a measure of great importance, being the outcome of two Select Committees and a Royal Commission, and that it involved a considerable economy. In order, therefore, to insure its passing, he was prepared to accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, and omit from the Bill the clauses which made officers of the Supreme Court permanent civil servants, and gave the Lord Chancellor the power to award pensions. He should move that all the Orders after the Bill should be postponed, thus taking the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill before the Afghan debate, so that the Bill might be sent up in time to the Lords.

**SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—  
RUMoured ADVANCE.**

**NOTICE OF QUESTION.**

**MR. WHITWELL** gave Notice that to-morrow he would ask, Whether it was true that Sir Garnet Wolseley had ordered an advance beyond Zululand into the neighbouring territory, contrary to what was intimated to be the desire of the Government?

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH:** I can answer that Question now. I know nothing about it.

**PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—PROCEED-  
INGS OF THE HOUSE—NOTE TAKING  
IN THE MEMBERS' SIDE GALLERY.**

**OBSERVATIONS.**

**MR. CALLAN** rose to call attention to a matter with regard to which he wished to set himself right. He referred to a recent incident in the House, when attention was called to a gentleman who was sitting in one of the side Galleries making notes. A few days after the discussion his attention was called to a summary in *The Times*, in



which he was represented as having referred to a supposed indictment being drawn up against the Irish Members, with the assistance of the Chief Clerk. He did not make any such charge against the Chief Clerk; but he had said that there was a rumour that such an indictment was being prepared. He had received an assurance from the Chief Clerk—whom they all esteemed so highly for acting with perfect impartiality towards all Members of the House—that there was no truth in that rumour. Having made that statement, he begged to make the *amende*; and, on the part of those with whom he acted, to say that they, in common with the other Members of the House, entertained the highest respect for the Chief Clerk.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I believe I may say, on the part of the whole of the House, that we are glad to receive the observations which the hon. Member has just made; because we are all conscious of the great services which are performed by the officers at the Table, and especially by the Chief Clerk. I am quite sure that all who know him, and who see how he has conducted himself in his important position, feel that he would be incapable of acting as was alleged.

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN (EDUCATION) BILL.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. MONK rose to a point of Order. When the third reading of the Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill was called last night, attention was drawn to the fact that 40 Members were not present, and the House was counted out. That morning, however, he found that by some extraordinary means the Bill had found its way to the House of Lords, had been read a first time, and had that morning been circulated among the Peers. He had obtained two copies of the Bill, one of which he had handed to the Speaker, and the other he held in his hand. He wished to know whether, by this proceeding, the Privileges of the House had not been violated?

Mr. SPEAKER: In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I can only say that the Bill in question was put for third reading yesterday, and that the House having been counted

out, the Bill became a dropped Order. It is, therefore, quite impossible that this Bill can have been read a first time in the other House, because it had not yet been sent to the House of Lords. It has become a dropped Order.

Mr. WHEELHOUSE, who had charge of the Bill, said, that he had not the slightest knowledge that the Bill had been circulated among the Peers, or had been taken to the House of Lords. What had happened was this. Yesterday afternoon, believing that the Bill would be read a third time, and following the example which had often been adopted before, and which, indeed, he believed to be necessary, he had asked a noble Earl to take charge of the Bill in the Upper House. This the noble Earl had consented to do; and in consequence of its being so late in the Session, and so that there might be no unnecessary delay in the progress of the Bill, was most probably the reason why it had been printed. Beyond that he personally knew nothing, though it was abundantly clear that the Bill could not yet have been read a first time in the other House. If any copies had been circulated he felt sure it must have been by some mistake; and, so far as he was concerned, he could only express his regret if he had accidentally done anything to contribute to it. No one who knew him would suppose that he would dream of doing anything which was not perfectly honourable and in accordance with the Rules and Privileges of the House.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION. — QUESTION.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD asked, with reference to the intended despatch of sub-Commissioners in connection with the Royal Commission on Agricultural Distress into Wales, Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer will take care that the sub-Commissioners shall be acquainted with Welsh, the only language which the Welsh farmers can speak freely?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, the matter did not rest with him; but he would take care that the hon. and learned Gentleman's observations should be represented in the proper quarter.

*Mr. Callan*

**ORDER OF THE DAY.**

**PRIVILEGE (TOWER HIGH LEVEL  
BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE)**

—MR. GRISSSELL.

**REPORT OF THE SERJEANT AT ARMS.**

Report of the Serjeant at Arms *considered*.

**MR. SPEAKER:** As there appears to be some misapprehension as to the powers of commitment exercised by this House, it is right that I should state that, although the prisoner in custody would be released immediately upon the Prorogation of Parliament, his offence would not be purged by his imprisonment. If in another Session this House shall determine that the prisoner has not undergone adequate punishment for his offence, he would be liable to further imprisonment at the pleasure of the House.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, after the information which you have communicated to the House, I think our course is tolerably clear. As but a few hours of the Session remain, it will be impossible this Session to deal with the principal offence with which Charles Grissell is charged. That, I think, must remain for a future decision, if in a future Session any proposal shall be made with regard to it. But the House has also to remember that he has been guilty of a second offence against the House, inasmuch as he has evaded, by his conduct, the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant for bringing him to the Bar of the House; and I think that the proper course for the House to take, under present circumstances, will be to agree to that which I am about to propose—namely—

"That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded, until the close of the Session, the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant for taking him into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly."

That will only be an imprisonment for a few hours; but, still, it marks the sense of the House as to the conduct of this gentleman. I move that Resolution.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** It appears that, in the circumstances, there is scarcely any alternative but for us to take the course suggested by the

Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is certainly to be regretted that we should be driven to take this course, which is scarcely one conducive to the dignity of the proceedings of this House. It is, however, to a certain extent, satisfactory to learn that Mr. Grissell will not be purged of the offence he has committed by the short imprisonment he is about to undergo; but I cannot think that it is altogether a satisfactory or convenient course that we should be obliged to re-consider his case again at the beginning of a subsequent Session. There appears, however, to be no alternative course; and, therefore, I will give my cordial assent to the Motion.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Ordered,* That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded, until the close of the Session, the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant for taking him into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

**MOTION.**

**ORDERS OF THE DAY.**

*Resolved,* That the First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Orders of the Days be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to the Afghan Treaty.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

**ORDER OF THE DAY.**

**SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE  
(OFFICERS) BILL [Lords.]—BILL 235.]**

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 13th August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(*In the Committee.*)

Clause 14 (Abolition of certain officers and continuance of others).

**MR. CHILDERS** moved the addition of the words, after the word salaries, "as the Lord Chancellor with the concurrence of the Treasury may determine."

**MR. MONK** said, the Committee had had considerable discussion upon this point yesterday, and he believed the feeling was in favour of not giving an additional salary to the Senior Master who was to undertake the duty, and he could see no reason for the additional

salary; there would not be heavier duties to perform. It really was not the case that there would be only four Masters to perform the duties now performed by five. The truth was that the Courts of Queen's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas, being amalgamated, the Masters of all would become Masters of the High Court of Justice; therefore, there would be 12 or 15 Masters, and under the section it would be within the power of the Lord Chancellor to recommend the appointment of an additional Master, should the duties become too heavy. He could not understand why the Senior Master, who, instead of performing his usual duties, was to perform the duties of Queen's Remembrancer, was to receive more than £1,500 a-year. To that he had a strong objection, and yesterday he quite understood it was not to be pressed. He felt compelled to take the sense of the Committee on this point.

MR. CHILDERS appealed to the hon. Member not to do that, for the effect must be to stop the whole proceeding in Committee this Session.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, if the hon. Member insisted upon contesting the point it must have the effect of stopping the Bill, which time only admitted of being taken with general assent. The clause which they had passed had reference to the salaries; and the proposal now was, whether or not additional salaries should be regulated by the Treasury? These were the words before the Committee; it was the regulating words, not additional salaries, they were now deciding.

MR. HOPWOOD said, it was a mistake to say the clause, as regarded these salaries, had been passed by the Committee.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, if this Amendment was accepted a few words might be added which would remove all difficulty. If the words were passed as they were printed in red then the Committee might add a Proviso, that the amount fixed by the Lord Chancellor and the Treasury should not exceed the salary now payable to the Queen's Remembrancer. If the Amendment was passed he should move the addition of the Proviso, and hoped it might meet with general concurrence.

MR. ANDERSON said, the payment of salaries to the Queen's Remembrancer was the very point upon which the Com-

mittee broke down yesterday. He was opposed to this system of raising salaries. It would appear that lawyers, at a time when trade was bad and everyone, more or less, impoverished, thought they should continue to live in increasing prosperity and become richer as the rest of the community became poorer. It was agreed yesterday that it could not be shown that these duties were more responsible than those the same official discharged before, or that they took longer time, and as his whole time was already paid for there was no excuse for raising the salary. He certainly understood, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested the Amendment should be accepted, that it was not intended to press this increase of salary.

MR. MONK did not wish to delay the progress of the Bill, and if it would be more convenient to take a Division on Report as to the omission of the words after the word "office" he would do so; but, certainly, he must take a Division upon the point. The Bill, as his hon. Friend had said, was one to reduce expenses; but the clause granted an increase of salary to the oldest Master.

MR. CHARLEY said, the person who held the office of Queen's Remembrancer received no salary at all under the Bill.

MR. MONK said, under the Bill he would receive £1,500 a-year.

MR. B. WILLIAMS was glad there was a probability of the Bill passing into law, and he intended to give the Attorney General all the support in his power. As to the clause in reference to the salary of Queen's Remembrancer, it was a well-established rule that when additional duties were imposed on any man in any official appointment then an increase of pay should be given. It was on this principle, for instance, that increased payment was given to County Court Judges, when their judicial duties were increased. He thought it was important that members of the Profession, who were invited to accept the position of Senior Master, should be well paid, as they ought to be men whose position and experience demanded it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was afraid he must move to report Progress. He understood that, by general consent, the Bill was to pass through Committee; and he reminded hon. Members that Government were under an obligation to afford opportunity

*Mr. Monk*

for another discussion, and could not now consume the time. He must throw upon hon. Gentlemen opposite the responsibility of preventing the passage of a measure intended to produce a considerable saving in public expenditure.

Mr. CHILDERS made a last appeal to the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) not to persist in his objection. The Bill would, undoubtedly, effect a great saving, and it was the outcome of careful inquiry by Committee. In giving this power to the Treasury not one shilling would be added to salaries unless they were deserved.

Mr. CHARLEY hoped that Progress would not be reported. It was absolutely necessary to pass the Bill. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act had amalgamated the Courts, and this Bill amalgamated the offices.

Mr. MONK said, of course, he did not wish to stand out against the appeals made. He had made his protest, and the responsibility of the increase of salary must rest with others.

*Amendment agreed to.*

*Clause, as amended, agreed to.*

*Clauses 15 to 23, inclusive, agreed to.*

*Clauses 24 to 26, agreed to, with verbal Amendments.*

*Clause 27 (Saving as to fees).*

Mr. CHILDERS said, it was understood that next Session the Treasury would take up the question of fees, so that salaries might be substituted for them; but, for the present, it was thought advisable to leave the clause as it stood.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON undertook to deal with the matter, with the view of doing away with the system, to which he saw much objection—payment by fees as well as salary.

Mr. MONK said, he did not care whether the clause was struck out or amended in the sense of the Notice he had put upon the Paper; but he thought it was most undesirable, when a fixed salary was paid, and in some cases an increasing salary—increasing in such manner as the Lord Chancellor might recommend, with the subsequent sanction of the Treasury—it was most undesirable that the payment of fees to these officers should be continued. By

all means, if the salaries ought to be increased, let it be done; but these fees ought to be paid into Her Majesty's Exchequer. He felt sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not have given his sanction to this clause, and that he would consent to the spirit of the Amendment, if not to the omission of the clause. He moved, in page 8, line 16, to leave out "affect any liability to," and insert "be construed to permit."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought it impossible to accept the Amendment in the present position of affairs; but the Government would promise to look into the matter between this and next Session, and make some arrangement by which the system of payment by fees should be done away with.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, unless the liability to pay fees was kept up, the persons who owed fees to the Exchequer would be released from their liability.

*Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.*

*Clause agreed to.*

*Clauses 28 and 29 agreed to.*

New Clause after Clause 17 (Salaried Officers of the Supreme Court).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) moved the addition to the clause of the words "shall be deemed to be permanent civil servants."

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD thought it was understood that the clause was to be left out. His objection to the clause was that it gave power to the Lord Chancellor to fix the amount of the salaries—a power which the House ought to retain in its own hands. He thought he must move the omission of the clause.

Mr. CHILDERS explained, that every salary in the Public Service was first settled by the Treasury, and then the amount came before the House to be voted.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD did not wish to hinder the progress of the Bill; but he did think that the fixing of a maximum was necessary against the extraordinary power assumed by the Treasury.

*Amendment agreed to.*

*Clause added to the Bill.*

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Scindia. He becomes a great vassal, nothing more. Perhaps, if this is not so, the right hon. Gentleman will explain what his position is. Is he an independent Prince? Surely not. There is nothing Lord Wellesley would have liked less, by the way, than what has happened, for he wrote to Lord Ellenborough—

“Your Lordship, I am satisfied, would reject Afghanistan and Cabul, with their rocks, sands, deserts, ice, and snow, even if Shah Shoojah had bequeathed them as a peace-offering to England.”

In the despatch from the Secretary of State the stipulations about non-interference are called unambiguous. I have shown how some of the warmest friends of the Secretary of State interpret them. However anxious, I repeat, the present or any other Viceroy may be not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, he will not be able to help being dragged into doing so, if once we have a British Representative established at Cabul. It is vain to fight against the nature of things. Under the provision of the 9th Article of the Treaty we agree to restore all the territory which we now hold except Kurrum, Pisheen, and Sibi. I leave my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) to deal with the objections to holding Kurrum, as he has already put them forth very admirably in a pamphlet. But Sibi, what is the case for Sibi? Holding Sibi will not make it unnecessary to hold Dadur, which Dost Mahommed told Lord Auckland would be a good substitute for Gehonna. Against Pisheen all the same objections hold which held against Quetta. It is merely going one step further in a thoroughly mischievous policy—another illustration of the *facilis decensus Avernii*. Speaking just two years ago, I said—

“If there was any intention to permanently occupy Quetta, he must protest against that course in the strongest possible way. It was undesirable for several reasons. In the first place, it was a triumph given to the most aggressive school of Indian politicians. In the second place, it would be very expensive. In the third place, it would add seriously to the duties, already very considerable, of our not too large Army. In the fourth place, what would be the advantage of 1,000 men in Quetta? Why, none whatever; for in the case of troubles arising we should only lay ourselves open to insult. If the occupation was to be permanent, they would have to increase that Force, and might have to send reinforcements across some of the very worst country in the East at the season of

the year least adapted to European constitutions, as it was not likely that our enemies would choose the most favourable time for us to raise a disturbance. In the fifth place, as implying virtual annexation, it could not be agreeable to Khelat. In the sixth place, it excited the jealousies of the Afghans, and would increase the difficulties we already experienced with Afghanistan; and, lastly, it exposed the Viceroy to have his hands forced by the extreme party who, the first time that Russia made any forward move in Central Asia in the direction of Merv, would assuredly clamour for advance to Kandahar and ultimately to Herat, and we should not be allowed to stop at Quetta. They would urge the Government of India to go in for the whole Rawlinsonian policy, before which it faltered.”—[3 *Hansard*, cccxxvi. 691-2.]

I wish to call the attention of hon. Members to those words, “the whole Rawlinsonian policy;” they will see the importance of them before I have done. I wish, too, to point out that I would have nothing to say against occupying either Quetta, or Pisheen, or Candahar, if all North-Western Asia were filled up by a State which stood to our Indian Empire in the relation that the Macedon of Alexander the Great stood to the Empire of Darius. But that is not the case nor likely to be. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer reply to me? He replied as follows:—

“As to the occupation of Quetta, if we are to regard that advance from a military point of view—a step in the nature of taking up a certain position to defend ourselves against an apprehended attack—then I should maintain the opinion that it would be a false move; but if our relations with the Government of Khelat are of such a character as to demand that we should take certain steps to improve and regulate those relations—if it is thought right and desirable that we should send an Envoy there, and that the Envoy should be accompanied by a sufficient escort to secure him an honourable reception, I do not see that such a course can be open to objection, or can be liable to the construction that in taking such a step Her Majesty's Government are doing anything that is inconsistent with the policy that has hitherto been pursued—the policy originated by Lord Northbrook, approved by my noble Friend Lord Salisbury, and continued by the present Viceroy, Lord Lytton. I gather from the language of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) and the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) that they are not dissatisfied with the explanations of my noble Friend, if they could only feel sure that there was not something behind. They refer to some expressions used by my noble Friend, Lord Lytton, in which he speaks of the desirability of considering our Frontier policy as a whole, and treating it from an Imperial point of view, and they seem to assume that that policy is going to change its character, and pass from a policy

Mr. Grant Duff

of inactivity into one of activity. I do not admit that that is a fair construction of the language of my noble Friend's despatch."—  
[*Ibid.* 720.]

Then we shall be told that Kurrum, Sibi, and Pisheen are not annexed, they are only assigned—"Convey, the wise it call;" but Her Majesty's Government likes the word "assigned," and we will not quarrel about a word. I want to be informed, however, what "assigned" territory we have given back? It looks to me as if the word "assigned" had been used merely to evade the declarations against annexation in the Queen's Proclamation. Are not these assigned districts going to be another Cyprus, and shall we not have the same sort of questions about them if anyone cares to raise them? Under the provision of the same 9th Article we also retain the control of the Khyber and the Michnee Passes. Well, I can understand that the Government may reasonably expect some advantage from doing that; but one may buy gold too dear. Would it not have been better, if there was any question of our being attacked through the Khyber or Michnee Passes—a most violently improbable contingency—to have obtained possession of them as we did the other day? And, with regard to both Passes, I should like to know what advantage the Government expects to gain from holding them, at all commensurate with the expense and the increased invaliding which will result? Why, if we are really afraid of having to meet an invader coming through these Passes, would it not have sufficed to have strengthened the small forts at the mouth of them, and sealed them in that way? We could have seized Ali Musjid at any time. If it was necessary to do more, surely it was necessary to get up to a country over which our troops could communicate, without going back within our old Frontier. We have pushed beyond our old Frontier, but we have not reached a new Frontier. The three assigned districts and the Passes we hold are all isolated. They are assuredly not scientific. They are not even a Frontier. The military objections urged by General Hamley to what we have done in the Northern part of the Suleiman range are overwhelming. Another claim which the advocates of the Treaty make is, that it "relieves

the Ameer of the entire responsibility of the troublesome Pathan country between India and Afghanistan proper." Doubtless, it relieves the Ameer not of the "entire responsibility," but of a considerable portion of it. But at whose expense does it do this? Why, at our expense! The idea probably was, that the Ameer, relieved of the obligation of looking after some of his troublesome neighbours in the East, would have more leisure to consolidate his power in the North—in the Provinces of Afghan-Turkistan. To act on that idea, however, was to engage in very telescopic politics. Who can say that the new Ameer, relieved of anxieties on the East, may not devote his leisure rather to the West than to the North—may pick quarrels with Persia rather than conciliate Afghan-Turkistan? We undertake a real and increasing burden upon a mere hypothesis—not to say on a mere fancy. Even Sir Henry Rawlinson admits that our new Frontier must bring us into contact with a large mountaineer population, comprising some of the wildest and most unruly Clans in the country. Well may he add, after giving a list of the barbarians whom we must now either fight or bribe, and warmly approving the policy which has brought us into relation with them—"Altogether, I do not pretend to look on the new Frontier arrangements as economical." I should think not. These are the principal questions which it occurs to me to ask about the Treaty; but there are other important questions which are not directly raised by anything within the four corners of that Paper. As, for example: I think we have a right to know what the war has cost in men killed, or dead of disease, or invalided, in money, and in beasts of burden; whether it is intended to reduce the Native Army to the proportion which it had before the war was thought of, or if not, what increased expense its larger numbers will throw on the Revenues of India? Then, we ought to be told what force it is intended to employ in holding our new acquisition, and in keeping open the Passes; whether it is intended to construct works for their protection, and, if so, at what approximate cost; and, generally, as the lawyers say, what has it all been about? The right hon. Gentleman took very good care not to tell us in December

what were the objects of the war. It was a wise precaution; but now that the war is over, I ask him to tell the House of Commons what he wishes it to be supposed the objects were. The first object of the war, as defined in the 8th paragraph of the despatch of the 7th of July from the Viceroy in Council, was the exclusion of all foreign influence from Afghanistan. Have we succeeded? Sir Henry Rawlinson says that we must not relax our vigilance for a moment. The second was—

“Such a rectification of the Frontier as would suffice to render impossible for the future the exclusion of British influence from that State.”

This war has proved that British influence could not be excluded—has proved, in fact, that the war itself was at the best a costly superfluity. Two aids to the understanding of anything the right hon. Gentleman may tell us, in addition to the *Blackwood* article, are at hand, and I may point them out. The one is the book by Dr. Bellew, who was one of the most important persons behind the scenes in all this Frontier policy; and the other is the article of Sir Henry Rawlinson in *The Nineteenth Century* for August. From the following passage will be seen what Dr. Bellew, writing in the middle of the war, thought his masters in India would like him to say:—

“How and where the war now begun is destined to terminate time will show. But it will be our own fault if, with the opportunity now before us, we do not settle the question of our Indian Frontier in this direction once and for all. It behoves us to remember, and the fact requires to be impressed on our minds, that in our invasion of Afghanistan now it is not the Ameer of Cabul we have to deal with alone, but with the fate and disposal of the entire territory over which we have recognized his rule, and which we have made for him what it is. We have now, on entering Afghanistan, to provide not only for its internal security and order, but we have also to provide for the safety of its frontiers against external aggression and intrigue. And the only way in which these objects of vital importance to the success of our enterprise, and of lasting benefit to the Empire, can be attained with any prospect of a satisfactory and stable result, is by our taking their arrangement, execution, and control directly into our own hands. With British garrisons at Cabul, Candahar, Herat, and Balkh, for which the existing Army of India, with but slight increment, is amply sufficient in ordinary times, Afghanistan will be pacified, and Russia, in the direction of Persia and Bokhara, be deprived of an object of ambition and field of intrigue.”

*Mr. Grant Duff*

Dr. Bellew thinks that all this could be done at a very moderate cost. Another, and a far higher military authority, Sir Henry Norman, has said that it would cost £3,000,000 a-year and require 30,000 men to hold a far less expanse of Afghan country. The article of Sir Henry Rawlinson in *The Nineteenth Century* is, I need not say, of the very first importance, for not only is Sir Henry Rawlinson an extremely able man, but he is in all these matters not merely the inspirer, but virtually the lord and master of the Government, the Party opposed to his views in the Indian Council having been utterly rejected and put outside. Anybody who knows the A B C of what has occurred since Lord Northbrook left India, knows that Sir Henry Rawlinson has most skilfully used, for his own far-reaching views, the desire of the Government to make a little political capital by what they foolishly thought would be a perfectly easy and cheap triumph over the non-showy and pacific policy of the Liberal Party, though, indeed, it was the policy of all Governments since the old Afghan War. What, then, does he say? He says this, amongst other things—

“An argument has been brought forward in influential quarters that the Afghan settlement must be held to have dissipated all danger; that alarms at the advance of Russia are now vain alarms; that even if Merv were taken, and Russia and Persia combined threatened the Afghan Border, the British-Indian Government, secure in Yakoub Khan's fidelity, and in his maintenance of the Frontier fortresses of Herat and Mymeneh especially, might laugh at the machinations of its enemies and defy their efforts to annoy us. There is much of fallacy, I believe, in this argument. The Afghan settlement is a very good settlement, as far as it goes; but it is not immaculate, it is not complete. To yield to us its full measure of defence, the Treaty must be supplemented by all legitimate precautions and supports. Persia must be detached from Russia, *coûte que coûte*. Russia herself must not be left in any uncertainty as to our intentions. She must be made to understand, while there is yet time for her to modify her aggressive preparations, that she will not be permitted unopposed to establish herself in strength upon the Afghan Frontier, either at Merv, or at Serakhs, or even at Abiverd, nor to re-commence intrigues against the British power in India. She might, indeed, be warned that, if necessary, we were prepared in self-defence to support the Turkomans—with whom she has no legitimate quarrel—with arms and money, or even to turn the tables on her by encouraging the efforts of the Uzbeks to recover their liberty.”

Now, the first remark that occurs to me is this—The Russians, forsooth, are not to be permitted to establish themselves at Merv, or Serakhs, or even at Abiverd. Examine all the books of all the writers on International Law. In which will you find authority for so astounding a demand? And, observe, this is not the opinion merely of a private person. It is the opinion, signed with his name, of a man who, for all matters connected with Central Asian politics, is virtually a Member of the Cabinet, for he is the most influential Adviser of the Cabinet behind the scenes. And the Russian Government is sufficiently well-informed to know that he is speaking what, it is to be feared, will soon be the views of Her Majesty's Government. What have we to do with any one of these places? If this war had never occurred, a skilful and judicious Ambassador at St. Petersburg would, I doubt not, have succeeded in preventing the Russians coming to Merv for many a long day, not because we had any rights in Merv, but because he would have been able to show various good reasons against it, besides the fact that, to use the happy phrase of the Duke of Argyll, there were many Nervous persons both in England and India, and because it would probably lead to difficulties with the Afghans. But now, after this Afghan War, what shadow of a moral, to say nothing of a legal, right have we to object to the Russians going to Merv, when it suits them to do so? Is, then, the net result of the expenditure of a sum which it is admitted will amount to nearer £3,000,000 than £2,000,000, but which will assuredly, before all bills, directly and indirectly chargeable to the war, are paid, amount to more—of a considerable expenditure of human life, chiefly in the saddest and most inglorious way, through disease, and a quite hideous amount of animal suffering—this, and merely this, that the able man whose skilful piping has been the only interesting feature in the foolish dance that has been performed on the North-West Frontier can write in such a way, can tell us, in effect, that we are just as little able now to turn our attention away from the Frontier as we were before Lord Lytton went to India; that we must be ready at any moment to undertake obligations which will make this country responsible for the defence of

all Asia, from the last outposts on the Assam Frontier to the Bosphorus, for that, and nothing less than that, is what it comes to? I say that Imperial dreams of that kind are well enough as a matter of pleasurable excitement; but that to attempt to carry them into effect is to strain the resources both of England and India to an intolerable extent; and the worst of it is that it is very doubtful whether we can draw back immediately—it will be too late to do so—and the most pacific statesmen now alive may be compelled at least to annex the whole of Afghanistan as a consequence of the fatal policy on which the present Government entered when they first began to make and muddle on the North-West Frontier. It is the cue of the right hon. Gentleman to discredit any predictions we may make about the future, by saying that we expected the conquest of Afghanistan to involve very extensive warlike operations. We did nothing of the kind. I myself, so far from doing so, asserted long before there was any question of war that “if we thought a warlike policy a right or wise one, we could occupy all Afghanistan, and hold it with the greatest ease. But what good would or could come to us from so doing—from annexing new expenses and responsibilities without any new advantage?” That is what we have said all along, and what we say now. We shall see whether our predictions are not as exactly and literally fulfilled in the future as they have been in the past. Hon. Gentlemen opposite thought the Ameer would yield without a war; we thought he would not do so. Hon. Gentlemen thought that there would be no annexation; there has been annexation. Hon. Gentlemen thought that they would, when once a satisfactory Treaty was made with Afghanistan, be able to forget that they ever had feared Russia; Sir Henry Rawlinson, their guide, philosopher, and friend, has now told them what they are to think upon that subject. I had hoped that the Viceroy's despatch might put the policy in a new light; but this is not so. The despatch is written with great ability, as how should it not be? Never since India was India has a Ruler who wrote so well himself had a Foreign Secretary who was at once a great poet and a great essayist. Still, the united genius of Lord Lytton and Mr. Lyall has not suc-



ceeded in furnishing one new argument or illustration. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be more fortunate; I fear not, however. I think I can guess what will happen. He will rise before the debate closes, and with that Nathaniel manner of his, will deny Dr. Bellew, the oracle of the Viceroy; will deny Sir Henry Rawlinson, the oracle of Lord Cranbrook; will deny the *Blackwood* writer, who addresses the forward section of the Party. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite would deny everything in earth or heaven, except, perhaps, since the Mansion House speech of the Prime Minister, the divine inspiration of the English land system. It will not do, however, this plan of winking hard at agents while they write one thing for one section, and another for another section of the public, while yet another and different account is given in Parliament. We may say to right hon. Gentlemen what was said elsewhere to some of their Colleagues—"You are beginning to be found out." The Afghan War, for which they have taken so much credit, will have to find its place with its brother impostures—the imposture of Cyprus, the imposture of Asia Minor, the imposture of the Balkan fortresses. The right hon. Gentleman may do his best, but he will not persuade the country, as assuredly he will not persuade himself, that it has not, at considerable expense, made us a little weaker in our hold in India, by enlarging our responsibilities; and a little weaker against Russia, by bringing us nearer the region where she, in the nature of things, must grow stronger; and further from our true strength—the sea. That is what has come of timorous fussiness assuming the garb of courage, and of neglecting the maxim which I long ago repeated in this House as perfectly applicable to our situation on the North-West Frontier of India—"Let him attack who will; the strong man waits." The hon. Gentleman concluded with his Motion for Papers.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in seconding the Motion, reminded the House that he had a Motion on the Paper connected with this subject. The real and the serious difficulties of our situation had now arisen after the war. It would not be necessary for him to address the House at any length, because he had taken the trouble to put his views into

the shape of a pamphlet, which he had had the honour of sending to most Members of the House who, he thought, were interested in the matter. He expressed his disappointment at the despatch from the Viceroy of India which had been laid on the Table. That despatch was a mere glorification of the past addressed to the British public, and an attempt to put the best face on what had been done. It did not deal with the real difficulties of the question of the Frontier in a military or scientific point of view. He had heard with regret that, in order to cut down the expenses of the war, the Government proposed to take a narrow, technical, and very inequitable view of the claims of those who had supplied them with the means of carriage on account of the enormous number of camels which had been lost in the campaign. As had been expected, they had had a triumph at the beginning of the second Afghan War, as they had at the beginning of the first Afghan War; but he submitted that the Government were not entitled to speak as those who put their armour off, when, in fact, their real difficulties were only commencing, and had yet to come. It was right and proper that the Government, the House, and the country should prepare to look those difficulties in the face. He would not criticize the Treaty made with Yakoob Khan in detail; but, broadly speaking, his objection to that Treaty was not so much as to its terms as to the difficulty of executing it, and the danger that attended its execution. It was extremely uncertain whether the Treaty would ever be executed at all. Yakoob Khan's interest was, perhaps, now much bound up with ours; but even supposing he was anxious to fulfil the Treaty, the real difficulty was as to his ability to do it. Yakoob Khan might be the Ruler of Cabul; but he was now in no sense the Ruler of Afghanistan, although he might hope to become so some day by our support and influence. It was just possible he might show himself to be superior to any Ruler that ever existed in Afghanistan, and might carry out the Treaty; but, according to all experience and all history, the chances were violently against such a happy consummation. As regarded the people of Afghanistan, they were most independent, and little likely to surrender their inde-

*Mr. Grant Duff*

pendence; and yet those were the people whom we hoped to bring under our rule. The Afghans were the same people as in Elphinstone's time; and it was almost impossible that they could be reconciled to us, and he looked forward to fresh complications and to further bloodshed in maintaining our rule. He pointed out that there were territories over which Afghanistan had a very weak control, and that it might be many years before the Ameer had established his power over those territories. He also reminded the House that one man who they had described as a Pretender was not to be looked upon in that light, because he was the son of a preceding Ruler, and might be considered as the legitimate successor. With regard to the neutral zone that existed between Afghanistan and the Russian Dominions, it would be to the general advantage if the latter Power could bring the unruly Turkoman Tribes that inhabited it into subjection. It was an error to suppose that Merv was to be regarded as the gate of India or of Afghanistan, from which it was separated by a great and difficult mountain range. As to the "scientific Frontier," about which so much had been said, he would like to know who were the competent men who were ready to support it? He believed there were none such; but that, on the contrary, there was high military authority for the belief that the new Frontier had landed us in very difficult country and among Tribes we should find it very hard indeed to deal with. His conviction was that it was the most unscientific Frontier it was possible to conceive, and entirely opposed to every military principle. He had prepared a little sketch, which he ventured to show the House as exhibiting the character of the Frontier. As he had not been brought up in the days of science classes, he feared it was rather a rough piece of work; but from it hon. Members would see the position of the old Indus Frontier and the position of the new Frontier, which had involved us in these multiplied dangers. He contended that we had possessed ourselves of a long and unmanageable Frontier, intersected by these difficult Passes, between which no communication was possible. It was this absence of all communication between the Passes, in connection with the position of the Frontier, which was the most serious and dangerous circumstance connected with the Frontier.

sioned its chief difficulty. He had been told that communication was possible from peak to peak by means of the heliograph. But that was a small advantage. The opportunity of physical communication for troops was what they required. Another difficulty was the character of the people who inhabited this region. He could not speak of them from personal experience, because he had never seen the country, and he hoped he never should. But he might refer to the authority of Dr. Bellew, whose knowledge of the locality was greater than that of any other man. According to Dr. Bellew, we had taken possession of a *cul-de-sac* in the hills, where we ran the risk of being hemmed in by our foes and cut off from our communications. In return for all these disadvantages we had gained absolutely nothing. A rectification of the Frontier meant, according to Dr. Bellew, the complete conquest of the tribes of Afghanistan. Our present position was one of the most difficult that could be conceived. It would not be possible to stop where we were, and the reduction of the Afghan Tribes would be a very stiff job indeed. They would fight in their fastnesses as they had never fought before. We were drawn into more immediate contact with the celebrated sect of the Afridis, whose prowess had been famous for centuries. Lord Cranbrook, in one of his despatches, had spoken of the success which had attended the management of what had been our Frontier hitherto; but such language was little better than a farce. The humiliations experienced in connection with that Frontier were the very reasons which were urged as a justification for its extension. We were now under the necessity of increasing our Frontier forces. It was a hornets' nest with which we had to deal, and we had invaded it and stirred up the hornets. The disturbances on the Frontier were such that, so far from withdrawing our garrisons, we had had to increase them. He could point to several expressions of opinion in the Indian Press which showed the unsettled state of the Frontier, and the fact that peace with Afghanistan did not necessarily mean peace with the Border Tribes. The Governor General of India, in a despatch that was among the Papers recently presented to Parliament, said that we should soon

resume our payment and control of the Tribes; but, probably, it would be necessary to pay them long before we acquired any real control over them. With regard to the occupation of Quetta, he had never been wholly hostile to it, but had only hoped that the forward movement might be delayed as long as possible. There was, no doubt, great military authority in favour of the occupation of Quetta from a military point of view; but if we held that advanced post, it was conceded that we should inevitably incur a great expense in making a railway from the Indus to the mouth of the Bolan Pass. It would, however, be better to do so at once than, by deferring it, to make our Frontier inefficient. If the advanced post at Peshin was to be maintained, the Government ought to come forward and state the necessity of spending money on it. But supposing that done, then, being able to dominate Ghuzni and Cabul on one side, and Candahar and Herat on the other, it would be quite unnecessary for us to occupy the most regrettable political position that would bring us into contact with all the Tribes in the neighbourhood. Had we been content to occupy Peshin, and to hold the Khyber Pass, our position would have been much better; but we had committed ourselves to a most expensive Frontier, and would probably be compelled to advance still further. As things were, we could not stop, and would have to incur yet greater military expense. In fact, an expression used by the Governor General himself had made it clear that he knew that the Frontier now occupied was not a scientific Frontier, and that we had taken up our position with a view to a further advance. His words were that the advantage of our position was that we could advance upon Cabul and Ghuzni whenever we chose to do so. But now that the Viceroy had occupied a position from which he could punish his enemies and protect his friends, it seemed to him that Afghanistan was only a protected and subsidized Kingdom, and that Yakoub Khan was no more than a Shah Soojah over again. In his opinion, no greater mistake could be made, and the Ruler of Afghanistan ought to have a certain independence of his own. As for the desirability of dominating Cabul and Ghuzni, they had to consider that

*Sir George Campbell*

the Passes leading from the Kurrum Valley were from 11,000 to 12,000 feet high, and that the idea of constant access through such Passes was a mistake and a delusion. The great misfortune of our present position was that we should not only dominate Cabul, but that we should be involved in all the petty wars of Afghanistan, and, in all probability, we could not stop without a great extension of our liabilities and expenses.

**Motion made, and Question proposed,**

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of any Despatches that may have reached the Secretary of State for India, with reference to the concentration of Troops in the Punjab in 1876 and 1877."—  
(*Mr. Grant Duff.*)

Mr. E. STANHOPE confessed that when he had heard the hon. Member express a desire to bring on a discussion on the subject he had had some little hope that in the dying days of the Session they were going to hear from him something like a death-bed repentance, and after the prophecies of the hon. Member had been so completely falsified he had expected to hear some admission of the fact. He feared, however, that the political opinions of the hon. Member were such that they could not change, no matter how much circumstances might alter. The hon. Member did not seem to think there was much in the fact of a Russian Embassy occupying Cabul, or of Russia dominating Afghanistan, or that those circumstances ought to make any difference whatever in our relations with the Ameer. Her Majesty's Government had acted on a totally different principle. He would ask the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs what was the object of the speech he had made? He supposed, in the first place, that the hon. Gentleman supposed he would damage Her Majesty's Government; but he could not think the hon. Gentleman had succeeded. But had the hon. Gentleman ever thought what the effect of his speech might be upon our relations with Afghanistan? We were now engaged in endeavouring to establish friendly relations with the Ruler of Afghanistan, and, at a time when the Ameer was endeavouring to meet them in every possible way, was it to be suggested to him by a Member of

the House, who spoke with some authority, that we really were endeavouring to slip through the clauses of the Treaty, and that, whatever was said to the contrary, our real intention was to interfere with the internal administration of the country, and permanently to annex parts of his territory. All these things were very mischievous. It was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to carry out the spirit of the Treaty as well as its letter; and, so far as the Ameer was concerned, if his personal influence prevailed, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) believed the Treaty would be faithfully carried out. He had been asked what was the cost of the war, and he could only refer hon. Members to the speeches he had made in the House on several occasions. He had no reason whatever for supposing that the Estimate he had given would be exceeded, nor had he any other statement to make on the subject. Then, as regarded the future expenditure that would result from our obligations, he could not deny that the altered state of things would cost some money. We must make roads, and improve our communications on the North-West Frontier. We must, undoubtedly, maintain part of our Army at stations more advanced than they had hitherto been; but whether that would involve greater expenditure was a question which he did not desire to enter into now. Hon. Members were aware that a Commission was sitting at the present time in India to inquire into the whole subject of the distribution of our Army in British India. He thought the House would be satisfied to wait until their recommendations were received before he gave any opinion as to what the cost of the new arrangements would be. He was asked what was the object of the policy that had been pursued? That was summed up in a despatch from the Government of India as follows:—Firstly, the exclusion of all foreign influence from Afghanistan; and, secondly, such a rectification of our Afghan Frontier as would suffice to render impossible for the future the exclusion of British influence from that State. He would venture to say that both those objects had been, to a very material extent, attained at a comparatively small cost and a very moderate loss of life. Sir Henry Rawlinson had been quoted in the debate as a very great authority, and as having

suggested the policy of the Government. That gentleman had not yet become a Member of the Cabinet; but no one could doubt that his opinion on any question with which he was acquainted was entitled to very great weight. And what did he say? He had said of the Treaty that—"On the satisfactory nature of the general principles involved in the Treaty there cannot be two opinions." But he added that the Treaty required to be supplemented, and by what? By keeping a strong position on the Frontier, ready for any emergency that might arise. He came next to the Treaty itself. The hon. Member for Elgin had called attention to the 3rd clause, by which they had obtained absolute control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan. The hon. Member had asked what that meant. That was fully explained in the despatch from India, in which the Governor General had said that—

"The Ameer undertook to conduct his relations with foreign Powers in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government."

Then the hon. Member had called attention to the clause by which they were entitled to place a British Resident at Cabul. He supposed that no one would revert to the dangers and the difficulty of placing an Envoy there that had been mentioned in December, for all those prognostications had been contradicted by subsequent facts. The Ameer had accepted a Resident, and had fixed his place of residence at Cabul, contrary to the expectations expressed at the time. Major Cavagnari, whose ready tact and growing friendship with the Ameer marked him as specially qualified, had been appointed to the post. He was received with every demonstration of cordiality, and was able to go about the city with perfect freedom, and found that he was well received not only by the Ameer but by the people. He could not agree with the hon. Member that the effect of the clause was to make a mere puppet of Yakoob Khan; nor could it be maintained that they had ever attempted or desired to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The utmost care had been taken to make Major Cavagnari not a Resident, such as we sent to feudatory Princes, but an Envoy; and particular care had been taken on that

point, both in the Treaty itself and in the instructions which had been given to him. And if Article V. of the Treaty was not sufficiently clear, he would ask the House to consider for a moment what the Government of India said upon this matter at paragraph 43 of their despatch—namely, that they in no wise contemplated any system of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and that the British Envoy at Cabul would be strictly required to abstain from such interference, and they added that they hoped that the small subsidy would strengthen the hands of the Ameer in maintaining his authority. The territorial arrangements were very simple. In the first place, they restored Jellalabad and Candahar to the Ameer, a provision which had given great satisfaction to the Ameer, and had proved to him and to his people, as well as to our own subjects in India, that our desire was not to annex any portion of Afghanistan. He next came to the alterations in our Frontier. He would not enter into the questions connected with the old Frontier, for they had been discussed over and over again. It had often been said that the old Frontier had one very great advantage—namely, that it enabled us to avoid entanglement with the Hill Tribes. But did it do so? During 20 years we had had to undertake 19 expeditions against those Tribes, and we had employed in those expeditions 68,000 men; and we had also been engaged in many conflicts of a less serious character with the Hill Tribes; and while we had to encounter the very greatest difficulties when attacking them, they were able to attack us with corresponding ease. Well, we had now obtained a new Frontier. In arranging it the Government had to bear in mind not only the military considerations, to which so much prominence had been given, but the grave political requirements, the sanitary necessities, and the financial requirements of the case. With these considerations in their thoughts, and after taking the best advice at their disposal, the Government had determined upon the occupation of carefully-selected positions, which they believed would give them a strong Frontier, secure them the command of the routes into Afghanistan, and close those routes completely against anyone who should desire to enter them in a hostile

*Mr. E. Stanhope*

spirit. The hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs objected to our occupying Quetta. Well, they knew quite well what the opinion of Lord Napier of Magdala, and of many other eminent men was with regard to the occupation of Quetta. Instead of our occupation of Quetta being distasteful to the Ameer, it was quite approved by him, because he found after the commencement of our occupation that the impediments to the progress of commerce through the Bolan Pass were removed. What did General Hamley say in reference to our occupation of Quetta—

“By occupying Quetta we practically close all passes to the Indus Valley which issue south of Dera Ismail Khan. Strategically, then, I hope, there remains no doubt of the immense advantage of holding Quetta, whether as a means of controlling Afghanistan, or of meeting such a formidable combination of enemies as I have contemplated.”

He was sure that any Frontier they could have selected might have been equally criticized; but he believed the House would accept, and that the country would approve, of that which had been chosen as one determined upon after very careful consideration, and in accordance with the advice of the best military authorities. Then the hon. Member said—“There is no use in what you have done, because you have no lateral communication.” Well, as a matter of fact, we had at present excellent lateral communication along our base, from which our reinforcements and supplies would certainly have to be drawn. It was also urged as an objection that we could not pacify the Hill Tribes. But had we ever tried to pacify them? Up to the present, our relations with the Tribes had consisted in raids upon the one side, and in burning villages upon the other. Our officers were never allowed to enter the Passes except for warlike purposes. He could not help thinking that in the altered condition of circumstances now we might hope for far better relations than those which he had just described, and he could not help deriving the greatest encouragement in this matter from observing the alteration which had taken place of recent years in the demeanour of the Tribes in the Bolan Pass. If he might do so, he should like to refer to some words of General Hamley, who said, in a lecture delivered last year—

"When, in the former war, our Forces moved on Candahar, the Tribes of the South were no less hostile and mischievous to us than those of the North, and every march from the Bolan to the Kojak was marked by their depredations on our trains, by the slaughter of their conductors, by the murder of stray soldiers and numbers of defenceless camp followers. But a few years afterwards they were rendered thoroughly peaceable and friendly by vigorous handling and judicious management. At least one distinguished officer who took a leading part in the process still lives to tell us what the process was. It might be worth trying on other parts of the Frontier. However that may be, the result for us—and one well worth taking into account—is that, to all appearance, our trains march as safely now from the Indus to the Kojak as from London to Aldershot."

This testimony, he thought, was most encouraging to us in our dealings with the Hill Tribes. The Government believed that they had taken the most important step that had been taken for a very long time towards humanizing and civilizing these Tribes. They were about to establish a Commercial Treaty with Afghanistan, and he believed very strongly in the civilizing influence of commercial relations. If we succeeded in making other Passes anything like as secure as the Bolan Pass, we should encourage an enormous trade from Central Asia, a change that would have a greater civilizing influence than anything else that might be done. He did not, in fact, despair of a time when many of the Tribes to whom he had referred would be attached to us, instead of being our enemies, and when they would become as a quickset hedge to keep out not us, but our enemies. The hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs said that one result of the Treaty with the Ameer was to provoke Russia to make a fresh advance upon Merv. But this advance had been going on ever since 1872 or 1873. Even this year, long before the Treaty, four columns of Russians were advancing against the Turkomans, and in the direction of Merv. And the Government of this country would be able to contemplate the process with very different eyes now that our Frontier was so very much more secure. It should also be remembered that we had recently received the most solemn promises from Russia that it was not her intention to advance so far as Merv. But, after all, what was the general effect of the Treaty? Had it alienated the Ameer from us? Far from it, for the Ameer was now on the

most friendly terms with us, and accepted the Treaty in the most cordial spirit. Had it alienated the people of Afghanistan? The hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) had said—

"You have inspired the people of that country with such a hatred towards you, that all the ground you fail to occupy will be the fortress of your foes."

The result had, however, gone to show—and the occupation of Candahar, undertaken for temporary purposes, afforded strong proof of it—that the people of Afghanistan, as a whole, had no unfriendly feelings towards us. The policy lately pursued had gained for this country a friendly, an independent, and a strong Afghanistan. British influence was paramount in that country; our Frontier was secure to a degree which had never before existed—at any rate, for many years past—and the Government were proud—as the country, in his opinion, would be proud—of the great results which had been accomplished mainly owing to the patient foresight and perseverance of Lord Lytton—results which it would not be possible for any politician, either in or out of the House, to minimize. Yet that policy had been attacked with a violence and a personality which, he was happy to say, was rare in the annals of political warfare. The Government believed that the result of that policy would be to maintain and strengthen our Indian Empire, and they would await without fear the verdict of the country.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Although it is impossible at this period of the Session to have anything like a complete or exhaustive debate on this question, I think the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs was perfectly justified in submitting the Treaty into which we have just entered to some examination. The policy of the Cabinet must be necessarily so influenced by the opinion of Parliament and the country, that it is extremely desirable that every possible means should be adopted to enable Parliament and the country to form a just opinion upon an important question of Indian policy such as this. I cannot think that the recent despatches sent by the Indian to the Home Government have afforded sufficient materials on which to form a correct opinion as to the nature of this

policy. The House will recollect that in a famous despatch of Lord Cranbrook in November last the Secretary of State professed to give an account of the transactions which led to the breaking out of the war which has just been concluded; but in the course of the debates which occurred in the winter Session, I think it was shown that the despatch was more in the nature of an advocate's address than a historic summary of events which had taken place; and it was shown, also, that a good many of the inferences contained in the document were without foundation. As to the despatches which have been recently presented, I must say that those despatches—principally those of the Indian Government on the 7th July, and the Secretary of State on the 7th August—read less like State Papers of historical value than like a sort of antistrophic ode in which the British and Indian Governments, in alternato verses, sing the greatness, the magnanimity, the success, and the moderation of the deeds which have been achieved by the Indian Government. I therefore think, considering how important it is that the country should be able to form a moderate, calm, and accurate estimate of what has recently taken place in India, that the policy which has dictated the Treaty should be submitted to the kind of examination which it has received at the hands of the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs. I do not want to depreciate the complete success of the military operations undertaken by the Government of India to the extent to which they were directed. The scope of our operations was considerably less than was desired by many advocates of an Imperial policy; and, perhaps, our thanks are due to the Indian Government for the moderation they exercised in thus limiting the scope of those operations. But what we have to consider is, whether the moderation which has marked the policy of the Indian Government up to the present time is likely to be maintained, or whether a policy has not been embarked upon which will necessarily lead us a great deal further than either the Government at home or the Indian Government at present desire to go. As I have already said, I do not dispute the success of our military operations. That, however, does not in the least preclude the various questions of the justice

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of this war, and the expediency of this war, and the value of the objects for which it was undertaken, and the value of the objects which have been gained, or the effect which it will have on the future policy of the Indian Government. I do not feel myself competent to speak at length upon the question of the Frontier which has been obtained; but I would remark that while a great many military authorities were dissatisfied with the North West Frontier as it existed before the war, they are also far from being satisfied with what has been attempted and accomplished by the Indian Government in the course and by the means of the war which has just been concluded. There is one very great authority whose name has already been mentioned in the course of this debate—General Hamley. General Hamley certainly does not approve of the military positions which have been taken up by the Indian Government, while he recommends the occupation of Candahar, which has not been thought desirable by the Government. I should like to ask the Government upon what military authority they rely for the positions which they have actually taken up? As has been pointed out by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), they have not secured a line at all. The positions they have taken up are rather a series of detached positions, a series of *cul-de-sacs* which are totally incapable of communicating with each other, and which are exposed to the greatest possible extent to the operations of wild and warlike, and, as far as we know at present, hostile Tribes. The political position is one which seems to me even more grave and important than the military question, especially when regarded in the light of the present condition of Indian finance. The statement of the Government is that we have by this war and by this Treaty excluded foreign Powers from Afghanistan, established a paramount influence there, and, in fact, have obtained such control over the foreign relations of the Ruler of Afghanistan as justifies us in giving that unconditional guarantee which we have given him by this Treaty. What the Government rely upon for the accomplishment of their objects is the acquisition of certain positions by means of which, in case of the failure of the Ameer to execute his engagements, it will be able to put such pressure upon

him as will make him conform to his engagements—that is to say, in the case I am contemplating, in the case of a failure of the Ameer to carry out his engagements, either through want of will or power to observe the conditions undertaken, the Government of India will be obliged to proceed to do that which in the late campaign it deliberately abstained, from political reasons, from doing; it will have to shatter completely the frail fabric of the power of Afghanistan. I believe it is altogether an illusion to suppose that, by any process short of complete annexation, it is possible to secure complete control over the foreign relations of Afghanistan. Such a policy as we are now pursuing might be possible if Afghanistan was a regularly-organized State under the control of a despotic Sovereign, or under a regular form of government. As far as we have been able to learn, no such state of things exists in Afghanistan. The Ameer is simply a most powerful Chief in Afghanistan among others whose power is not much inferior to his own. We need not name Wakhan, Balkh, Badakshan, Herat, and Candahar. In some of these districts rebellion exists. You cannot hold the Ameer responsible for the proceedings of the Rulers in these districts, unless you give him what you have not given him, and do not profess to give him by this Treaty—adequate control and power over these unruly Princes.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, resuming, said: What you have really done, I was saying, is to make yourselves responsible for the raids, feuds, and lawless proceedings of a variety of Chiefs on the Frontier of Afghanistan whose names you are scarcely acquainted with; and in appointing a British Resident at Cabul you have taken care that this responsibility shall not be nominal, but real. You will be expected to know what is going on within the Dominions of Afghanistan; and you will make yourselves more or less responsible to the Russian Government for everything that takes place within those Dominions. My hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) dwelt upon the functions which would naturally devolve

upon the Residents. It was said they must not interfere in the internal affairs; but it was shown that the Residents could not help interfering. An hon. Member opposite thought it sufficient to reply that it was stipulated in the Treaty that the Residents were not to interfere in the internal affairs. Experience, however, is a much surer guide than any intentions of the Indian Government; and our experience of Residents, in all cases, has been that if the Resident is not to be reduced to the position of a mere nonentity, he must necessarily interfere, to a great extent, in the internal affairs of the country in which he is placed. At all events, you have secured that you shall have complete knowledge of the external proceedings and condition of Afghanistan, and you have thereby made yourselves responsible; and I cannot imagine any arrangement more fraught with danger, and possibly with complications, in that quarter where you most wish to avoid them—namely, the Russian quarter. It is altogether useless to disguise the magnitude of the step taken by this Treaty. We have advanced beyond the mountains which hitherto have been boundaries to us. These mountains were a good strategic frontier; they were a natural boundary. We have now advanced—our responsibilities have been advanced, the sphere of our operations has been advanced—beyond that natural boundary into a district where we find no natural boundary at all, and no possible limit to the extension of our responsibilities and relations, until that takes place which is so often spoken of—the meeting of the Sepoy and the Cossack. The concession made to the alarmists is not likely to satisfy them. It has only stimulated them. It has given them better grounds to press on for a further advance than they ever had before. My hon. Friend spoke of Sir Henry Rawlinson. What is his opinion of this Treaty? He says it is a very good settlement, as far as it goes; but it does not, in the least, absolve us from being on the same constant watch, and maintaining the same jealous attitude, with regard to Russia in Central Asia as before. The hon. Gentleman opposite just now said that the Russian advance in the direction of Merv had been preparing since 1872; but in this he is contradicted by Sir Henry Rawlinson,



who says that the Russian advance on Merv is the necessary, the inevitable consequence of the great success we have obtained in Afghanistan. In the opinion of Sir Henry Rawlinson, we ought to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Persia, and support the Turkomans in their resistance to the Russian advance. Those are measures which show what, in the opinion of the ablest of the advocates of the policy which has dictated this Treaty, the Treaty is worth. What is his opinion as to the execution of the Treaty itself? Although he gives a sort of academic consent to the principles which have dictated the withdrawal from Candahar, he considers that that withdrawal ought never to be put in practice. Now, it is said that Sir Henry Rawlinson has never been authorized to express the views of the Indian Government; but we know that in time his views are those which are adopted by the Indian Government, and we are safer in the forecast which is to be learned from Sir Henry Rawlinson's views than that which is to be derived from the authorized statements of the Government. The hon. Gentleman has said that he will not discuss Quetta, because we have often had fights on that subject. But I beg to remind him that we have not fought over it at all. We received an assurance, two years ago, that the occupation of Quetta had been undertaken on purely local grounds, and was not a part of any fixed policy of advance. Now we find that it is to be maintained as a part of the strategical plan which the Government have had all through these operations. It is the same policy as that which induced them to occupy the Khyber Pass and the Kurram Valley. Sir, all these have been advocated by Sir Henry Rawlinson for some time; and when we find that the Government have advanced so far, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they will go with Sir Henry Rawlinson and his disciples a good deal further. I do not know whether this policy is one which can now be reversed, or even can be restrained. I do not believe for a moment that Parliament, when contemplating the magnitude of the new departure, will approve of the Afghan War; and when the country is invited to believe that a chapter in Indian history has not only been opened

but closed, I think it is their duty to say that that is a false and misleading view, and, so far from any chapter of history having been closed, a new volume has been opened. In the North West Frontier, a policy has been undertaken which is full of danger, is certain to be costly, and is fraught with every element of insecurity to the safety of our Asiatic relations on the North West Frontier of India.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I shall not enter at any great length into the question which has been raised. My hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India has, I think, in one of the clearest and one of the best speeches it has ever been my pleasure to listen to in this House, explained the real position of affairs and the policy of the Government, and has given a complete answer to the observations of the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy. The noble Lord said he did not hear all the remarks of my hon. Friend. I am not surprised at that, for if he had heard the opening observations of my hon. Friend, he would, I think, have endeavoured to reply to them. My hon. Friend asked the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs a question which it might have been well if the noble Lord had answered. He asked what object or advantage they anticipated from the sort of speeches they had made on the present occasion? What is to be the advantage which is to be derived by the country from this kind of criticism and from this sort of discussion, which, as we know, will not be limited to the walls of this House? The main points in the mind of the noble Lord appeared to be to express a feeling of disappointment—first, at the success of the Government in spite of the prophecies so freely uttered against the possibility of such success; and, secondly, against the moderation of the Government. The noble Lord is disappointed not only that we succeeded in occupying important positions in Afghanistan, but that we had arrived at a settlement far short of that which he says other people had pressed upon us, and that we had endeavoured to put into shape and give effect to views which we always have professed, but which he says some people, believed more powerful than ourselves, are not satisfied with. I am very sorry

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that anybody should be disappointed, and I can sympathize with the noble Lord; but I really do think that unless he is prepared to suggest some correction of the line of policy which we have adopted, unless he is prepared to come forward and say—"If we were in power we would reverse that policy," I think he is not doing any service, but, on the contrary, is doing a disservice to the country, by merely suggesting all the points he can imagine, and all the difficulties that might be raised from the arrangements that have been made. The noble Lord entirely misrepresents several points in the Treaty. He misrepresents especially the position which we are about to assume—which we have, in fact, assumed—under the settlement with regard to the foreign affairs of Afghanistan. He speaks of our having made an unconditional engagement. The engagement we have entered into is not an unconditional one at all. It is an engagement which is dependent upon a most important condition. The condition is that the Ameer of Afghanistan agrees to conduct his relations with foreign States in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government; that he will enter into no engagement with foreign States; that he will not take up arms with foreign States, except with the concurrence of the British Government. Upon these conditions, which place the whole of his foreign policy at our direction, we undertake to support him against any foreign enemy with money, arms, or troops, to be employed in whatsoever manner the British Government may think best for the purpose. That seems to me to be a bargain of a character which entirely recommends itself to good sense. What, after all, is the main thing that we have to consider? We have to consider the great importance of maintaining the peace and tranquillity not only of our Indian Empire, but the importance of maintaining proper State relations on our North-Western Frontier. We have not only to consider the question of an imaginary invasion from some great European Powers, but, what is more important, we have to consider what is the best way of maintaining that amount of peace and confidence on our North-Western Frontier which will give security not only to our own Borders, but may prevent a recurrence of those

panics which from time to time have been started, and which have their effect all over India, not only in our own possessions, but among our feudatories in India. In dealing with those matters, we have to deal with the people of Afghanistan as an element which cannot be left out of consideration. We have always desired to treat them on the footing of an independent people, maintained, as far as possible, in a position of independence, and with whom we should cultivate friendly relations. But it is impossible not to see that the policy, which of late years has been pursued, has failed to secure that state of relations. It has been forced upon our attention that if matters were allowed to go on as they had been going on, we should find that Afghanistan would not remain an independent and friendly State, but that there was the greatest possible danger of her falling under the influence of a Power which might or might not be friendly to us, but which, at all events, we did not desire to see in the command of supreme influence in that country. It was because matters were taking that course that we found it necessary to adopt measures of a purely defensive character, in order to re-assert the influence which we thought the Indian Empire ought legitimately to have in Afghanistan. It was because the friendly Mission we proposed to send was refused, and because we had plain proof that a state of things existed which could no longer be allowed, that we found it necessary to take strong measures. It is all very well to say that this is a dangerous policy; but that policy was forced upon us. It was impossible to remain in the position in which we stood before our Mission was repulsed, and repulsed in a manner calculated to bring our power into contempt in India. Hon. Gentlemen and the noble Lord opposite apparently desire to put out of sight all the events which led to this war, and they mislead the House and the country with regard to the real state of affairs. What we say is this—We do not want to go into minute questions about military details, as to whether this or that is the best line of communication, or whether this or that post has particular advantages. The noble Lord asks us—"What military authorities did you consult in regard to this line of Frontier?" Well,

it was arranged upon considerations that were not merely military, but that were political also. You had to consider what were the conditions, political as well as military, with which you had to deal. I say that the settlement arrived at, in a military sense, but still more in a political sense, is the one which, in the most careful judgment of those who are responsible for the government and the peace of India, is the best attainable under the circumstances. It is true that what has been said of the written stipulations in the Treaty may also be said of particular posts on the Frontier; but what we have to consider is not so much whether this particular Article or that strategical post has a talismanic effect, but it is the general effect produced by the policy that you pursue, and the way in which you are going to carry it into effect. I say that the general policy which we have laid down, and are prepared to support, is this—We desire to maintain the same relations with Afghanistan. We have always desired to maintain relations with her as a friendly country, as strong and independent as circumstances will permit. We will maintain those relations, and, at the same time, maintain an attitude which is one of strength, and which shows that we are determined to use that strength, if necessary. We believe, by maintaining that attitude, we shall give confidence to the people of Afghanistan, and that they will see that they are dealing with a Power which is not disposed to trifle with them, which has announced its objects simply and clearly, and which is prepared to maintain and support them; which, when it says that it does not interfere with their domestic affairs, is in earnest and sincere in so saying; which, when it says it desires to promote improved commercial relations, is prepared to take all the steps that may conduce to that policy; and which will be believed to be sincere when it guarantees the aid of British power in support of Afghanistan, if it should be attacked from without, on condition that Afghanistan submits to our guidance in its relations with foreign Powers. My belief is that one cause of the difficulty we have had of late years has been the impression in the minds of the Afghans that we were not sincere; and that, from the uncertainty of the language we held on some

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

occasions, they believed that the undertakings which were given were not meant to have the full effect the Afghans desired to attribute to them; and when they found we were not prepared to support them, but explained away the engagements we had entered into, they said—"This is a Power we cannot rely upon. We must turn to another to support us." Now, whatever you may say of what is past, or however you may disagree with the policy adopted, you yourselves admit that the policy which has been adopted is one that cannot be reversed; if you do not, tell us how it ought to be reversed, and what your policy would be. But if you say it cannot be reversed, the success of it depends upon the conviction which ought to be impressed upon the minds of the Afghans and the people of India, that it is a policy which is adopted not by one Party alone, but by the Government of this country as a whole, and which will be maintained by the Government of this country, in whatever hands the reins of power may, from time to time, be placed; and if you succeed in impressing upon the Afghan Power that our policy is one which has been adopted deliberately and which will be pursued steadily, then I think you may expect to derive advantages which you will certainly not derive in any other way. Therefore, I would reply to the Question of the noble Lord by asking another Question, which is—Are we to understand, or are we not, that the Liberals, if they come into power, will reverse the policy which we have adopted? If they do not intend to do that, what earthly object do they expect to gain by endeavouring to suggest difficulties and put into our minds—and, what is of much more importance, into the minds of others at a distance—suggestions that our policy means something different from that which we say it means, which we know it means, and that which I believe the country is determined it shall mean?

MR. FINIGAN: As this is a subject of great importance which ought not, I think, to be considered in such a small House, I beg to call attention to the fact that there are not 40 Members present.

House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after  
Nine o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 15th August, 1879.

**MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—Royal Assent—**  
 Exchequer Bills and Bonds [42 & 43 Vict. c. 62]; East India Loan (Annuities) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 61]; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 51]; Land Tax Commissioners' Names [42 & 43 Vict. c. 52]; Municipal Elections (Ireland) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 53]; Civil Procedure Acts Repeal [42 & 43 Vict. c. 59]; Commissioners of Woods (Thames Piers) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 73]; University Education (Ireland) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 65]; Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment [42 & 43 Vict. c. 63]; Prevention of Crime [42 & 43 Vict. c. 55]; Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance [42 & 43 Vict. c. 56]; Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment [42 & 43 Vict. c. 57]; Public Offices Fees [42 & 43 Vict. c. 58]; Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 71]; Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing [42 & 43 Vict. c. 72]; Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 54]; National School Teachers (Ireland) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 74]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices [42 & 43 Vict. c. 75]; Banking and Joint Stock Companies [42 & 43 Vict. c. 76]; Public Works Loans (No. 2) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 77]; East India Loan (£5,000,000) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 60]; Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Extension [42 & 43 Vict. c. 64]; Endowed Schools Acts Continuance [42 & 43 Vict. c. 66]; Expiring Laws Continuance [42 & 43 Vict. c. 67]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 68]; Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment [42 & 43 Vict. c. 70]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 69]; Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) [42 & 43 Vict. c. 78]; Knightsbridge and other Crown Lands [42 & 43 Vict. c. ccxix]; Mungret Agricultural School [42 & 43 Vict. c. ccxx]; St. Giles Ancient Church (Edinburgh) [42 & 43 Vict. c. ccxxi]; Lough Erne and River (Continuance) [42 & 43 Vict. c. ccxxii].

**PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—  
HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.**

The PARLIAMENT was this day prorogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to grant two several Commissions, one for declaring Her Royal Assent to several Acts agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, and the other for proroguing the Parliament:—And the LORDS COMMISSIONERS—namely, The LORD CHANCELLOR; The LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Duke of Northumberland); The LORD STEWARD OF

THE HOUSEHOLD (The Earl Beauchamp); The EARL OF HARDWICKE; and The LORD SKELMERSDALE—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form between the Throne and the Woolsack; and the COMMONS being come, with their Speaker, and the Commission to that purpose being read, the ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills.

Then THE LORD CHANCELLOR, pursuant to Her Majesty's Command, delivered HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH, as follows:—

*"My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I am happy to be able to relieve you from your laborious duties.

"My relations with other Powers continue to be cordial, and my influence with them will be employed in maintaining the obligations imposed by Treaties, and in promoting and consolidating the general peace.

"The territorial arrangements stipulated in the Treaty of Berlin have been faithfully executed, and the delimitation of the new frontiers is nearly completed. The Balkan Peninsula has been evacuated by the Russian Army in accordance with the Treaty. Under the unanimous sanction of the Signatory Powers, suitable provision has been made for the government of the Ottoman Province of Eastern Roumelia, and I have with great satisfaction given my approval to the election of Prince Alexander of Battenberge as Prince of Bulgaria.

"The calamities inflicted by the late war have hitherto precluded the adoption of those reforms by the Ottoman Government of which it has acknowledged the necessity; but I have urged, and shall continue to urge, the importance of a timely compliance with its engagements in this respect.

"At the suggestion of my Government, in conjunction with that of

France, a change has taken place in the Viceroyalty of Egypt, which the past misgovernment of that country had rendered necessary.

"The Treaty concluded with the Ameer of Afghanistan which has been laid before you has happily terminated the war which his predecessor compelled me to undertake. By it my friendly relations with that State are re-established, guarantees for its peace and safety given, and the frontiers of India strengthened.

"The ability displayed in this war by those in command of my troops, British and Native, and the gallantry and endurance of the troops themselves, well deserved the thanks bestowed upon them by both Houses of Parliament. My acknowledgments are especially due to the many Native Princes who made offers of assistance, as well as to those whose forces were actually brought into the field, and I recognise in such zealous co-operation their attachment and good-will to my Indian Empire.

"Since I last addressed you my forces have been engaged in a serious conflict with the most powerful native ruler in South Africa. While I have pleasure in thanking them for vindicating the honour of the British Arms, I must mourn over the sacrifice of many a precious life. I trust that the decisive success which has recently attended their operations will lead to the early establishment of peace on an enduring basis, and that my subjects in that part of the world, being thus relieved from the danger to which they have hitherto been exposed, may readily join in such arrangements as may best secure their safety and prosperity in the future.

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I thank you for the liberal supplies which you have voted for the public service.

*"My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"By the Army Discipline Act you have for the first time placed upon the Statute Book in a complete Code the Laws relating to service in my Army and my other Military Forces. You have arranged in a clear and comprehensive form the provisions for the due maintenance of discipline; you have improved the system under which Enlistment takes place; and you have amended the Regulations under which the Reserves can be recalled to the colours.

"The Acts providing for the appointment of a Public Prosecutor and Amending the Law relating to the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates will, I trust, greatly improve the administration of the Criminal Law.

"The alterations which you have made in the law relating to Banking and Joint Stock Companies are well calculated to conduce to the prosperity of this important portion of our mercantile and commercial system.

"The depressed condition of the Agricultural Interest has naturally engaged your attention, and I have had much pleasure in complying with the Address of the House of Commons requesting me to appoint a Commission to inquire into the causes to which the depression is owing, and how far they can be remedied by legislation.

"I observe with satisfaction that you have been able to consider the important subject of Education in Ireland, and that you have agreed to

measures which will form a fitting supplement to the enactment of last Session as to Intermediate Education. The primary education of the country cannot but be stimulated by the careful provision you have made for improving the position of the teachers, and the Bill you have passed for University Education will, I trust, supply what is needed for the advancement of learning in its higher branches.

"In bidding you farewell, I pray that the blessing of Providence may rest on the labours with which you have been occupied during the Session."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the first day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the first day of November next.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 15th August, 1879.*

The House met at half after One of the clock.

### QUESTIONS.

#### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (No. 2) BILL.

##### EXPLANATION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he wished to take notice of a statement that appeared in the news-

papers yesterday, which, coming from the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), might cause some misapprehension, if unexplained, with regard to the position in which matters were left by the Public Works Loans Act. The hon. Member for Reading said, in the statement referred to, that matters would be left substantially the same as hitherto, That, however, was not the case. The effect of the Bill as passed had been to empower the Treasury to provide that loans granted at less than 5 per cent were to carry such a rate of interest as would, in the judgment of the Treasury, prevent any loss to the Exchequer. The Treasury would find it their duty to issue a Minute stating what the rates of interest would be, and they would be the same substantially as were provided in the Bill.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thought he had not made any mistake in the matter. What he had ventured to point out was, that all the existing Acts gave the same power to the Public Works Loans Commissioners, and the only change made by the Bill was to transfer that power from the Commissioners to the Treasury; but he pointed out that no change would be practically effected this year, inasmuch as one of the Public Works Loans Commissioners—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard)—stated that all loans for the present year had been practically arranged already, and he understood that these would be excepted under an Amendment adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Therefore, practically, no change would be made until next year, when the Government had promised a Committee on the subject, and to those who objected to the Bill that was so far a satisfactory result.

#### CYPRUS—M. MITZIS.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in the eighth number of the "Neon Kition" from Mr. Delaval Cobham, Commissioner of Larnaca, in which that gentleman admits that the election of M. Mitzis was cancelled because he was not a Turkish subject, this statement having previously been denied by Sir Garnet Wolseley?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, Mr. Cobham's letter has not been communicated to the Foreign Office; but a Memorial from certain inhabitants of Larnaca, communicated by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) complaining that the election of M. Mitzis as a member of the Legislative Council had been cancelled on the ground that he was not a Turkish subject has been received. The Memorial has been forwarded to the High Commissioner for his remarks thereupon; but his Report has not yet been received.

#### THE FISHERY LAWS.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he hopes to complete the inquiries which are being made by Messrs. Buckland and Walpole relative to the supply of in-shore and deep-sea fish, and if the result of the investigations already concluded is of such a nature as to enable him to issue a new code of regulations whereby the disputes now existing between the line and net boatmen and steam trawlers may in future be obviated; and, further, if he has any information which would tend to confirm or refute the statements of the boat fishermen relative to the destruction of deep-sea spawn by steam trawling?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that the Commissioners of Fisheries had presented their Report; but that, as it had to be printed, some weeks would elapse before the Report would be in the hands of hon. Members. The disputes referred to in the Question as now existing between line and net boatmen and steam trawlers could not be adjusted without further legislation.

#### THE UNITED STATES—CONSULAR CONVENTION.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the negotiations between the British and United States Governments relative to a Consular Convention have been concluded; if so, if he will be good enough to cause the Correspondence to be placed upon the Table of the House; if the two Governments have agreed upon the details upon which to base the Treaty; and, if he can explain why he has not

introduced the Bill which he promised last Session?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have been unable as yet to conclude a Consular Convention with the United States, and the negotiations have been suspended pending the passing of an Act of Parliament giving the necessary powers to Her Majesty's Government to carry out such a Convention. A Bill has been prepared; but it was not found possible, owing to the press of Business before the House, to introduce it this Session with any prospect of success. I hope it will be done, however, in the ensuing Session.

#### TREATY OF BERLIN—THE GREEK FRONTIER.—QUESTION.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that large bodies of troops have recently been sent by the Turkish Government into Thessaly and Epirus, and especially into the southern parts of those provinces, and that in the latter province they are under the command of Chefket Pasha; and, whether any remonstrance had been made to Her Majesty's Government against such a course, pending the negotiations respecting the Greek Frontier?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I understand there is some considerable amount of excitement on the Frontier, and that both Governments have thought it necessary to strengthen their forces. Her Majesty's Government has not addressed any communication to either of them.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR—MR. ARCHIBALD FORBES.

##### QUESTION.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will take into consideration the desirability of extending some mark of favour to Mr. Archibald Forbes, special correspondent of the "Daily News," in recognition of the public services performed by him in being the bearer of the despatches of the successful action at Ulundi, under circumstances of considerable personal hazard, fatigue, and endurance?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, this is, certainly, rather a novel Question. As far as I understand, it is a question whether the Government will extend some mark of favour to Mr. Archibald Forbes for performing services in connection with his duty as a newspaper correspondent. [Sir HENRY HAVELOCK: No, no!] Then I hardly know under what circumstances the Government are called upon to consider the matter. The Question is one which should rather be addressed to my right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War than to myself.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to have misapprehended the purport of his Question. If the right hon. Gentleman would read it, he would see that the claim to a mark of favour was in relation not to Mr. Forbes's services as correspondent, but to a public service performed by him in the conveyance of a despatch.

**CRIMINAL LAW—CASE OF THOMAS PERRYMAN.—QUESTION.**

Mr. H. B. SHERIDAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in the case of Thomas Perryman, now under sentence of penal servitude for life, it is true that he has refused permission to the prisoner's solicitor to see the prisoner for the purpose of obtaining his signature to a Petition to this honourable House in which he alleges his innocence and his grounds for so doing, and in which Petition he sets forth a letter lately received from Australia from the relations of the deceased as to her insane tendency, and generally maintaining the theory of suicide; and, if so, why such permission was refused?

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, it was quite true that permission was refused to Mr. Elworthy to visit the prisoner in gaol; but Mr. Elworthy was not his solicitor. That gentleman was told that it was quite unnecessary for him to obtain the signature of the prisoner to a Petition, because any Petition signed by the prisoner would be forwarded to the proper quarter. If the prisoner's solicitor visited him at the gaol, he (Mr. Asheton Cross) had not the slightest doubt he would be permitted to see him.

**ROYAL COMMISSIONS—REPORTS AND EVIDENCE.—QUESTION.**

Mr. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he would be good enough to state the course of procedure by which the evidence taken before a Royal Commission is reported to Her Majesty; whether, in the case of the Royal Commission to inquire into the constitution, custom, and usages of the London Stock Exchange, the Royal Commissioners, directly or indirectly, informed the Home Department that portions of the evidence of Mr. Cooper, and the entire of the evidence of the right honourable Mr. Goschen, in relation to the promotion and the subsequent winding-up of the Imperial Land Company of Marseilles, has been omitted from the minutes of evidence returned to the Home Office, in order to be laid before Her Majesty; whether the withholding of any part of the evidence is in accordance with the terms of Her Majesty's Commission nominating and appointing the said Royal Commission to inquire into the practices of the London Stock Exchange; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will direct that no such keeping back of any portion of the evidence shall take place with reference to the evidence or other proceedings before the Royal Commission to inquire into the cause of Agricultural Depression?

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, with regard to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, the course adopted is, when evidence has been taken before a Royal Commission, everything is sent to the Home Office by the Secretary of the Commission. Of course, the evidence is submitted to Her Majesty, and afterwards presented to Parliament. As to the second paragraph, I never heard a word about it till this morning. With reference to the Question as to whether Commissions may strike out evidence in any form or shape, I may refer the hon. Member to his own experience of Committees of this House, where sometimes evidence is given and sometimes omitted. A matter of that kind, I believe, rests entirely with the Commission. For the same reason, it would be very improper for me to make any suggestion to the Chairman of the Commission on Agricultural Depression.



MR. GOSCHEN: Perhaps, Sir, the House will permit me to offer a few words of explanation on this subject. If I had been in my place yesterday, or had Notice of the Question which was put on the Paper by the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan), I should have given such information as I could have given with reference to it. Probably, the Question ought to have been addressed, if addressed at all, to Members of the Commission, two of whom have seats in this House—namely, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Spencer Walpole) and the hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke). I think the Question is a very fair one to ask of them. What happened was this. Some evidence was given before the Commission in which, as I learned afterwards, my name had been used, and statements made which, in my opinion, were perfectly incorrect. Upon that I caused it to be known to Members of the Commission that I thought justice required that an opportunity should be given me for controverting those statements. The evidence was then communicated to me, as it was also to others whose names had been used. I was not called to give evidence before the Commission; but I insisted upon being heard before it, in order that I might controvert the statements which appeared to me to be incorrect. I gave the facts; but my explanations occupied under an hour, and not a couple of days, as was suggested by the hon. Member's Question. After I had given those explanations the Commission decided that the evidence which I hoped and alleged I had controverted should be struck out and not reported. That was done on their responsibility. When I say that the President was a Judge of the land—Lord Penzance—and that the other Members of the Commission were Gentlemen of the highest character, I feel that the hon. Gentleman may be assured that no undue partiality was shown in the matter.

#### OFFENSIVE PRINTS.—QUESTION.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home De-

partment, Whether his attention has, within the last few weeks, been directed to certain *affiches* which are exposed everywhere, particularly in the streets of London; and, whether he does not think that the time has arrived when he ought to suppress those *affiches*, which are opposed to public decency and morality?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, in reference to a reply which I recently gave upon this subject—to the effect that if no notice was taken of these publications they would die out of themselves—I must say I did not mean to say that there was not a limit beyond which these things cannot go. I do not retract anything that I said on a former occasion as to the advisability of prosecution in such cases as this, and it is perfectly well known that if the law is transgressed the offenders are liable to prosecution.

#### PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Message to attend The LORDS COMMISSIONERS:—

The House went;—and a Royal Commission to that purpose having been read, the *Royal Assent* was given to several Bills.

And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Command).

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Saturday the 1st day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Saturday the 1st day of November next.

TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES  
PASSED IN THE SIXTH SESSION OF  
THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

42 & 43 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1879.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

1. **A**N Act to amend the Law respecting the holding of Assizes.
2. An Act to apply the sum of Four million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.
3. An Act to raise the sum of Four million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds by Exchequer Bonds, for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.
4. An Act to continue for three months the Act of the Session of the forty-first and forty-second years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter ten, intituled "An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters."
5. An Act to continue for three months the Act of the Session of the forty-first and forty-second years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter eleven, intituled "An Act for the Regulation of Her Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on shore."
6. An Act to amend the Law with respect to District Auditors.
7. An Act to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty.
8. An Act to make further provision for the Registration of Deaths, Marriages, and Births occurring out of the United Kingdom among officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's Forces, and their families.
9. An Act to declare the true meaning of Section Thirty of the Friendly Societies Act, 1875.
10. An Act to amend the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869.
11. An Act to amend the Law of Evidence with respect to Bankers' Books.
12. An Act to amend the Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876.
13. An Act to amend the Act thirty-third and thirty-fourth Victoria, chapter forty-two, for the abolition of Petty Customs.
14. An Act to apply the sum of Six million six hundred and ninety-four thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.
15. An Act to amend the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867.
16. An Act to provide for the winding up of the West Indian Relief Commission, and for the remission of certain sums remaining unpaid in respect of Loans by the said Commission.
17. An Act to amend the House of Commons Costs Taxation Act, 1847.
18. An Act for the Licensing of Metropolitan Suburban Racecourses.
19. An Act to facilitate the control and cure of Habitual Drunkards.
20. An Act to apply the sum of Six million five hundred and sixty-seven thousand and twenty-three pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.
21. An Act to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, and to amend the Laws relating to Customs and Inland Revenue.

22. An Act for more effectually providing for the Prosecution of Offences in England; and for other purposes.
23. An Act to provide for the preservation of Hares in Ireland.
24. An Act for promoting the Revision of the Statute Law of Ireland.
25. An Act to give facilities for providing Dispensary Houses and Dwelling Houses for Medical Officers of Dispensary Districts in certain parts of Ireland.
26. An Act to amend the Salmon Fishery Act with relation to fixed Engines in Tidal Waters.
27. An Act to empower Parliamentary Burghs in Scotland to become members of the Convention of Royal Burghs.
28. An Act to repeal the Convention (Ireland) Act, passed in the Irish Parliament in the thirty-third year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, and to amend and declare the Law in certain cases in respect to Assemblies and Public Meetings.
29. An Act to remove doubts as to the validity of certain Marriages of British subjects on board Her Majesty's ships.
30. An Act to amend the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875.
31. An Act to amend the Public Health Act, 1875, as to Interments.
32. An Act to bring into force the Army Discipline and Regulation Act, 1879.
33. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Discipline and Regulation of the Army.
34. An Act to regulate the Employment of Children in Places of Public Amusement in certain cases.
35. An Act to remit certain Loans made by the Exchequer Loan Commissioners and the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and by the Irish Exchequer Loan Commissioners and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.
36. An Act for the transfer of property held for the service of Her Majesty's Customs to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings; and for other purposes.
37. An Act to amend the Commons Act, 1876.
38. An Act to amend the Slave Trade (East African Courts) Act, 1873.
39. An Act to amend the law with respect to Returns of Receipts and Expenditure as regards Highways, and to dispense with the verification before Justices of the accounts of Surveyors of Highways.
40. An Act to amend the Conveyancing and Land Transfer (Scotland) Act, 1874.
41. An Act to enable Guaranteed Railway Companies in India and the Secretary of State for India in Council to enter into Agreements with respect to the working of Railways, and with respect to Telegraphs, and to confer upon those Companies additional powers with respect to their undertakings.
42. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Valuation of Lands and Heritages in Scotland.
43. An Act to enable the Secretary of State in Council of India to create and issue Capital Stock in the United Kingdom in exchange for so much of the Annuity created under the East Indian Railway Company Purchase Act, 1879, and thereby made chargeable on the Revenues of India as may be purchased by the Secretary of State under that Act.
44. An Act to make provision in regard to the office of Lord Clerk Register of Scotland; and for other purposes.
45. An Act to authorise the issue of a sum out of the Consolidated Fund by way of loan to the Secretary of State for India.
46. An Act to continue certain Turnpike Acts, and to repeal certain other Turnpike Acts; and for other purposes connected therewith.
47. An Act to continue and amend the Petroleum Act, 1871.
48. An Act to amend the Law respecting the Powers of School Boards in relation to Industrial Schools.
49. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates.
50. An Act to amend the Law relating to Bills of Sale in Ireland.
51. An Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.
52. An Act to appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts for granting a Land Tax and other rates and taxes.
53. An Act to amend the Law regulating Municipal Elections in Ireland.
54. An Act to make better provision for the adjustment of Parish Boundaries, and to make further amendments in the Acts relating to the relief of the Poor in England.
55. An Act to reduce the Minimum Term of Penal Servitude in the case of a previous conviction, and to amend the Law with respect to the notifications and reports made under sections five and eight of the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871.
56. An Act to continue for a further period the Regulation of Railways Acts, 1873 and 1874.
57. An Act to amend the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878.
58. An Act to provide for the Collection, either in money or by stamps, of Fees payable in Public Offices.
59. An Act for repealing certain Enactments relating to Civil Procedure which have ceased to be in force, or have become unnecessary, and for abolishing Outlawry in Civil Proceedings.
60. An Act to enable the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise Money in the United Kingdom for the service of the Government of India.
61. An Act to make provision for raising the sum required for the purposes of the Advance authorised by the Indian Advance Act, 1879.
62. An Act to raise the sum of four million two hundred thousand pounds by Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills, for the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.
63. An Act to amend the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvements Act, 1876.
64. An Act to extend the powers of the Artizans Dwellings Act of 1868, by provisions for compensation and rebuilding.

- 65. An Act to promote the advancement of Learning, and to extend the benefits connected with University Education in Ireland.
- 66. An Act to continue for a further period the power of making Schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1869, 1874, and 1876.
- 67. An Act to continue various expiring Laws.
- 68. An Act to authorise the Metropolitan Board of Works to defray expenses incurred in relation to the promotion of certain Bills in Parliament relating to the supply of water to the Metropolis.
- 69. An Act for further amending the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and for other purposes relating thereto.
- 70. An Act to amend the Acts relating to Vaccination in Ireland.
- 71. An Act to regulate the Practice in Registry Courts in Ireland.
- 72. An Act to provide for the re-hearing of Investigations into Shipping Casualties, and to amend the rules as to the mode of holding, and procedure at, such Investigations.
- 73. An Act to authorise the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests and Land Revenues to agree with the Conservators of the River Thames on the Payments for Piers or Landing-places in or upon the Bed or Shore of the River Thames.
- 74. An Act for improving the position of the Teachers of National Schools in Ireland.
- 75. An Act to amend and continue the Acts relating to Election Petitions, and to the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections.
- 76. An Act to amend the Law with respect to the Liability of Members of Banking and other Joint Stock Companies; and for other purposes.
- 77. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Public Works Loan Commissioners and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and to grant Money for the purpose of Loans by the said Commissioners; and for other purposes in relation thereto.
- 78. An Act to amend the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts.

The Acts contained in the following List, being PUBLIC ACTS of a Local Character, are placed amongst the LOCAL AND PERSONAL ACTS.

- i. An Act to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade under the Sea Fisheries Act, 1868, relating to Tollesbury and Mersea, in the River Blackwater (Essex).
- ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Act, 1863, and the Acts amending the same.
- iii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to the Burgh of Paisley.
- iv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to the Burgh of Inverness.
- xli. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Bispham, Carleton, and Thornton Improvements, situated in the parishes of Bispham and Poulton, in the county of Lancaster.
- xlii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to the Burgh of Castle Douglas.
- xliii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Ashton-under-Lyne, the Local Government District of Blackrod, the Rural Sanitary District of the Burton-on-Trent Union, the Local Government District of Chelmsford, the Borough of Cheltenham, the Local Government District of Ealing, the Boroughs of Jarrow, Maidstone, Newport (Monmouthshire), and Penzance, the Local Government District of Prestwich, the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Rugby Union and Southam Union, the Local Government Districts of Swinton and Pendlebury and Torquay, and the Improvement Act District of West Hartlepool.
- liv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the towns of Clonmel and Dundalk, and to a Burial Ground for the town of Clonmel, and to Waterworks in the town of Keady.
- lv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Ramsgate, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, Skegness, Strachur (Loch Fyne), Totland Bay, Westgate, Whitehall (Stronsay), Cromarty, Fortrose, Lybster, Penzance, and Torquay.
- lvi. An Act for confirming a certain Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Poor Law Union of Downpatrick.
- lvii. An Act for confirming certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the towns of Cashel, Enniscorthy, Hollywood, Kells, Templemore, Wicklow, and Youghal.
- lviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for Brighton and Preston United District (Sussex), Gotherington (Gloucester), Loughor Borough (Glamorgan), and Membury (Devon), to put in force

## LOCAL ACTS.

*The Titles to which the Letter P. is prefixed are Public Acts  
of a Local Character.*

- P. i. **A**N Act to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade under the Sea Fisheries Act, 1868, relating to Tollesbury and Mersca, in the River Blackwater (Essex).
- P. ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Act, 1863, and the Acts amending the same.
- P. iii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to the Burgh of Paisley.
- P. iv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, relating to the Burgh of Inverness.
- v. An Act to extend the periods limited for the compulsory purchase of lands for, and for the completion of, the Dover and Deal Railway.
- vi. An Act to amend the Grand Junction Waterworks Act, 1878.
- vii. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the North and South Woolwich Subway.
- viii. An Act to remove certain impediments in the way of building on certain land in Croydon allotted in the year 1801 under the powers of an Inclosure Act of the Thirty-seventh year of the reign of King George the Third, Cap. 144.
- ix. An Act conferring additional powers on the Bury Saint Edmund's Gas Company.
- x. An Act to authorise the New River Company to raise further Money.
- xi. An Act for granting further powers to the Nottingham Waterworks Company.
- xii. An Act for conferring upon the Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis further powers in relation to the Bridge over the harbour; and for other purposes.
- xiii. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Burnt Fen First District, and to provide for the making and maintaining of Roads in the said District; and for other purposes.
- xiv. An Act to empower the Chester Cemetery Company to enlarge their Cemetery, and to confer further powers upon them in relation to their undertaking; and for other purposes.
- xv. An Act for the Abandonment of the Railway authorised by the Brewood and Wolverhampton Railway Acts, 1874 and 1875.
- xvi. An Act to extend the Time for the Purchase of Lands for, and for the Construction of, the Forth Bridge Railway.
- xvii. An Act for incorporating the Westgate and Birchington Water Company; and for other purposes.
- xviii. An Act to amend the Llandudno Improvement Act, 1876, to authorise the Abandonment of certain Waterworks, and the Construction of other Waterworks instead thereof, by the Commissioners acting in execution of the said Act; and for other purposes.
- xix. An Act to alter the constitution of the Trustees of the Port and Harbour of Whitby in the north riding of the county of York, for better defining the limits of the said Port and Harbour; and for other purposes.
- xx. An Act to explain and amend the Deed of Settlement of the Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society, to provide for the increase of the capital and subdivision of the shares of that Society, and to enable that Society to sue and be sued in the name of a public officer.
- xxi. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Borough of Portsmouth Waterworks Company.
- xxii. An Act to authorise a Sale by the Principal and Scholars of Brasenose College in the University of Oxford to the Governors of Saint Bartholomew's Hospital of two Houses situate in Little Britain, in the City of London, within the gates of the said Hospital.
- xxiii. An Act to confer further powers on the Corporation of Leeds with reference to Hunslet Moor; and for other purposes.
- xxiv. An Act for the Abandonment of the South Dublin Railway.
- xxv. An Act for the Abandonment of the Railways authorised by the Sidmouth Railway Act, 1876; and for other purposes.
- xxvi. An Act for conferring further powers on the Pemberton Local Board in relation to the Construction of Waterworks and the Supply of Water; and for other purposes.
- xxvii. An Act for incorporating the Gosport Street Tramways Company, and for empowering them to construct Tramways; and for other purposes.
- xxviii. An Act for establishing a Cattle Market at Lewes in Sussex.
- xxix. An Act to confer further powers on the Rathkeale and Newcastle Junction Railway Company.
- xxx. An Act for authorising the London and South-western Railway Company and the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway

Company to provide and use Steam and other Vessels for conveyance of traffic between places on the coast of Hampshire, and between those places and the Isle of Wight; and for other purposes.

**xxxii.** An Act to confer further powers on the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company.

**xxxiii.** An Act to authorise an extension of time to the Severn Bridge and Forest of Dean Central Railway Company for completing their undertaking.

**xxxiiii.** An Act for better supplying with Water the Town of Sleaford in the County of Lincoln, and the adjacent district; and for other purposes.

**xxxv.** An Act for rendering valid certain Letters Patent granted to Thomas Vicars the elder and Thomas Vicars the younger, of Liverpool, in the County of Lancaster, and James Smith of the same place, for the invention of Improvements in Self-stoking Furnaces.

**xxxvi.** An Act to enable the Local Board for the District of Tipton in the county of Stafford to acquire certain Lands for the purposes of their Gas Undertaking; and for other purposes.

**xxxvii.** An Act for enabling the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, to obtain a supply of Water from the Lake Thirlmere in Cumberland; and for other purposes.

**xxxviii.** An Act to extend the time limited by the Birmingham Waterworks Act, 1870, for the Construction of the Works by that Act authorised, and to empower the Corporation of the Borough of Birmingham to borrow further Moneys for the purposes of the Birmingham (Corporation) Water Act, 1875, and of the Waterworks of the Corporation; and for other purposes.

**xxxix.** An Act to authorise the Brighton and Hove General Gas Company to construct additional works, to acquire lands, to raise additional capital; and for other purposes.

**xl.** An Act to provide for the Repayment of Loans raised under and for the purposes of certain Local Acts relating to the Parish of Saint Pancras in the County of Middlesex.

**xli.** An Act to authorise the Commissioners of the Glasgow Corporation Waterworks to construct additional Works; and for other purposes.

**P. xlii.** An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Land Drainage Act, 1861, relating to Bispham, Carleton, and Thornton Improvements, situated in the parishes of Bispham and Poulton, in the county of Lancaster.

**P. xliii.** An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to the Burgh of Castle Douglas.

**P. xliiii.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Ashton-under-Lyne, the Local Government District of Blackrod, the Rural Sanitary District of the Burton-on-Trent Union, the Local Government District of Chelmsford, the Borough of Cheltenham, the Local Government District of Ealing, the Boroughs of Jarrow, Maidstone, Newport (Monmouthshire), and Penzance, the Local Government District of Prestwich, the Rural

Sanitary Districts of the Rugby Union and Southam Union, the Local Government Districts of Swinton and Pendlebury and Torquay, and the Improvement Act District of West Hartlepool.

**xliv.** An Act to authorise the Cranbrook and Paddock Wood Railway Company to divert portions of their authorised Line; and for other purposes.

**xlv.** An Act for conferring further powers on the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company; and for other purposes.

**xlvi.** An Act to make provision with respect to Capital fraudulently created in the Greenock Railway Guaranteed Company.

**xlvii.** An Act for enabling the Justices of the Peace for the County Palatine of Lancaster to erect Offices for the transaction of County Business, and to make a new Road; and for other purposes.

**xlviii.** An Act to authorise the North British Railway Company to make a Railway and Pier and stop up a Road in the parish of Cardross, in the county of Dumbarton, to confirm certain Agreements with respect to the Railway at Dundee, and the carrying of a Water Pipe across the Tay Bridge; and for other purposes.

**xlix.** An Act for empowering the East London Railway Company to acquire additional Lands for conferring further Rights and Powers upon the holders of the Debiture Stocks and Preference Stocks of the Company; and for other purposes.

**l.** An Act to authorise the Bromley Gas Consumers Company to raise additional Capital; and for other purposes.

**li.** An Act to vest in the Rawmarsh Local Board the Gas, Mains, and Pipes within their district, now belonging to the Corporation of Rotherham, to enable the Local Board to supply Gas within their district, and also to supply Gas and Water within certain parts of the adjoining township of Greasbrough; and for other purposes.

**lii.** An Act for the Abandonment of the Works authorised by the East Cornwall Mineral Railway Act, 1876; and for other purposes.

**liii.** An Act to further extend the time for the completion of the Merionethshire Railway.

**P. liv.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the towns of Clonmel and Dundalk, and to a Burial Ground for the town of Clonmel, and to Waterworks in the town of Keady.

**P. lv.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Ramsgate, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, Skegness, Strachur (Loch Fyne), Totland Bay, Westgate, Whitehall (Stronsay), Cromarty, Fortrose, Lybster, Penzance, and Torquay.

**P. lvi.** An Act for confirming a certain Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the Poor Law Union of Downpatrick.

**P. lvii.** An Act for confirming certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the towns of Cashel, Enniscorthy, Holywood, Kells, Templemore, Wicklow, and Youghal.

- P. lviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Boards for Brighton and Preston United District (Sussex), Gotherington (Gloucester), Loughor Borough (Glamorgan), and Membury (Devon) to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
- P. lix. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
- P. lx. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the borough of Waterford and to the town of Bangor.
- P. lxi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to the parish of Bothwell, in the County of Lanark.
- lxii. An Act for vesting in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, of the city and borough of Bath, the Bath Commons or Froemen's Estate, and to provide compensation to the Free Citizens of the same city and borough for their interests therein, and for empowering the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses to acquire by agreement and to demise and manage Lands for a Public Park; and for other purposes.
- lxiii. An Act for enabling the Corporation of the City of London to appropriate certain Lands facing the Victoria Embankment in the said City for the purpose of providing School Buildings and Accommodation for the City of London School; for the removal of the said School to such Buildings; for the sale of the Lands and Buildings now occupied by the said School; and for other purposes.
- lxiv. An Act to extend the District of the Glossop Gas Company; to enable the Company to raise additional Capital; and for other purposes.
- lxv. An Act to provide for the removal of the remains of persons interred underneath Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church, in the City of Glasgow; and for other purposes.
- lxvi. An Act to extend the time granted to the Dun Drainage Commissioners for the completion of certain Works; to authorise new Works; to confer further Borrowing Powers; and for other purposes.
- lxvii. An Act for conferring further powers on the Millwall Dock Company, and to authorise certain agreements between them and other Dock Companies; and for other purposes.
- lxviii. An Act for conferring further powers on the West Kent Main Sewerage Board and its constituent authorities, and for making Amendments in the West Kent Main Sewerage Acts; and for other purposes.
- lxix. An Act to authorise the East Norfolk Railway Company to make certain deviations in the Line of their Aylsham Extension Railway, to extend that Railway to the Dereham, Fakenham, and Wells Railway of the Great Eastern Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- lxx. An Act for empowering the Imperial Continental Gas Association to supply means of lighting other than Gas; and for other purposes.
- lxxi. An Act to authorise the Company of Proprietors of the Thames and Severn Canal Navigation to raise more Money; and for other purposes.
- lxxii. An Act to authorise the construction of Tramways in Southwark, Deptford, and other places in the counties of Surrey and Kent; and for other purposes.
- lxxiii. An Act for extending the Boundaries of the Municipal Borough of Grantham; and for other purposes.
- lxxiv. An Act to authorise the Ilkley Gas Company to raise a further sum of Money; and for other purposes.
- lxxv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Yarmouth and North Norfolk (Light) Railway Company.
- lxxvi. An Act to incorporate the Colwyn Bay Waterworks Company, and to confer upon them powers to supply Water.
- P. lxxvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the Counties of Buckingham, Kent, and Worcester.
- P. lxxviii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Aysgarth Union, the Improvement Act District of Bethesda, the Borough of Brecknock, the Local Government District of Croydon, the Boroughs of Derby, Doncaster, and Hastings, the Local Government Districts of Hinckley, Horsham, and Houghton-le-Spring, the Borough of Middlesbrough, the Local Government Districts of Northallerton and Tunstall, the Port of Wisbech, the Local Government District of Withington, and the Borough of Yeovil.
- P. lxxix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for the improvement of certain unhealthy areas within the Metropolis.
- P. lxxx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for the modification of a Scheme confirmed by the Metropolis (Whitechapel and Limehouse) Improvement Scheme Confirmation Act, 1876.
- P. lxxxi. An Act to confirm the Provisional Order for the regulation of certain Lands forming part of Matterdale Common, and situated in the parish of Greystoke, in the county of Cumberland, and the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain other lands forming the remainder of the same common, and situated in the same parish, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales.
- P. lxxxii. An Act to confirm the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain Lands known as Redmoor and Golberdon Commons, situate in the parish of South Hill, in the county of Cornwall, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales.

- P. lxxxiii.** An Act to confirm the Provisional Order for the regulation of certain lands forming part of East Stainmore Common, and situated in the township of East Stainmore, in the parish of Brough, in the county of Westmorland, and the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain other Lands forming the remainder of the same Common, and situated in the same parish, in pursuance of a report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales.
- P. lxxxiv.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the Counties of Gloucester and Hereford.
- P. lxxxv.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the Counties of Dorset, Montgomery, Northampton, Salop, Wilts, and York (East Riding).
- P. lxxxvi.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government District of Castleton-by-Rochdale, the District of Heywood, the Local Government Districts of Keighley and Littleborough, the Improvement Act District of Middleton and Tongue, the Local Government Districts of Milnrow and Royton, the Sittingbourne and Milton Joint Hospital District, and the Local Government Districts of Wallingfen and Wuerdle and Wardle.
- P. lxxxvii.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the towns of Killarney and Parsonstown.
- lxxxviii.** An Act to confer further powers on the Aberdeen Harbour Commissioners.
- lxxxix.** An Act to enable the Local Board for the District of Nelson, in the county of Lancaster, to extend their Waterworks, and to confer upon them further powers with respect to the Improvement and Government of their District, and the raising of money: and for other purposes.
- xc.** An Act for conferring powers upon the Undertakers of the Navigation of the Rivers of Aire and Calder, in the county of York, for the better supply of Gas to the Port and Town of Goole and neighbourhood thereof: and for other purposes.
- xc. i.** An Act for enabling the Swindon, Marlborough, and Andover Railway Company to construct New or Deviation Lines of Railway, to abandon certain portions of their authorised Railway; and for other purposes.
- xc. ii.** An Act for authorising the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Warrington, in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester, to construct additional Gasworks, and for making better provision for the improvement and government of the Borough: and for other purposes.
- xc. iii.** An Act for the settlement of Tithes in the parish of Christchurch, Newgate Street, in the City of London.
- xc. iv.** An Act for enabling the Great Southern and Western Railway Company to acquire additional Lands for the purposes of their Undertaking, to widen, remove, and replace certain of their bridges, and for vesting in that Company the Undertaking of the Castle-land Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- xcv.** An Act for embanking and reclaiming certain Waste Land on the Western Bank of the River Fergus, in the County of Clare.
- xcvi.** An Act for amalgamating the Liverpool Tramways Company, and the Liverpool Omnibus and Tramways Company, Limited, and for re-incorporating them under the name of the Liverpool United Tramways and Omnibus Company; and for other purposes.
- xcvii.** An Act for empowering the Local Board for the District of Eastbourne to make and maintain a Seawall or Embankment, a Street Improvement, a Town Hall, and other Works, and to make further provisions for the Improvement of the said District; and for other purposes.
- xcviii.** An Act to extend the limits of the city of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford; and for other purposes.
- xcix.** An Act to enlarge the powers of the Stourbridge Gas Company.
- c.** An Act to confirm an arrangement between the Earl of Dudley and the Corporation of Dudley with reference to the Disposal of the Sewage of the town of Dudley.
- ci.** An Act to alter and amend the Maryport Improvement Acts, 1866 to 1878, to authorise new Works, to extend the Powers of the Trustees; and for other purposes.
- cii.** An Act for the abolition of the present Leadenhall Market, for the improvement of the Site and Neighbourhood thereof, the formation of new Streets, the establishment of a new Leadenhall Market; and for other purposes.
- P. ciii.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Abergavenny Union, the Borough of Bolton, the Local Government District of Clay Lane, the Rural Sanitary District of the Clutton Union, the Darenth Valley Main Sewerage District, the Rural Sanitary District of the Great Ouseburn Union, the Borough of Halifax, the Local Government District of Huyton-with-Roby, the Port of Lowestoft, the Improvement Act District of Lowestoft, the Boroughs of Preston and Saint Helen's, and the Local Government Districts of Stone and Widnes.
- P. civ.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Axminster Union, the Boroughs of Liverpool and Oswestry, the Local Government District of Pontypriid, the Improvement Act District of Ramsgate, and the Local Government Districts of Wellington (Somerset) and Ystradyfodwg.
- P. cv.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government District of Aspall, the Boroughs of Birmingham and Burnley, the Improvement Act District of Chiswick, the Local Government District of Keighley, the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, the City of Lichfield, the Improvement Act District of Ramsgate, the Local Govern-



- ment District of Shelton, the Boroughs of Swasea and Southampton, the Improvement Act District of Wellington, Salop., and the Local Government Districts of Widnes and Warrington.
- P. cvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1867, relating to the Townships of Great Barlow and Little Barlow, the Townships of Chaddle Boleley and Chaddle Mosely, and the Town of Plymouth.
- cvi. An Act for conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with relation to their undertaking; and for other purposes.
- cvi. An Act for conferring additional powers on the Midland Railway Company for the construction of railways and other works, the acquisition of Lands, and the raising of capital; and for other purposes.
- cix. An Act to extend the time for the completion of the Railways of the West Lancashire Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- cx. An Act to provide for more intimate connexion between the Undertakings of the Great Northern and the Great Eastern Railway Companies.
- cx. An Act for extending the limits within which the Weardale and Shildon District Waterworks Company may supply Water: for empowering them to purchase the Undertaking of the Durham Water Company, to construct additional Works, and to raise additional Capital; and for other purposes.
- cxii. An Act for effecting an arrangement between the Neath and Brecon Railway Company and their Creditors; and for other purposes.
- cxiii. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Crystal Palace District Gas Company.
- cxiv. An Act for incorporating the Houghton-le-Spring District Gas Company, and for authorising them to supply with Gas the townships of Houghton-le-Spring, Newbottle, and East Rainton, in the County of Durham; and for other purposes.
- cxv. An Act for vesting in the London and North-western Railway Company the Undertaking of the Denbigh, Ruthin, and Corwen Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- cxvi. An Act to extend the Borough of Blackburn, to make further provision for its Local Government and Improvement; and for other purposes.
- cxvii. An Act for empowering the London and North-western Railway Company and that Company and the Furness Railway Company jointly to construct new Railways; and for other purposes.
- cxviii. An Act for authorising the construction of additional Tramways in the borough of Portsmouth, and to Cosham, in the county of Southampton; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for vesting in the Local Board of Health for the District of Stratford-upon-Avon the Undertaking of the Stratford-upon-Avon Gas Company, and the Bridge called Clifton Bridge, for extending the boundaries of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, and dividing the Borough into Wards, for dissolving the Local Board, and transferring their powers and property to the Corporation of the extended borough; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for incorporating the South Waterworks Company, and for conferring powers upon them with reference to the construction and maintenance of works, the supply of Water and otherwise; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for re-incorporating and conferring further powers upon the Company of Proprietors of the Colchester Waterworks for the raising of Capital; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to authorise the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Glasgow to construct additional Tramways in the City of Glasgow and its Neighbourhood; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to confer further powers on the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Glasgow for Municipal and Police purposes.
- cxix. An Act for effecting the sale and transfer to the Wombwell Local Board of the Undertaking of the Wombwell and Durfield Gas Company, Limited; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to authorise the construction of a new Road, Bridges, Approaches, and Walls in or near the City of Norwich; to provide for the better care and management of closed Burial Grounds in the city; to extend the powers of the Corporation in relation to the Health and Local Government of the City; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for making a railway in the county of Kent, to be called the Humber of Hoo Railway; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to incorporate the Great Grimsby Street Tramways Company; to authorise them to construct Tramways in the parishes of Great Grimsby and Cleo, in the county of Lincoln; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for authorising the construction of the Church Fenton, Cawood, and Wistow Railway; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to confer further Powers on the Great Northern Railway Company and the Cheshire Lines Committee.
- cxix. An Act to amend the Birmingham (Corporation) Gas Act, 1876, with respect to charges for Gas at Northfield and Yardley, in the county of Worcester; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to authorise the Whitehaven Union Rural Sanitary Authority to construct Waterworks for the supply of Water to the Special Drainage District of Arleston and Frizington within their District; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to the Municipality and Police and Roads and Streets of the City of Edinburgh; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act to provide for the transfer to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Cardiff of the Cardiff Waterworks; and for other purposes.
- cxix. An Act for the granting of further powers to the South Shields Gas Company.
- cxix. An Act to enable the Preston Gas Company to extend their limits of supply, to raise further capital; and for other purposes.

Act for conferring further powers on the Manchester Gas Company.

Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Morecambe Gas and Water Company.

Act to enable the Mirfield Gas Company to extend their limits of supply for gas and for other purposes.

Act to empower the Taff Vale Railway Company to make a New Railway in the County of Glamorgan, and to acquire additional Capital; and for other purposes.

Act for enabling the Ayr Harbour Trustees to construct a Slip Dock and other works, and to acquire additional Lands, and to sanction the Dock constructed by them; for defining the limits of the Harbour; and for other purposes.

Act for conferring powers on the Gaslight and Coke Company.

Act for conferring further Powers on the London and North-western Railway Company in connexion with their own Undertaking, and upon that Company jointly with the Great Western, the Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the Furness Railway Companies, respectively, in connexion with their Undertakings; for the Dissolution of the Buckinghamshire, the Bedford, the Great Northern, the Holyhead, the Lancaster and Yorkshire, and the Kendal and Windermere Companies; and for other purposes. Act for enlarging the powers of the Gaslight and Coke Company.

Act to enable the Monmouthshire and Canal Company to close a portion of the Monmouthshire Canal in the County of Newport; and for other purposes.

Act to amalgamate the Glasgow, Hamilton, and Coatbridge Railway with the North British Railway Company; and for other purposes.

Act for conferring further Powers on the Great Western Railway Company for the construction of Works, the acquisition of Lands, and otherwise in relation to their Undertaking, for authorising them and the Midland Railway Company to execute Works; for empowering the Furness Railway Company to subscribe towards the Capital of the Great Western and Workington Junction Railway Company, for transferring to the Furness Railway Company a portion of certain Light Duties of the Commissioners and Trustees of the County of Lancaster; and for other purposes.

Act to extend the Time for the Completion of certain Railways and Works.

Act to authorise the Bridport Railway Company to make a new railway; and for other purposes.

Act for amending the Acts relating to the British Fisheries Society; for vesting in the Pulteney Harbour, and improving the same; and for other purposes.

cl. An Act for authorising the Great Eastern Railway Company to execute additional Works, and for conferring on them further Powers in relation to their Undertaking and the Undertakings of other Companies; for amending their Acts in various particulars; and for other purposes.

clii. An Act for conferring further powers on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company and on other Companies in connexion with that Company, and on the Sheffield and Midland Railway Companies Committee; and for other purposes.

cliv. An Act to confer further powers on the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas Company.

clv. An Act to confer upon the South-eastern Railway Company further Powers with reference to their own Undertakings and those of other Companies; and for other purposes.

clvi. An Act to authorise the construction of a Marine Drive, Promenade, and Sea Defences, and of Carriage Roads and a Tramway in the Parishes of Walton-le-Soken and Frinton, in the county of Essex; and for other purposes.

clvii. An Act to give to the North British Railway Company a joint interest with the Caledonian Railway Company in the Dundee and Arbroath Railway and part of the Arbroath and Forfar Railway; and for other purposes.

clviii. An Act for incorporating and conferring Powers on the Queenstown Gas Company.

clviii. An Act for conferring further powers upon the Sharpness New Docks and Gloucester and Birmingham Navigation Company for the raising of Capital, for the Consolidation of Debenture Stock; and for other purposes.

P. clviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875, relating to the Borough of Derby.

P. clx. An Act for confirming certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Cleethorpes Gas, Dorchester Gas, Drontfield Gas, Eekington Gas, Enfield Gas, Havant Gas, Longridge Gas, Northfleet Gas, Wantage Gas, Wellingborough Gas, Dorking Water, Herts and Essex Water, Maidstone Water, Margate Water, Mewbourn and District Water, Oystermouth Water, Rhyl District Water, Saint Alban's Water, Shoreham and District Water, Stourbridge Water, Thirsk District Water, Aldershot Gas and Water, Ventnor Gas and Water, and Ystrad Gas and Water.

P. clx. An Act to provide for the user and regulation of certain Lands at Wormwood Scrubs.

P. clxi. An Act to regulate the Sittings of the Quarter Sessions Court of the Borough of Cork.

P. clxii. An Act to confirm the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain Lands known as Whittington Marshes and Whittington Hurst, situate in the parish of Whittington, in the county of Stafford, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales.

- clxiii. An Act to provide for the Amalgamation of the Severn and Wye Railway and Canal Company and the Severn Bridge Railway Company.
- clxiv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Belfast Central Railway Company, and to make further provision for regulating their affairs.
- clxv. An Act to authorise the construction of Tramways in the Borough of Cambridge; and for other purposes.
- clxvi. An Act for authorising the construction of Railways in the county of Glamorgan, to be called "The Treferig Valley Railway"; and for other purposes.
- clxvii. An Act to amend the Upper Mersey Navigation Act, 1876.
- clxviii. An Act to amend the Dublin (South) City Market Act, 1876, to enable the Company to construct new Streets; and for other purposes.
- clxix. An Act to authorise the East and West India Dock Company to acquire additional Lands, raise further Capital, and for other purposes.
- clxx. An Act to give further Powers to the Dublin Port and Docks Board.
- clxxi. An Act to enable the Croesor and Portmadoc Railway Company to make and maintain a new Branch Line of Railway, to change their name; and for other purposes.
- clxxii. An Act to confer further Powers on the Belfast Water Commissioners; and for other purposes.
- clxxiii. An Act for authorising the sale and transfer of the Undertaking of the Sevenoaks, Maidstone, and Tunbridge Railway Company to the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- clxxiv. An Act to confer further Powers upon the Ballymena and Larne Railway Company.
- clxxv. An Act for the incorporation of the Coleraine Harbour Commissioners; for vesting in them the powers of the Coleraine Town Commissioners with respect to the Navigation of the River Bann under the River Bann Navigation Act, 1863; for the repeal of the said Act; for the improvement of the said Navigation; and for other purposes.
- clxxvi. An Act for the Commutation of Tithes in the City of London; and for other purposes.
- clxxvii. An Act to authorise the Felixstowe Railway and Pier Company to abandon the Works authorised by their Act of 1876, and to construct and maintain other Works in lieu thereof; to change the name of the Company; and for other purposes.
- clxxviii. An Act for authorising the Company of Proprietors of the Grand Junction Canal to make a Branch Canal to Slough; and for other purposes.
- clxxix. An Act for making a Railway from the Finn Valley Railway near the Town of Stranorlar, in the county of Donegal, to the Town of Donegal, in the same county; and for other purposes.
- clxxx. An Act to further extend the time for the Purchase of Lands, and for the Construction of the Works authorised by the Medway Docks Act, 1866.
- clxxxi. An Act for extending the Periods allowed to the Caledonian Railway Company by former Acts for the acquisition of certain Lands, and the completion of certain Works, for abandoning certain of their authorised Works, for enabling them to appoint members of the Joint Committee for the management of certain portions of the undertaking of the Portpatrick Railway Company, for confirming an Agreement between them and other parties as to certain Lands and Streets at Dundee; and for other purposes.
- clxxxii. An Act to grant further powers to the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) with respect to their own Undertaking, and to enable them to purchase the Dublin and Antrim Junction, and the Newry and Armagh Railways.
- clxxxiii. An Act to enable the Alliance and Dublin Consumers Gas Company to construct Tramways for the purposes of their Undertaking; and for other purposes.
- clxxxiv. An Act to empower the Corporation of London to improve the Surrey Side Approaches to London Bridge.
- clxxxv. An Act to extend the limits of the Town and Urban Sanitary District of Whitehaven; and for other purposes.
- clxxxvi. An Act for empowering the Birkenhead Tramways Company to construct new Tramways and to purchase the Tramways of the Hoylake and Birkenhead Rail and Tramway Company; and for other purposes.
- clxxxvii. An Act to authorise the Cork and Bandon Railway Company to purchase the undertakings of the Cork and Kinsale Junction Railway Company and of the West Cork Railway Company, and to acquire certain rights belonging to the Ilen Valley Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- clxxxviii. An Act for authorising the construction of a Railway from the Ely and Lynn Branch of the Great Eastern Railway to Stoke Ferry; and for other purposes.
- clxxxix. An Act to authorise the London Street Tramways Company to construct additional Tramways, to raise further Money; and for other purposes.
- cxc. An Act for empowering the Manchester Suburban Tramways Company to construct further Tramways in the neighbourhood of Manchester; and for other purposes.
- cxci. An Act to extend the Borough of Rotherham, and to confer powers upon the Corporation of that Borough for purchasing Lands and constructing Works for the disposal of Sewage, also powers in relation to Markets, and affecting the Sanitary Condition and Local Government of the Borough; and for other purposes.
- cxcii. An Act for incorporating the Saint Helens and District Tramways Company, and for empowering them to construct Tramways in the Borough and District of Saint Helens, in the County of Lancaster; and for other purposes.
- P. cxci. An Act for confirming certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bristol Tramways (Extensions), Briton Ferry and Swansea Tramways, Burnley and District Tramways, Chesterfield, Brompton, and Whittington Tramways, Crewe and District Tramways, Derby Tramways, Dewsbury, Batley, and Birstal Tramways (Extension), Ipswich

Tramways, Leamington and Warwick Tramways, Liverpool Corporation Tramways, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Tramways, North London Suburban Tramways, Oxford Tramways, Staffordshire Tramways, Stoke-upon-Trent, Fenton, Longton, and District Tramways, Sunderland Corporation Tramways, Sunderland Tramways (Extension), Swansea Tramways (Extension), Tynemouth and District Tramways, Wigan Tramways, York Tramways; and for empowering the Board of Trade to grant licenses for the use of limited periods, by way of experiment, of steam or any mechanical power upon tramways in certain cases.

P. cxciv. An Act to amend the New Forest Act, 1877.

cxcv. An Act for incorporation of the Freiston Shore Reclamation Company, and for authorising them to reclaim certain Lands in the Estuary of the Wash; and for other purposes.

cxcvi. An Act to enable the Trustees of certain Poor's Allotment Lands situated in the parish of Tring and county of Hertford to sell or exchange the same; and for other purposes.

cxcvii. An Act for making Tramways in the county of Surrey, to be called "The South London Tramways"; and for other purposes.

cxcviii. An Act to amend the Metropolis Management Act, 1855, and the Acts amending the same, so far as relates to the protection of the Metropolis from Floods and Inundations caused by the overflow of the River Thames; and for other purposes.

ccix. An Act to extend the borough of Blackpool, and to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses thereof to make new Streets, Street Improvements, and other Works, to extend the Limits of Gas Supply, and to make further Provision for the Improvement and Government of the borough; and for other purposes.

cc. An Act to confer further powers on the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Leicester.

ccci. An Act to authorise the Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railway Companies to make certain Railways for completing the Inner Circle and connecting their Railways with the East London Railway, also a new Street and certain Street Improvements, and to confer various powers upon the Corporation of London, the Metropolitan Board of Works, and other Public Bodies in reference to the undertaking; and for other purposes.

ccii. An Act for extending the Borough of Over Darwen and for the Improvement of the said Borough; and for other purposes.

cciii. An Act to confer further powers on the Stafford and Uttoxeter Railway Company; and for other purposes.

cciv. An Act for enabling the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Nottingham to purchase Bulwell Forest for the purposes of a public Park and Cemetery, to construct additional Gasworks, to acquire the undertaking of the Nottingham Waterworks Company; and for other purposes.

ccv. An Act for authorising the North Staffordshire Railway Company to construct certain

Railways and Works for the improvement of their system in the counties of Stafford and Chester, to abandon portions of certain Railways, to appoint Directors of the Cheadle Railway Company, to amend the Company's Acts with respect to Tolls and Charges, to provide for the establishment of Hotels; and for other purposes.

ccvi. An Act to provide for the vesting of the Undertaking of the East Indian Railway Company in the Secretary of State in Council of India; and for other purposes.

ccvii. An Act to authorise the construction of Street Tramways in Brentford and Isleworth, in the county of Middlesex; and for other purposes.

ccviii. An Act for appointing Commissioners and vesting in them certain lands in the parish of Llandisilio, and enabling them to form a Public Recreation Ground and Reading Room; and for other purposes.

ccix. An Act to enable the Girvan and Portpatrick Junction Railway Company to borrow further Money; and for other purposes.

ccx. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway in the county of Antrim, from Ballymena to Portglenone; and for other purposes.

ccxi. An Act to authorise the construction of Tramways in or near Ramsgate, Margate, and other places in the county of Kent; and for other purposes.

ccxii. An Act to empower the Banbury and Cheltenham Direct Railway Company to raise further Money; and for other purposes.

ccxiii. An Act to make further provision for the Lighting of the Borough of Liverpool, and to extend the Powers of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough in relation to the Supply of Light by Electricity; and for other purposes.

ccxiv. An Act for making a Railway from the South Alloa Branch of the Caledonian Railway to Alloa; and for other purposes.

ccxv. An Act to extend the powers of the Corporation of the Borough of Derby, in the county of Derby, with respect to the Local Government and Improvement of the Borough, to enable the Corporation to acquire the Derby Waterworks Company's Undertaking; and for other purposes.

ccxvi. An Act to confer further powers on the Halesowen Railway Company; and for other purposes.

ccxvii. An Act for incorporating the Knutsford Light and Water Company; and for other purposes.

ccxviii. An Act to revive and extend the powers of the Ardmillan Reclamation Company for the compulsory purchase of Lands and completion of Works; and for other purposes.

P. ccxix. An Act to authorise the sale of a strip of land adjoining the Knightsbridge Barracks to the Metropolitan Board of Works for the Improvement of the Knightsbridge Road, to transfer the management of a piece of Crown land at Hampton Court from the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works, and vest the management of land left vacant on the reconstruction and improvement of Gloucester

- Gate Bridge, Regent's Park, in the Commis-  
sioners of Her Majesty's Woods.
- P. ccxx. An Act to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the assent of Her Majesty's Treasury, to vary the Trusts of the Mungret Agricultural School and Model Farm in the county of Limerick.
- P. ccxxi. An Act to make provision in regard to the Restoration of the Ancient Church of St. Giles, in the city of Edinburgh.
- P. ccxxii. An Act to grant further time for proceeding with the execution of Works for improving the Navigation of the Lough and River Erne.
- ccxxiii. An Act to authorise the making and maintaining of the Easton Neston Mineral and Towcester, Road, and Olney Junction Railway; and for other purposes.
- ccxxiv. An Act for making a Railway from the Enniskillen and Bundoran Railway at or near the Castlecaldwell station to the town of Donegal, to be called "The Fermanagh and Donegal Railway," and other works; and for other purposes.
- ccxxv. An Act to authorise the Construction of Tramways for connecting the Towns of Blackburn and Over Darwen; and for other purposes.

## PRIVATE ACTS,

PRINTED BY THE QUEEN'S PRINTER,

AND WHEREOF THE PRINTED COPIES MAY BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE.

1. **A**N Act to confirm certain conveyances made by the Trustees of the Will of William Ryder Richardson, deceased, and to give further Powers for enabling the Appropriation and Sale of Land for Building Sites; and for other purposes.
2. An Act to authorise the feuing of parts of the Lands of Tayfield Northfield, and others, in the parish of Forgan, or Saint Phyllans, and county of Fife.
3. An Act to make provision with respect to the shares of Thomas Roper, deceased, in the capital and business of the firm of Harrison, Ainslie, and Company.
4. An Act to authorise the sale of the Estate of Stuckgown, in the County of Dumbarton, and to provide for the application of the price thereof.
5. An Act to charge certain Moneys on the interests of Jessie Edwards, Anna Dorothea Edwards, Eyre Evans Edwards, and Mary Eliza Edwards, Infants, in a Moiety of certain Estates in the counties of Limerick, Dublin, and Queen, and the city of Dublin in Ireland; and for other purposes.
6. An Act to authorise the granting of Building and Improvement Leases of the Estates devised by the Will of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Baronet; and for other purposes.
7. An Act for giving effect to a compromise of certain opposing claims affecting the Estates of William Sydney Earl of Leitrim, deceased, in the counties of Leitrim, Donegal, Galway, and Kildare, in Ireland.
8. An Act for enlarging the leasing powers relating to the Estates annexed to the Earldom of Arundel, and for effecting an exchange of parts of the same Estates, and for authorising Exchanges and Sales of other parts of the same Estates; and for other purposes.

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1878-9.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 7 August 1879;—for,

A RETURN "of the Number of Days on which THE HOUSE SAT in the Session of 1878-9, stating, for each Day, the Date of the Month, and Day of the Week, the Hour of the Meeting, and the Hour of Adjournment; and the Total Number of Hours occupied in the Sittings of The House, and the Average Time; and showing the Number of Hours on which The House Sat each Day, and the Number of Hours after Midnight; and the Number of Entries in each Day's Votes and Proceedings" (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.132, of Session 1878).

(Sir Charles Forster.)

| Month.    | Day. | House met. | House adjourned. | Hours of Sitting. | Hours after Midnight. | Entries in Votes. | Month.    | Day. | House met. | House adjourned. | Hours of Sitting. | Hours after Midnight. | Entries in Votes. |
|-----------|------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
|           |      | H. M.      | H. M.            | H. M.             | H. M.                 |                   |           |      | H. M.      | H. M.            | H. M.             | H. M.                 |                   |
| 1878      |      |            |                  |                   |                       |                   | 1879      |      |            |                  |                   |                       |                   |
| Dec. 5    | Th   | 1 30       | 12 30            | 11 0              | 0 30                  | 43                | cont.     |      |            |                  |                   |                       |                   |
| " 6       | F    | 4 0        | 7 45             | 3 45              | - -                   | 116               | Mar. 26   | W    | 12 0       | 5 45             | 5 45              | - -                   | 41                |
| " 9       | M    | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 45                | " 27      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 56                |
| " 10      | Tu   | 4 0        | 12 15            | 8 15              | 0 15                  | 19                | " 28      | F    | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 62                |
| " 11      | W    | 12 0       | 2 0              | 2 0               | - -                   | 9                 | " 31      | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 66                |
| " 12      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 29                |           |      |            |                  |                   |                       |                   |
| " 13      | F    | 4 0        | 2 30             | 10 30             | 2 30                  | 23                | Total ... | 22   | - -        | - -              | 181 50            | 26 45                 | 1,181             |
| " 16      | M    | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 39                | Apr. 1    | Tu   | 4 0        | 10 30            | 6 30              | - -                   | 77                |
| " 17      | Tu   | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 38                | " 2       | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | - -                   | 40                |
| Total ... | 9    | - -        | - -              | 71 0              | 6 45                  | 361               | " 3       | Th   | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 72                |
| 1879      |      |            |                  |                   |                       |                   | " 4       | F    | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 72                |
| Feb. 13   | Th   | 4 0        | 12 30            | 8 30              | 0 30                  | 76                | " 7       | M    | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 119               |
| " 14      | F    | 4 0        | 3 0              | 11 0              | 3 0                   | 76                | " 17      | Th   | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 63                |
| " 17      | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 203               | " 18      | F    | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 65                |
| " 18      | Tu   | 4 0        | 9 15             | 5 15              | - -                   | 162               | " 21      | M    | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 83                |
| " 19      | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | - -                   | 36                | " 22      | Tu   | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 64                |
| " 20      | Th   | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 33                | " 23      | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | - -                   | 54                |
| " 21      | F    | 4 0        | 8 15             | 4 15              | - -                   | 30                | " 24      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 45                |
| " 24      | M    | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 103               | " 25      | F    | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 102               |
| " 25      | Tu   | 4 0        | 8 30             | 4 30              | - -                   | 53                | " 28      | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 67                |
| " 26      | W    | 2 0        | 5 55             | 5 55              | - -                   | 46                | " 29      | Tu   | 4 0        | 7 30             | 3 30              | - -                   | 67                |
| " 27      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 42                | " 30      | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | - -                   | 71                |
| " 28      | F    | 4 0        | 3 0              | 11 0              | 3 0                   | 58                | Total ... | 15   | - -        | - -              | 120 35            | 13 0                  | 1,061             |
| Total ... | 12   | - -        | - -              | 95 15             | 13 30                 | 918               | May 1     | Th   | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 83                |
| Mar. 3    | M    | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 95                | " 2       | F    | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 88                |
| " 4       | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 55                | " 5       | M    | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 86                |
| " 5       | W    | 12 0       | 1 15             | 1 15              | - -                   | 18                | " 6       | Tu   | 2 0        | 12 45            | 10 45             | 0 45                  | 89                |
| " 6       | Th   | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 54                | " 7       | W    | 12 0       | 5 45             | 5 45              | - -                   | 74                |
| " 7       | F    | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 47                | " 8       | Th   | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 78                |
| " 10      | M    | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 88                | " 9       | F    | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 84                |
| " 11      | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 40                | " 12      | M    | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 95                |
| " 12      | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | - -                   | 57                | " 13      | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 91                |
| " 13      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 0              | 9 0               | 1 0                   | 45                | " 14      | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | - -                   | 71                |
| " 14      | F    | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 49                | " 15      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 116               |
| " 17      | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 56                | " 16      | F    | 2 0        | 12 45            | 10 45             | 0 45                  | 120               |
| " 18      | Tu   | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 46                | " 19      | M    | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 125               |
| " 19      | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | - -                   | 51                | " 20      | Tu   | 2 0        | 12 45            | 10 45             | 0 45                  | 108               |
| " 20      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 62                | " 21      | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | - -                   | 44                |
| " 21      | F    | 4 0        | 12 30            | 8 30              | 0 30                  | 48                | " 22      | Th   | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 92                |
| " 22      | Sat  | 12 0       | 12 15            | 0 15              | - -                   | 7                 | " 23      | F    | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 111               |
| " 24      | M    | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 84                | " 26      | M    | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 131               |
| " 25      | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 54                | " 27      | Tu   | 2 0        | 6 55             | 6 55              | - -                   | 89                |
| Total ... | 19   | - -        | - -              | 170 55            | 20 30                 | 1,775             | Total ... | 19   | - -        | - -              | 170 55            | 20 30                 | 1,775             |

# SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1878-9.

| Month.   | Day. | House met. | House adjourned. | Hours of Sitting. | Hours after Midnight. | Entries in Votes. | Month.   | Day. | House met. | House adjourned. | Hours of Sitting. | Hours after Midnight. | Entries in |
|----------|------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------|------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1879     |      | H. M.      | H. M.            | H. M.             | H. M.                 |                   | 1879     |      | H. M.      | H. M.            | H. M.             | H. M.                 |            |
| June 9   | M    | 4 0        | 2 45             | 10 45             | 2 45                  | 108               | cont.    |      |            |                  |                   |                       |            |
| " 10     | Tu   | 2 0        | 1 15             | 11 15             | 1 15                  | 82                | July 17  | Th   | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  |            |
| " 11     | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | -                     | 61                | " 18     | F    | 2 0        | 3 45             | 13 45             | 3 45                  |            |
| " 12     | Th   | 4 0        | 1 15             | 9 15              | 1 15                  | 66                | " 21     | M    | 4 0        | 3 45             | 11 45             | 3 45                  |            |
| " 13     | F    | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 75                | " 22     | Tu   | 2 0        | 2 30             | 12 30             | 2 30                  |            |
| " 16     | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  | 99                | " 23     | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | -                     |            |
| " 17     | Tu   | 2 0        | 12 45            | 10 45             | 0 45                  | 69                | " 24     | Th   | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   |            |
| " 18     | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | -                     | 49                | " 25     | F    | 2 0        | 3 45             | 13 45             | 3 45                  |            |
| " 19     | Th   | 4 0        | 2 30             | 10 30             | 2 30                  | 73                | " 28     | M    | 4 0        | 2 15             | 10 15             | 2 15                  |            |
| " 20     | F    | 2 0        | 1 45             | 11 45             | 1 45                  | 71                | " 29     | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 45             | 10 45             | 2 45                  |            |
| " 23     | M    | 4 0        | 12 45            | 8 45              | 0 45                  | 79                | " 30     | W    | 12 0       | 6 0              | 6 0               | -                     |            |
| " 24     | Tu   | 2 0        | 9 15             | 7 15              | -                     | 52                | " 31     | Th   | 4 0        | 3 0              | 11 0              | 3 0                   |            |
| " 25     | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | -                     | 50                | Total... | 24   | -          | -                | 241 50            | 45 45                 | 1,5        |
| " 26     | Th   | 4 0        | 1 45             | 9 45              | 1 45                  | 70                | Aug. 1   | F    | 2 0        | 2 15             | 12 15             | 2 15                  |            |
| " 27     | F    | 2 0        | 1 30             | 11 30             | 1 30                  | 83                | " 2      | S    | 12 0       | 7 0              | 7 0               | -                     |            |
| " 30     | M    | 4 0        | 2 0              | 10 0              | 2 0                   | 81                | " 4      | M    | 4 0        | 2 45             | 10 45             | 2 45                  |            |
| Total... | 16   | -          | -                | 149 10            | 20 15                 | 1,168             | " 5      | Tu   | 2 0        | 2 15             | 12 15             | 2 15                  |            |
| July 1   | Tu   | 2 0        | 1 30             | 11 30             | 1 30                  | 68                | " 6      | W    | 12 0       | 6 0              | 6 0               | -                     |            |
| " 2      | W    | 12 0       | 5 50             | 5 50              | -                     | 45                | " 7      | Th   | 4 0        | 4 0              | 12 0              | 4 0                   |            |
| " 3      | Th   | 4 0        | 3 30             | 11 30             | 3 30                  | 77                | " 8      | F    | 2 0        | 3 0              | 13 0              | 3 0                   |            |
| " 4      | F    | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 70                | " 9      | S    | 12 0       | 6 30             | 6 30              | -                     |            |
| " 5      | S    | 1 30       | 12 15            | 10 45             | 0 15                  | 18                | " 11     | M    | 4 0        | 7 15             | 15 15             | 7 15                  |            |
| " 7      | M    | 4 0        | 2 45             | 10 45             | 2 45                  | 73                | " 12     | Tu   | 4 0        | 2 30             | 10 30             | 2 30                  |            |
| " 8      | Tu   | 2 0        | 1 15             | 11 15             | 1 15                  | 71                | " 13     | W    | 12 0       | 6 30             | 6 30              | -                     |            |
| " 9      | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | -                     | 41                | " 14     | Th   | 4 0        | 9 30             | 5 30              | -                     |            |
| " 10     | Th   | 4 0        | 3 0              | 11 0              | 3 0                   | 75                | " 15     | F    | 1 30       | Prorogation.     | -                 | -                     |            |
| " 11     | F    | 2 0        | 1 15             | 11 15             | 1 15                  | 62                | Total... | 13   | -          | -                | 117 30            | 24 0                  | 75         |
| " 14     | M    | 4 0        | 3 15             | 11 15             | 3 15                  | 88                |          |      |            |                  |                   |                       |            |
| " 15     | Tu   | 4 0        | 1 30             | 9 30              | 1 30                  | 61                |          |      |            |                  |                   |                       |            |
| " 16     | W    | 12 0       | 5 55             | 5 55              | -                     | 57                |          |      |            |                  |                   |                       |            |

## SUMMARY.

| Month.         | Days of Sitting. | Hours of Sitting. | Hours after Midnight. | Entries in Votes. |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1878-9         |                  | H. M.             | H. M.                 |                   |
| December ...   | 9                | 71 0              | 6 45                  | 361               |
| February ..... | 12               | 95 15             | 13 30                 | 918               |
| March .....    | 22               | 181 50            | 26 45                 | 1,181             |
| April .....    | 15               | 120 35            | 13 0                  | 1,061             |
| May .....      | 19               | 170 55            | 20 30                 | 1,775             |
| June.....      | 16               | 149 10            | 20 15                 | 1,168             |
| July .....     | 24               | 241 50            | 45 45                 | 1,501             |
| August.....    | 13               | 117 30            | 24 0                  | 753               |
| Total.....     | 130              | 1,148 5           | 170 30                | 8,718             |

Average Time of Sitting, 8 Hours 49 Minutes.

## DIVISIONS OF THE HOUSE, SESSION 1878-9—(PARL. PAPER 0.129.)

### SUMMARY.

|  |     |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| Number of Divisions on Public Business before Midnight | ... | ... | 129 |
| Ditto " after Midnight                                 | ... | ... | 112 |
| Ditto—Private Business " before Midnight               | ... | ... | 3   |
| Ditto " after Midnight                                 | ... | ... | -   |
| Total Number of Divisions in Session 1878-9            | ... | ... | 237 |

## GENERAL INDEX TO SESSION 1878-9.

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### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

It being a principal object of this Index, that the proceedings on each Motion shall be completely recorded, some abbreviations of forms were necessary. Those who are accustomed to the proceedings of Parliament will readily fill up the voids. Those who are not so familiar, may find the following explanation useful, but will find the whole *formulae* set out at length in the "Contents."

The names which immediately follow the title of a Bill are those of the Peers or hon. Members who have charge of the Bill.

The numbers which are added at stages of Bills are the official numbers of the prints and reprints ordered at each stage, and, with the Statute, will enable the reader to follow all the changes the Bill has undergone.

The entries—Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>;" Amendt. "this day six months;" Question put, "That 'now,' &c."—indicate the usual form of raising the issue—namely, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

"*The Ballot*, Amendt. on Committee of Supply" indicates that the Question was raised by means of an Amendment moved on the Motion (after the Order of the Day for the House to go into Committee of Supply had been read), "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." In this case the issue is formally raised by the Motion "To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add" other words. The decision is taken on the Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The Nos. added to the "Parliamentary Papers" are in most cases those given in the Commons' "List of Papers for Sale."





# INDEX

TO

## HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE

### TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

42° & 43° VICTORIA.

1879.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—*R. P.*, Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*L.*, Lords.—*C.*, Commons.

When in this Index a \* is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus \*, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—**ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—LAW AND JUSTICE—TAXATION**, under **WAYS AND MEANS**.

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*The Russian Mission at Cabul*, Observations, Question, Earl Granville; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury Feb 14, [243] 1161

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*Address of General Roberts to the Chiefs of Kurram*, Question, The Marquess of Ripon; Answer, Viscount Cranbrook Feb 18, [243] 1393; Questions, Observations, Earl Granville, The Marquess of Ripon; Reply, Viscount Cranbrook; short debate thereon Mar 10, [244] 511

*Negotiations with Yakoub Khan*, Question, The Marquess of Ripon; Answer, Viscount Cranbrook Mar 28, [244] 196

*Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)*—Application of the Revenues of India—see that title

**COMMONS**

**Russian Policy**

*Russia and the Ameer—General Kaufmann*, Question, Mr. A. Mills; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 6, [243] 196

*Russian Policy in Afghanistan*, Question, Lord Robert Montagu; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 6, [243] 199

*The Russian Mission at Cabul*, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 9, [243] 302; Question, Sir William Harcourt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 12, 633

*The Russian Mission at Cabul—Mr. Marshall's Despatch*, Question, Mr. Gladstone; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 10, [243] 530

*Central Asia—Understanding with Russia*, Question, Lord Robert Montagu; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 10, [243] 526

**Negotiations**

*Repulse of the British Mission*, Questions, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 6, [243] 196

*Indian Despatches of Jan. 22 and Nov. 19—Opinions of the Council of India*, Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 6, [243] 200

*Reply of Ameer to Ultimatum*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 9, [243] 308

*Negotiations with the Ameer*, Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 10, [243] 525

*The Viceroy's Council—Marquess of Salisbury's Despatch Feb 28, 1876*, Questions, Sir William Harcourt; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 10, [243] 527

{ cont.

*Afghanistan—Commons—cont.*

*Statement of the Viceroy (Lord Lytton) 10th October, 1876, Question, Mr. Ernest Noel; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 13, [243] 737*  
*The Conferences at Umballa, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 13, [243] 742*

*Military Operations*

*The Peiwar Column—Telegram, Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 5, [243] 84*  
*Operations in Khost Valley—Alleged Massacre, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 17, [243] 1312; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 6, [244] 283*  
*Address of General Roberts to the Chiefs of Kurram, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 14, [243] 1188; Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 14, [244] 927*  
*Advance on Cabul, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 28, [244] 1990; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 31, 12; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 17, 516; Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, Viscount Cranbrook April 21, 696; Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. E. Stanhope April 21, 702; Questions, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Dillwyn; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 22, 838*  
*General Roberts' Despatch—Capture of the Páwar Kotai, Questions, General Shute; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope May 12, [246] 122; May 26, 1233*  
*Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 4, [249] 65*  
*Disaster to the 10th Hussars, Question, Mr. Forsyth; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope April 3, [245] 274; Question, Mr. Serjeant Sherlock; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 26, [247] 719*  
*Execution of Prisoners of War, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope May 9, [246] 18*  
*Loss of Camels, Question, Sir Arthur Hayter; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope August 14, [249] 979*

*Peace Negotiations, The*

*Basis of Peace, Observation, Viscount Cranbrook May 19, [246] 655; Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 698; Observation, Viscount Cranbrook May 26, 1204*  
*Signature of a Treaty of Peace, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 26, [246] 1266; Questions, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope June 23, [247] 421*

*Territorial Arrangements, The*

*Demarcation of Territory, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope June 26, [247] 722*

*Afghanistan—Commons—cont.*

*The Assigned Districts, Question, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope July 14, [248] 310; Questions, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope July 28, 1407*  
*The Khyber Pass, &c., Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope June 30, [247] 951*

*Expenses of Military Operations*

*Questions, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Goschen, General Sir George Balfour; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 6, [243] 202*  
*Indian Finance—Bombay—Suspension of Public Works, Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 17, [243] 952*  
*The Government of India Act, 1858, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope; Notice of Resolution, Mr. Fawcett Dec 9, [243] 307*  
*Estimates of Expenses, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 12, [243] 634*  
*Distribution of Expenses, Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 17, [243] 957*  
*Advance of £2,000,000 to Indian Government, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, [243] 1311*  
*British Indian Association, Calcutta—Charges of the Afghan War, Petition presented (Mr. Gladstone); to lie on the Table May 5, [245] 1707*  
*Petition presented (The Earl of Northbrook); Moved, "That the Petition do lie on the Table" June 19, [247] 137; after debate, Petition ordered to lie on the Table*  
*Incidence of Expenditure, Petition presented (Mr. Gladstone) May 26, [246] 1226*  
*See title Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)—Application of the Revenues of India*  
*The Afghan Papers and Correspondence, Questions, General Sir George Balfour; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 6, [243] 202; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 9, 309; Question, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 10, 525*

*MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS*

*Newspaper Correspondents, Questions, Major Nolan; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 10, [243] 529; Dec 16, 852; Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 18, [244] 1159;—War Correspondents, Questions, Major O'Beirne, Mr. Otway; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope, Colonel Stanley July 17, [248] 621*  
*North-West Frontier—Lord Napier of Magdala, Question, Mr. Leith; Answer, Colonel Stanley Dec 17, [243] 953*  
*The Occupation of Quetta, Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 6, [244] 279*  
*Reported Death of Shere Ali, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 8, [244] 16*

*Afghanistan—COMMONS—cont.*

- Yakoub Khan*, Questions, Mr. Onslow, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 10*, [244] 517
- Afghanistan and Khelat—Treaties, &c.*, Questions, General Sir George Balfour; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope *Mar 10*, [244] 518; *Mar 13*, 516
- Despatch of Sir John Hobhouse*, 1839, Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope *April 7*, [245] 442
- Afghanistan and Zululand—Number of British Troops Engaged*, Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May 19*, [246] 699
- The Military Forces—Outbreak of Cholera*, Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope *August 6*, [249] 288
- The Military Forces—Health of the Troops—The 10th Hussars*, Questions, Sir Arthur Hayter; Answers, Colonel Stanley, Mr. E. Stanhope *August 7*, [249] 391

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- Telegraphic Communications, 1875 . . . 10
- Expenditure—Opinions of Members of Council . . . . . 11
- Minutes of Agreement, 1857 . . . . 72
- General Roberts' Despatch . . . . 100
- Khost Valley . . . . . 284
- Afghanistan (No. 1) Correspondence [2100]
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- General Roberts' Address to Kurram Chiefs . . . . . [2251]
- Interview of British and Afghan Officers 21 Sept. 1878 . . . . [2293]
- Treaty of Gandamak . . . . . [2362]
- Further Correspondence . . . . [2401-2]

*Afghanistan—Vote of Censure*

- Amendment on Address (on Report)
- Amendt. to leave out from "That" and add "this House disapproves the conduct of Her Majesty's Government which has resulted in the war with Afghanistan" (*Mr. Whitbread*) v.
- [See title *Parliament*]

*Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)—Application of the Revenues of India*

- Notice of Motion, Viscount Cranbrook *Dec 5*, 243] 5; Notice of Amendment (Viscount Halifax) The Earl of Cork; Question, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Answer, The Earl of Cork *Dec 6*, 174
- Moved to resolve, That Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon Indian revenues to be despatched against the Ameer of Afghanistan, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions (*The Viscount Cranbrook*) *Dec 9*, 219
- Amendt. to leave out from ("House") and insert ("whilst ready to consent to providing the means necessary for bringing the war in which we are unhappily engaged to a safe

[cont.]

*Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)—Application of the Revenues of India—cont.*

- and honourable conclusion, regrets the conduct pursued by the Government which has unnecessarily engaged this country in the contest" (*The Viscount Halifax*); after long debate, Debate adjourned
- 243] Debate resumed *Dec 10*, 406; after long debate, on Question, That the words, &c. ? Cont. 201, Not-Cont. 65; M. 136; resolved in the affirmative; original Motion agreed to List of Cont. and Not-Cont., 520

*Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)—Application of the Revenues of India*

- Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to the Expenses of the Military Operations in Afghanistan" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *Dec 16*, 862; after short debate, Motion agreed to
- Moved, "That, Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her Forces charged upon Indian Revenues to be despatched against the Ameer of Afghanistan, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions" (*Mr. Edward Stanhope*) *Dec 16*, 876
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House is of opinion that it would be unjust that the Revenues of India should be applied to defray the extraordinary expenses of the military operations now being carried on against the Ameer of Afghanistan" (*Mr. Fawcett*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned
- Debate resumed *Dec 17*, 968; after long debate, Question put; A. 235, N. 135; M. 110 Div. List, A. and N. 1035
- Main Question put, and agreed to

*Afghanistan—The Treaty of Gandamak*

- Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of any Despatches that may have reached the Secretary of State for India, with reference to the concentration of Troops in the Punjab in 1876 and 1877" (*Mr. Grant Duff*) *August 14*, [249] 995; after debate, [House counted out]

*Afghanistan—See title Asia, Central*

*Afghan War—Vote of Thanks to the Viceroy of India and to the Military Forces*

- Moved to resolve,
1. That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan:

[cont.]

*Afghan War—Vote of Thanks to the Viceroy of India and to the Military Forces—cont.*

2. That the Thanks of this House be given to General Sir Frederick P. Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.;

Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.;

Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.;

Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C.;

Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.;

Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.;

and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign;

3. That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour;

4. That the said Resolutions be transmitted by The Lord Chancellor to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein (*The Viscount Cranbrook*) August 4, [249] 2; after short debate, Resolutions agreed to, nemine dissidente

Ordered, That the Lord Chancellor do communicate the said Resolutions to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein

*Afghan War—Vote of Thanks to the Viceroy of India and to the Military Forces*

Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 17, [248] 629

Moved, "That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander in Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) August 4, [249] 63

Amend. to leave out "to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and" (*Major O'Gorman*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 148, N. 33; M. 115 (D. L. 205)

Original Question again proposed, 100; Moved, "That that Question be now put" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*); after short debate, Question put; A. 140, N. 28; M. 112 (D. L. 206)

Original Question put, and agreed to

[cont.]

*Afghan War—Vote of Thanks to the Viceroy of India and to the Military Forces—cont.*

1. Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to General Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British Empire in India have been applied to the support of the Military operations in Afghanistan

2. Resolved, That the Thanks of this House be given to—

Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart, K.C.B.;

Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel James Browne, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.;

Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Francis Maude, K.C.B., V.C.;

Major-General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnell Biddulph, R.A., K.C.B.;

Major-General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, R.A., K.C.B., V.C.;

and the other Officers of the Army, both European and Native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the Military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late Campaign

3. Resolved, That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour and perseverance displayed by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers, both European and Native, employed in Afghanistan, and that the same be signified to them by the Commanders of the several Corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour

4. Ordered, That the said Resolutions be transmitted by Mr. Speaker to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India; and that his Lordship be requested to communicate the same to the several Officers referred to therein

*Africa—South Africa*

*Lords*

*Natal and the Transvaal*

*Appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley as High Commissioner*, Statement, The Earl of Beaconsfield; Question, The Earl of Kimberley; Answer, The Earl of Beaconsfield May 26, [246] 1204; Questions, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, Earl Cadogan; Question, The Earl of Kimberley; Answer, Earl Cadogan May 27, 1329

*The Zulu War*

*The Re-inforcements*, Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Earl Cadogan Feb 14, [243] 1179; Observations, Earl Cadogan Mar 13, [244] 789; Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Earl Cadogan Mar 31, [245] 2; Questions, Lord Truro; Answers, Viscount Bury May 8, 1915; May 15, [246] 881;—*Condition of the Regiments*, Observations, Lord Truro, Viscount Hardinge; Reply, Viscount Bury; short debate thereon May 19, [246] 660

*Disembarkation at Port Natal*, Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, Lord Elphinstone Feb 18, [243] 1401

[cont.]

*Africa—South Africa—Lords—cont.*

*Military Operations—The Defeat at Isandlana*—Question, Earl Granville; Answer, Earl Cadogan Feb 20, [243] 1501

*The Defeat at Isandlana*, Question, Observations, Lord Thurlow, The Earl of Longford, Lord Truro, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Viscount Bury Mar 14, [244] 886;—*The Court of Inquiry*, Question, Lord Truro; Answer, Viscount Bury July 18, [248] 730;—*The Queen's Message of Sympathy*, Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Mar 18, [244] 1144

- 245] *Telegrams from the Seat of War*, Questions—The Earl of Kimberley, Lord Vivian, The Duke of Argyll, The Earl of Camperdown; Answers, Earl Cadogan, Viscount Bury April 22, 819; Observations, Viscount Bury, 831; Question, Earl Granville; Answer, Earl Cadogan April 29, 1355; Question, Observations, Earl Granville, The Earl of Kimberley; Replies, Earl Cadogan May 2, 1572; Observation, Earl Cadogan May 12, 246] 100; Question, The Earl of Kimberley; 248] Answer, Earl Cadogan July 18, 731; Question, Viscount Cardwell; Answer, Viscount Bury July 21, 817;—*Victory at Ulundi*, Question, Lord Truro; Answer, Viscount Bury July 23, 1096

*The Conditions of Peace*, Question, Observations, Earl Granville, The Earl of Kimberley; Replies, Earl Cadogan May 2, [245] 1572

*Overtures of Peace*, Question, The Earl of Kimberley; Answer, Earl Cadogan; short debate thereon July 4, [247] 1404

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Importation of Arms and Munitions*, Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, Earl Cadogan; short debate thereon Feb 20, [243] 1502; Question, Observations, Lord Ellenborough; Reply, Earl Cadogan April 25, [245] 1094

*The Cavalry Equipments*, Question, Observations, Lord Ellenborough; Reply, Viscount Bury; Observations, The Duke of Cambridge Feb 21, [243] 1600

*The Despatches*, Question, Earl Granville; Answer, Earl Cadogan Feb 27, [243] 1825

*Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Joubert*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, Earl Cadogan Mar 6, [244] 264

*The Army Hospital Corps*, Question, Observations, Lord Dorchester; Reply, Viscount Bury Mar 31, [245] 4

*Telegraphic Communication with the Cape*, Question, Viscount Templeton; Answer, Earl Cadogan April 3, [245] 253

*Sir Bartle Frere's Instructions*, Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, Earl Cadogan; short debate thereon May 6, [245] 1781

*Transvaal Papers, The—“White v. Rudolph.”* Question, Mr. Courtney; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach July 10, [248] 24

*Africa—South Africa—The Re-inforcements—Condition of the Regiments*

Moved, “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Return in a Tabular

[cont.]

*Africa—South Africa—The Re-inforcements—Condition of the Regiments—cont.*

form showing (1) ages, (2) length of service, (3) number of privates who have not completed their drill and musketry instruction, of the non-commissioned officers, corporals, and privates of 2nd-21st, 58th, 3rd-60th, Rifles, 91st, and 91th, at present under orders for the Cape of Good Hope, as they embark for active service; also the number of men from each regiment left at home on account of physical unfitness, and the number drawn from other regiments to complete the battalions” (Lord Truro) Feb 18, [243] 1400; after short debate, Motion agreed to Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Viscount Bury Feb 24, [243] 1640

*Africa—South Africa—The Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere*

- 244] Notices of Motion, The Marquess of Lansdowne, Viscount Cranbrook Mar 21, 1404; Alteration of Resolution, The Earl of Camperdown; Observations, Viscount Cranbrook Mar 24, 1494

Moved to resolve, That this House, while willing to support Her Majesty's Government in all necessary measures for defending the possessions of Her Majesty in South Africa, regrets that the ultimatum which was calculated to produce immediate war should have been presented to the Zulu King without authority from the responsible Advisers of the Crown, and that an offensive War should have been commenced without imperative and pressing necessity or adequate preparation; and the House regrets that after the censure passed upon the High Commissioner by Her Majesty's Government in the despatch of the 19th of March 1879, the conduct of affairs in South Africa should be retained in his hands (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) Mar 25, 1606; after long debate, on Question? Cont. 61, Not-Cont. 156; M. 95

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 1695

Resolved in the negative

*Lord Chelmsford, Personal Explanation*, The Duke of Cambridge Mar 24, 1494; Statement, Earl Cadogan Mar 25, 1605

*Africa—South Africa*

COMMONS

*The Zulu War—Military Operations*

*The Defeat at Isandlana*, Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil Mar 13, [244] 821; Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 18, 1158;—*Further Despatches*, Questions, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 20, [243] 1522; Feb 28, 1074;—*General Lord Chelmsford*, Notice of Question, Mr. Rylands; Observations, Colonel Stanley Mar 14, [244] 933

*The War*, Questions, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Chamberlain; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 14, [244] 907; Moved, “That this House do now adjourn” (*Mr. Edward Jenkins*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer,

[cont.]

*Africa—South Africa—COMMONS—cont.*

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *May* 27, [246] 1363; Questions, Mr. Anderson; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *August* 4, [249] 66

*The Fight at Rorke's Drift—Rewards for Service*, Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay *Mar* 27, [244] 1855; Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, Colonel Stanley *June* 16, [246] 1916;—*Surgeon Major Reynolds*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay *May* 12, 123;—*Rorke's Drift—The Despatches*, Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Mar* 14, [244] 928

*Plans of the Campaign*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley *April* 1, [245] 155

*Latest Telegrams from the Seat of War*, Questions, Mr. Richard, Mr. Courtney; Answers, 245] Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *April* 7, 451; Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Colonel Stanley *April* 22, 833; Observation, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *April* 29, 1404; Observation, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Notice of Question, Mr. John Bright; Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 2, 1593; Observation, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *May* 12, 133; Questions, Mr. Richard, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Courtney; Answers, Sir 247] Michael Hicks-Beach *July* 7, 1720; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Sir 248] Michael Hicks-Beach *July* 18, 758

*Disaster on the Intombi River*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley *April* 21, [245] 703

*The Forces in Zululand*, Questions, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May* 22, [246] 1008

*Ambulance Arrangements*, Question, Mr. Ernest Noel; Answer, Colonel Stanley *June* 10, [247] 172

*Victory at Ulundi*, Observation, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *July* 23, [248] 1099; Observations, Colonel Stanley, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Question, Sir Arthur Hayter; Answer, Colonel Stanley, 1137; Question, Mr. Alderman W. M'Arthur; Answer, Colonel Stanley *August* 14, [249] 985

*Rumoured Advance*, Notice of Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *August* 14, [249] 986

*The Re-inforcements*

Questions, Colonel Mure; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb* 13, [243] 1072; Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Mar* 6, [244] 281; Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May* 8, [245] 1964

*Condition of the Regiments*, Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 14, [243] 1192; Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1196

*Artillery Re-inforcements*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 17, [243] 1309

*Employment of the Native Indian Army*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 17, [243] 1310;—*Re-*

*Africa—South Africa—COMMONS—cont.*

*inforcements from India*, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May* 23, [246] 1141

*Catholic Chaplains*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 20, [243] 1517;—*Presbyterian and Wesleyan Chaplains*, Questions, Mr. Cowan, Mr. Waddy; Answers, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 25, [243] 1749

*The Army Reserve*, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 21, [243] 1603

*Composition of the Forces*, Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, Colonel Stanley *Feb* 27, [243] 1838

*The Marines*, Questions, Mr. Goschen, Mr. A. Mills; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith *Mar* 10, [244] 526; Questions, Mr. Otway, Mr. Rylands, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith, Colonel Stanley *May* 22, [246] 1018

*Coaling of Transports*, Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, Mr. A. F. Egerton *Mar* 13, [244] 821; Question, Mr. Boord; Answer, Mr. A. F. Egerton *Mar* 14, 929

*Drafts from Regiments*, Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May* 22, [246] 1018

*Peace Negotiations*

*The Zulu King — The British Ultimatum*, Questions, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Whitwell; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Dec* 10, [243] 858; Question, Mr. James; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb* 20, 150

*Arrest of a King's Messenger*, Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *May* 8, [245] 1960

*Overtures of Peace*, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *May* 26, [246] 1235; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June* 13, 1810;—*Detention of Messengers*, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June* 9, [246] 1432; Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June* 26, [247] 692

*Negotiations with Cetewayo*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 5, [247] 1550

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- Sir Bartle Frere's Despatch of Jan 24*, Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 11, [244] 629
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- Lord Chelmsford's Despatch of September 14*, 1878, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 18, [244] 1159
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- Questions, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Childers; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 12, [243] 636
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- Expenses of Military Operations—Estimates of Expenditure*, Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer [246] May 15, 399; Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 401; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer

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*Loss of the "Clyde"*, Question, Mr. Dillwyn ; Answer, Colonel Stanley *May 8*, [245] 1961

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*Transport Service in Natal*, Questions, Mr. W. H. James ; Answers, Colonel Stanley *May 20*, [246] 838

*Grigoland West—Alleged Massacre near Keegas*, Questions, Dr. Camoron ; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb 18*, [243] 1407 ; *July 22*, [248] 967

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*Excesses of British Troops*, Question, Mr. Justin McCarthy ; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June 26*, [247] 693

*Grigoland East—The Imprisoned Griquas*, Questions, Mr. W. H. James ; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *July 23*, [248] 969 ; *July 25*, 1297 ; Question, Mr. Sullivan ; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *August 4*, [249] 67

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*Cape Colony—Mr. Justice Fitzpatrick*, Question, Mr. W. H. James ; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June 19*, [247] 169

*The Orange River Tribes*, Questions, Mr. Goschen ; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *June 23*, [247] 435

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*Africa—South Africa—Cape Frontier Mounted Police*

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for any correspondence be-

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*Africa—South Africa—Cape Frontier Mounted Police—cont.*

tween the Government and the civil or military Authorities at the Cape of Good Hope respecting the change of the body of Cape Frontier Mounted Police into Cape Mounted Rifles (*The Lord Houghton*) Dec 6, [243] 174; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Africa—South Africa (Military Expenditure)*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply August 4, To leave out from "That," and add "in view of the large and increasing expenditure for military purposes in South Africa, this House is of opinion that the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal ought to be required to contribute a due proportion of the military expenditure incurred in the interests of those Colonies, and which cannot with justice be made a charge upon the British Exchequer" (*Mr. Rylands*) v. [249] 102; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

*Africa—South African Colonies (Telegraphic Communication)*

Moved, "That the Contract, dated the 9th day of May 1879, entered into by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury with the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance and Eastern Telegraph Companies, for establishing Telegraphic Communication with the South African Colonies, be approved" (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) August 12, [249] 908; Motion agreed to

*Africa—South Africa—The Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere*

*Sir Charles W. Dilke's Motion*, Questions, *Sir Charles W. Dilke*; Answers, *The Chancellor* 244] of the Exchequer Mar 14, 931; Mar 17, 1038

*Sir Bartle Frere*, Alteration of Resolution, *Sir Charles W. Dilke* Mar 24, 1503

Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to the Zulu War" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Mar 27, 1864; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That this House, while willing to support Her Majesty's Government in all necessary measures for defending the possessions of Her Majesty in South Africa, regrets that the ultimatum which was calculated to produce immediate war should have been presented to the Zulu King without authority from the responsible advisers of the Crown, and that an offensive war should have been commenced without imperative and pressing necessity or adequate preparation; and this House further regrets that, after the censure passed upon the High Commissioner by Her Majesty's Government in the despatch of the 19th day of March 1879, the conduct of affairs in South Africa should be retained in his hands" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*), 1865

[cont.]

*Africa—South Africa—The Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere—cont.*

Amendt. at end of Question add "and that a war of invasion was undertaken with insufficient forces, notwithstanding the full information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government of the strength of the Zulu Army, and the warnings which they had received from Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford that hostilities were unavoidable" (*Colonel Mure*); Question proposed, "That those words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Mar 28, [244] 1991; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed Mar 31, [245] 20; after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put; A. 246, N. 306; M. 60  
Div. List, A. and N., 124

*Africa, South—Slave Trade in—Treaty with Portugal*

Question, *Mr. Anderson*; Answer, *Mr. Bourke* June 12, [246] 1703

*Africa (West Coast)*

*Sierra Leone Customs Duties*, Question, *Mr. A. M'Arthur*; Answer, *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* June 12, [246] 1699

*The Gambia—The Island of Matabong*, Questions, *Dr. Cameron*; Answers, *Mr. Bourke* Mar 31, [245] 12; April 4, 368; April 7, 444  
*Treaties with Native Chiefs*, Question, *Mr. Ashbury*; Answer, *Mr. Bourke* May 26, [246] 1233

*AGNEW, Mr. R. Vans, Wigton Co.*

*Hypotheec Abolition (Scotland)*, 2R. [244] 1222, 1243, 1282, 1287, 1288; Comm. [245] 169; cl. 1, 173, 176, 179; cl. 2, 182; Consid. [246] 650, 1403; [247] 27, 28, 179

*Navy Promotion*, Res. [244] 533

*Parliament—Public Business—Tuesdays and Wednesdays*, Amendt. [248] 320, 344

*Turkey—Crete—Murder of Mr. W. Anderson*, [247] 422

*Agricultural Holdings Act, 1875*

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1875, and into the conditions of Agricultural Tenancies in England and Wales" (*Mr. Bernhard Samuelson*) Mar 25, [244] 1705

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "there can be no adequate remedy for the agricultural depression existing throughout the country and severely affecting also the interests of town labour, which does not, especially at this period of increasing Foreign Competition, protect the application of skill and capital to the soil by the establishment of compensation for unexhausted improvements, equitable appeal against exorbitant rents, and substantial — the agri

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*Agricultural Holdings Act, 1875—cont.*

proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 115, N. 106; M. 51 Div. List, A. and N., 1762

Question proposed, "That those words be added" v.; after short debate, Debate adjourned

*Agricultural Distress*

*State of the Country—Commercial and Agricultural Distress—Notice of Motion (Mr. Mac Iver, Observations, Question, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Answer, Mr. Mac Iver; Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer June 17, [247] 32*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply July 4, To leave out from "That," and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, and the causes to which it is owing; whether those causes are of a temporary or of a permanent character, and how far they have been created or can be remedied by legislation" (*Mr. Chaplin*) v., 1425; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. O'Connor Power*); Motion withdrawn; Question put, and negatived

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported July 14, [248] 344

*The Royal Commission*

- 248] Question, Mr. Wait; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 11, 160; Questions, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 29, 1534; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 31, 1709; Question, Mr. John Bright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 7, 398; Questions, Mr. Burt, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 9, 598; Questions, The O'Donoghue, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 11, 667; Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 12, 821; Question, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 14, 988
- Names of the Commissioners*, Questions, Mr. Newdegate; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 17, [248] 630; July 24, 1178

*Indian Wheat*, Question, Mr. Wilbraham Egerton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 17, [248] 615

*American Produce, Railway Rates for*, Question, Sir Lawrence Palk; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot July 21, [248] 852

*The Income Tax*, Questions, The Earl of Strathbrooke; Answers, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon July 24, [248] 1167

[See titles *Minister of Commerce and Agriculture*:—*Science and Art*;—*State of the Country*.]

*Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) (Warning to Remove) Bill*

(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. McLagan, Mr. James Barclay*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> August 1 [Bill 277] 2R. [Dropped]

*Agricultural Statistics*

*The Corn Returns*, Question, Mr. Clare Read; Answer, Viscount Sandon May 26, [246] 1227

*The Weekly Corn Averages*, Question, Mr. Foljambe; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot June 26, [247] 691

*Agriculture and Trade*

Question, Observations, The Marquess of Huntly, Lord Norton; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Mar 28, [244] 1967

*Agriculture, The Science of*

*Mr. Buckmaster*, Question, Mr. E. Hubbard; Answer, Lord George Hamilton July 31, [248] 1704

*Science and Art Department, South Kensington—Agricultural Science*, Question, Mr. Phipps; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 26, [244] 1988; Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Observations, The Marquess of Huntly July 3, [247] 1272

Then on the Motion of Earl Granville, Memorandum of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, as to instruction in Agriculture, presented (No. 137)

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Criminal Law—Bail in Charges of Fraud, [243] 1596, 1599

India—Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations), Res. [243] 293

Racecourses (Metropolis), 2R. [246] 116

Trade—Free Trade and Reciprocity, Res. [245] 1369

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*ALEXANDER, Colonel C., Ayrshire, S.*

Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere, Res. [245] 58

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*Regimental Commands — Over - Regulation Money*, Question, Lord Truro; Answer, Viscount Bury June 27, [247] 834  
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246] *The Departmental Committee*, Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, The Lord Chancellor May 30, 1416; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 10, 1551; Observations, Mr. Gourley; short debate thereon June 10, 1553; Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Viscount Bury; short debate thereon June 16, 1901; Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, 249] Colonel Stanley August 11, 675—*The Members*, Observations, Viscount Bury June 20, 247] 290; — *The Instructions*, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 23, 434

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*Army Education—Literary and Physical Competitions*, Observations, Earl Fortescue; Reply, Viscount Bury; debate thereon Feb 28, [243] 1941  
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*Officers on Sick Leave*, Questions, Major O'Beirne; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 12, [243] 638; Feb 20, 1512;—*Travelling Expenses*—*The 3rd Hussars*, Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 27, [243] 1832;—*Officers' Travelling Expenses*, Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil Mar 13, [244] 818  
*Pay of Lieutenants*, Question, Colonel Naghten; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 13, [244] 819  
*Service in India*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 17, [243] 1309

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*Invalided Medical Officers*, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 12, [246] 1697  
*Report of the Committee*, Questions, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. Errington; Answers, Colonel Stanley Dec 12, [243] 632  
*Surgeons at Depot Centres*, Question, Mr. Leveson Gower; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 21, [244] 1435

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*Artillery and Engineer Officers*, Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay Mar 27, [244] 1855  
*Staff Officers of Artillery*, Questions, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Major Nolan; Answers, Colonel Stanley Mar 17, [244] 1029  
*Breech-loading Ordnance*, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil Feb 14, [243] 1192  
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*Projectiles*—*Claims of Mr. Padwick*, Questions, Colonel Beresford; Answers, Lord Eustace Cecil July 21, [248] 843; August 4, [249] 60  
*The Nordenfölt Gun*, Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil July 17, [248] 617

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*Beards*, Question, Mr. Staepoole; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 16, [246] 1910  
*Brigade Depôts*—*The Establishment*, Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 31, [245] 13 Return—P.P. 283  
*Brigadier General Sir Eustyn Wood*, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 12, [249] 815  
*Civil Employment for Discharged Soldiers*, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 22, [246] 1010  
*Court of Inquiry at Netley in 1873*, Questions, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Colonel Stanley May 20, [246] 837  
*Defences of the Clyde*, Question, Mr. James Stewart; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 4, [249] 63  
*Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General—The Staff College*, Question, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 21, [244] 1434  
*Desertion and Fraudulent Enlistment*, Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 10, [248] 20  
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*Discipline of the Military Schools*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 19, [247] 174  
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*Longford Barracks*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 20, [243] 1517  
*Military Prisoners*—*Corporal Punishment*, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 5, [247] 1543  
*National Fund for Relief of Families of Soldiers, Sailors, &c.*, Question, General Shute; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 13, [246] 1806  
*Officers of the Coast Brigade (Royal Artillery)*, Question, Earl Percy; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil April 24, [245] 981  
*Officers on Half Pay*—*The Circular Letter*, May, 1860, Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Viscount Bury July 11, [248] 159  
*Out-Pensioners*, Question, Mr. Barran; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay Mar 17, [244] 1037

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*Soldiers in Uniform*, Observations, Colonel Mure; Reply, Colonel Stanley; Observations, Sir Walter B. Barttelot June 13, [246] 1868

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*The 1st Dragoon Guards—Flogging in the Army*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 20, [246] 836

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*The 42nd Regiment (Cyprus)*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, Colonel Stanley June 16, [246] 1915

*The 58th Regiment—Foreign Service*, Question, Mr. Wheelhouse; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 19, [246] 694

*The 60th Rifles—Case of Colour-Sergeant Dickaty*, Questions, Mr. Price; Answers, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck July 17, [248] 616; July 18, 755;—*Court Martial*, Question, Mr. French; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay May 12, [246] 123; Questions, Mr. French; Answers, Colonel Stanley May 13, 234; May 15, 402;—*First Appointments in the 60th Rifles*, Questions, Sir Patrick O'Brien; Answers, Colonel Stanley August 11, [249] 673; August 14, 970

*The 88th Regiment—Volunteers*, Questions, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 22, [246] 1011

*The Perak Expedition—Medals*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 12, [249] 818

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*War Office Contracts*, Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 6, [244] 276

*War Department—Purchase of Hay*, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 30, [247] 958 [See title Navy]

*Widows of Soldiers Killed in Action*, Question, Mr. R. W. Duff; Answer, Colonel Stanley April 3, [245] 264

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*Adjutants of Auxiliary Forces*, Question, Colonel Naghten; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 31, [245] 8

*Army Reserve*, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 21, [243] 1603

*First-Class Army Reserve—Volunteers*, Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 22, [246] 1012; Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 13, 1811

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*Army Reserves—Militia*, Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 20, [243] 1508

*Militia Barracks at Chesterfield*, Question, Lord George Cavendish; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil June 24, [247] 536

*Militia Fines*, Question, Colonel Naghten; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 27, [243] 1829

*Militia Officers appointed to the Line*, Questions, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley April 3, [245] 372

*Militia Sergeants*, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 14, [249] 977

*Militia Training*, Question, Viscount Emlyn; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 27, [243] 1832

*The Irish Militia—Sergeants of the First Class*, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 7, [249] 389

*The Royal North Gloucestershire Militia*, Questions, Mr. J. R. Yorke, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, Colonel Stanley June 20, [247] 306; Observations, Mr. J. R. Yorke, Mr. Price; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon June 27, 917; Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 30, 954

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*Course of Instruction to Officers of the Auxiliary Forces—Volunteer Artillery*, Question, Mr. Grant; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 4, [249] 58;—*Schools of Instruction*, Question, Mr. W. Holms; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 3, [247] 1282

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**Finance and Organization—Report of the Committee,** Question, Colonel Kennard; Answer, Colonel Stanley Dec 17, [243] 956; Observations, Viscount Bury; short debate thereon Feb 14, 1162

**Sergeant Instructors of Volunteers,** Questions, Colonel Barne: Answers, Colonel Stanley Feb 27, [243] 1838; April 1, [245] 133

**Volunteers under Canvas,** Question, Mr. Leighton; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 10, [248] 15

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Question, Observations, The Marquess of Bath; Reply, Viscount Bury Mar 4, [244] 127

**Yeomanry, &c. Adjutants,** Question, Mr. Sotherton-Estcourt; Answer, Colonel Stanley April 29, [245] 1403; Questions, Mr. Dalrymple; Answers, Colonel Loyd Lindsay June 23, [247] 420; July 31, [248] 1707; Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 11, [249] 673

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**Volunteer Force—Reports of Committee on Finance and Organization** [2235] [2235-I]

**Abstract of Annual Returns, 1878** [2246]

**Yeomanry Cavalry, Return, 1878** [2236]

**Army—Brigade Depôts**

Address for, Return of the total amount of pay and allowances of commanding officers of brigade depôts from April 1878 to April 1879, and also the amount of pension to which these officers would have been entitled if they had retired instead of being thus employed (*The Earl of Galloway*) April 1, [245] 128; Address agreed to (Parl. P. No. 75)

**Army—Brigade Depot Centres**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Return showing for what number of troops the barracks at each 'Brigade Depot Centre' throughout the United Kingdom are at present constructed or in course of construction" (*The Earl of Galloway*) May 12, [246] 119; Motion withdrawn

**Army—Deaths and Invalids on Foreign Stations**

Moved that there be laid before the House a Return showing the numbers and respective ages of non-commissioned officers and privates in the Army who died or were invalided home from Her Majesty's Indian, Colonial, and other Foreign Possessions during the five years from January 1, 1874, to December 31, 1878, in a tabulated form, set forth in the Notice of Motion (*The Earl of Galloway*) July 7, [247] 1708; Motion agreed to

**Army—First Class Army Reserve**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 3, To leave out from "That," and add "this House having regard to the response made by the men of the First Class Army Reserve

**Army—First Class Army Reserve—cont.**

when called out last year, is of opinion that that Force should be increased by at least 10,000 men during the present year, with a view to a reduction of the Army Estimates" (*Mr. John Holms*) v., [244] 26; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

**Army (India)—The Workshop System**

Address for "Copies of Correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Government of India, and the War Department, in 1864 and 1865, with reference to the system of workshops, and their approval of the same; also, of any Correspondence regarding the good effects of the workshop system on the discipline of the British army in India; and, for Return of the amounts of money invested in the Soldiers' Savings Bank for three years preceding and three years following the institution of workshops" (*The Lord Strathnairn*) August 8, [249] 496; Address agreed to

**Army (Medical Department)—Supersession of Surgeon-Major J. P. Clarke**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House a Copy of Correspondence which took place in the year 1876, between Surgeon Major P. J. Clarke and Sir W. Muir, M.D., Director General of the Medical Department of the Army, and between Surgeon Major P. J. Clarke and the Military Secretary to His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, on the subject of the Supersession of Surgeon Major P. J. Clarke" (*Mr. Meldon*) Mar 25, [244] 1767; after short debate, Question put; A. 26, N. 70; M. 50 (D. L. 53)

**Army Officers (Guards and Line)**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House a Return of the nominal roll of all Officers (Guards and Line) who have volunteered for service at the Cape, distinguishing those who have passed the Staff College" (*Major O'Gorman*) Feb 28, [243] 2063; after short debate, Question put; A. None; N. 53 (D. L. 34)

**Army Organization—The Brigade Depot System**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Feb 27, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, the Brigade Depot system requires amendment, as it is costly, unsatisfactory, and inadequate to the requirements of home and foreign service" (*Major O'Beirne*) v., [243] 1872; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to



**Army Organisation—The Brigade Depot System**

Moved to resolve—"1. That the military system of brigade depôts or sub-districts introduced in the year 1872 has proved a source of expense to this country incommensurate with its general results, and that steps should therefore be taken for their gradual absorption or diminution in number

"2. That the present state of our military organization is a source of immediate anxiety quite irrespective of the extreme youth of the regular forces of the Army occasioned by enlistment for short service; and that in view of the various reports on the subject of the several Committees already appointed by successive Secretaries of State for War, this House hears with concern the intimation that Her Majesty's Government are unprepared with any remedial measures without the preliminary investigation of a further additional Committee" (*The Earl of Galloway*) May 26, [246] 1205; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Army—Retirement of Officers**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 3, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the paragraphs numbered 86, 87, and 88 of Clause 124 of the Army Circular of 1st September 1877, and Clause 92 of the Army Circular of 1st May 1878, should be modified" (*Colonel Arbuthnot*) v., [244] 16; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

**Army—The Artillery—Breech-loading and Muzzle-loading Guns**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Feb 27, To leave out from "That," and add "the great difference which exists between our cannon and those which find favour with Foreign Powers calls for careful investigation, and that it would be unwise to further postpone experiments on such classes of breech-loading guns as are now possessed by other Powers" (*Major Nolan*) v., [243] 1861; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Army—The Condition of the Army and the Short-Service System**

Address for Papers (*Lord Strathnairn*) May 30, [246] 1418; after short debate, Motion amended, and agreed to

*Parl. P.* 159, 159-I-II

**Army—The Militia—Colonial Garrisons**

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the effect of rendering the Militia available for service in colonial garrisons (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) April 28, [245] 1221; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Army—The Scientific Corps**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 14, To leave out from "That," and add "an humble

{*cont.*

**Army—The Scientific Corps—cont.**

Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to be pleased to order the issue of a Royal Commission to inquire into and to report whether any and what alterations of the Military system now in force are desirable, as regards the pay, promotion, employment, and conditions of service and retirement of the officers of the Ordnance Corps" (*Colonel Arbuthnot*) v., [244] 934; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 68, N. 69; M. 1 (D. L. 44)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Question, *Colonel Arbuthnot*; Answer, *Colonel Loyd Lindsay* Mar 24, 1865

**Army—The Volunteer Force—Courts of Inquiry**

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return showing the number of courts of inquiry held in each year in the volunteer force since its establishment; the number of volunteers of all ranks, the number of adjutants, and the number of instructors in each year on which such were held, and the several offences charged (*The Lord Truro*) Feb 21, [243] 1800; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Army—The Volunteer Force—Courts of Inquiry**

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return showing the number of courts of inquiry ordered by the War Office in each year in the Volunteer Force since its establishment; the number of volunteers of all ranks, the number of adjutants, and the number of instructors in each year on whom such were held, and the several offences charged (*The Lord Truro*) Mar 14, [244] 882; after short debate, on Question ? resolved in the negative

**Army Discipline and Regulation Bill**

(*Mr. Secretary Stanley, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. William Henry Smith, The Judge Advocate General*)

c. Orders of the Day subsequent to Supply postponed Feb 27, 1853

Motion for Leave (*Colonel Stanley*) Feb 27, 1909; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered

Read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 28 [Bill 88]

[244] Observations, *Colonel Stanley* Mar 6, 1883

. 2R. deferred, after short debate Mar 13, 1881

[245] Clauses 48 and 178, Question, *Sir Alexander Gordon*; Answer, *Colonel Stanley* April 7, 1889

. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" April 7, 1855

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "no measure for the Discipline of the Army will be satisfactory which does not secure to every officer accused of any military offence a speedy and impartial trial by a military tribunal, selected under regulations enacted

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*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—cont.*

- by Parliament, in such a manner as to ensure that the constitution of the Court shall be free from any suspicion of favouritism or prejudice, and act under the rules of evidence governing ordinary legal tribunals, and which, moreover, does not provide that any military officer accused of a military offence shall be tried by a court martial, and not by the secret and informal proceedings of Courts of Inquiry" (*Mr. Edward Jenkins*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 138, N. 32; M. 106 (D. L. 63)
- Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>d</sup>
- 245] Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 1, 1504
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" May 1, 1505
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House, while fully recognising the acknowledged and undoubted right of the Crown to remove any officer from the Army at will and without trial, is of opinion that no officer accused of any military offence should be placed compulsorily upon half-pay, or removed from his appointment either in consequence of the opinion or recommendation of a court of inquiry, or of the evidence given before such a court, without being first afforded the opportunity for the public investigation of the charges made against him, on sworn evidence, before a general court martial under the provisions of this Bill" (*Sir Henry Havelock*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn
- After further short debate, main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
- Military Courts of Inquiry, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 8, 1502
- Committee—R.P. May 8, 1508
- 246] *Billeting, &c.*, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Colonel Stanley May 9, 17
- Committee—R.P. May 15, 407
- Committee—R.P. May 16, 571
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That this House will, upon Tuesday next at Two of the clock, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Colonel Stanley*) May 16, 649; after short debate, Question put; A. 92, N. 15; M. 77 (D. L. 100)
- Committee—R.P. May 20, 840
- Questions, Major O'Beirne, Sir Henry Havelock; Answers, Colonel Stanley June 10, 1550
- Committee—R.P. June 10, 1563
- Legislation as to Booty of War, Question, General Shute; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 12, 1701
- 247] Committee—R.P. June 17, 33
- Committee—R.P. June 19, 183
- Committee—R.P. June 20, 312
- Committee—R.P. June 23, 437
- Courts of Inquiry, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 24, 542

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*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—cont.*

- 247] Committee—R.P. June 24, 543
- Committee—R.P. June 28, 730
- Committee—R.P. June 27, 842
- The Cat-o'-nine-tails, Questions, Mr. Callan; Answers, Colonel Stanley, Mr. Assheton Cross June 30, 951
- Committee—R.P. June 30, 959
- Committee—R.P. July 8, 1294
- Moved, "That the House will resolve itself into the said Committee on Saturday, at One of the clock" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*), 1401
- Amendt. to leave out "One," and insert "Four" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question proposed, "That 'One' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
- Original Motion withdrawn; Resolved, That this House will resolve itself into the said Committee on Saturday, at half after One of the clock
- The Cat-o'-nine-tails, Questions, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Personal Explanation, Mr. W. H. Smith; short debate thereon July 4, 1421; Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Callan July 5, 1549
- Committee—R.P. July 5, 1551
- The "Navy Cat," Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith July 7, 1723;—Flogging, Question, Mr. Milbank; Answer, Colonel Stanley, 1724
- Committee—R.P. July 7, 1728
- Flogging, Questions, Mr. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Henry James; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Assheton Cross, Colonel Stanley July 8, 1864
- Committee—R.P. July 8, 1887
- 248] Flogging, Questions, Sir Henry Havelock; Observation, Mr. Speaker July 10, 26
- Corporal Punishment—The Schedule, Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Colonel Stanley July 10, 29
- Committee July 10, 30
- Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. O'Connor Power*), 56; after short debate, Motion withdrawn
- Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Gray*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
- Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again, in order to report to the House that an Official of the House is engaged in taking notes of the Proceedings of the Committee, without the authority of the House or of the Committee, from a place reserved for Members of the House, and that, in consequence, the Proceedings of the Committee are interfered with" (*Mr. Gray*), 72; after short debate, Question put, and negatived; Committee—R.P.
- Corporal Punishment—The Schedule, Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 11, 163

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*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—cont.*

248] Committee—*r.p.* July 14, 344

. *Corporal Punishment*, Question, Sir Arthur Hayter; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 15, 445

. Committee; Report July 15, 447 [Bill 245]

. *Consideration—Corporal Punishment*, Notice of Resolution, Mr. W. E. Forster July 16, 602

. Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now taken into Consideration" July 17, 634

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "no Bill for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army will be satisfactory to this House which provides for the retention of corporal punishment for Military offences" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 289, N. 183; M. 106

Division List, Ayes and Noes, 716

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Parnell*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

. Debate resumed July 18, 760; after debate, further Consideration of the Bill, as amended, adjourned till this day

. Bill, as amended, further considered July 18, 774; after long debate, Moved, "That further Consideration of the Bill, as amended, be now adjourned" (*Mr. Parnell*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn

After further short debate, Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>d</sup>;" Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3<sup>d</sup>

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Viscount Cranbrook*) July 19 (No. 156)

. Read 2<sup>d</sup>; Committee negatived, after short debate July 21, 830

. Read 3<sup>d</sup> July 22, 959

Royal Assent July 24 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 83]

. *Imprisonment of Military Offenders*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 1, 1849

**Army Discipline and Regulation (Commencement) Bill**

(Colonel Stanley, *Mr. Secretary Cross*, *Mr. William Henry Smith*, *The Judge Advocate General*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> July 17 [Bill 248]

Read 2<sup>d</sup> July 21

Committee; Report; Considered; read 3<sup>d</sup> July 22, [248] 975

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Viscount Bury*) July 22 (No. 157)

Read 2<sup>d</sup>; Committee negatived; read 3<sup>d</sup> July 23

Royal Assent July 24 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 32]

*Army Discipline and Regulation (Commencement) [Expenses]*

c. Considered in Committee July 18  
Resolution reported July 21

**Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Secretary Cross*, *Sir Matthew Ridley*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> August 6 [Bill 287]

Read 2<sup>d</sup> August 8

Committee; Report; read 3<sup>d</sup> August 9, [249] 647

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Lord Chancellor*) Aug 12 (No. 192)

Read 2<sup>d</sup>; Committee negatived; Considered; read 3<sup>d</sup> August 13

Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 63]

**Artizans' Dwellings Act (1868) Extension Bill**

(*Mr. Torrens*, *Sir Thomas Chambers*, *Mr. Goldney*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 31]

Read 2<sup>d</sup>, after short debate May 7, [245] 1936

Committee; Report June 23 [Bill 216]

Committee (on re-comm.); Report July 8; Bill re-committed

Committee (on re-comm.); Report July 14, [248] 409 [Bill 236]

Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" August 9, [249] 654

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Rylands*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered; Bill read 3<sup>d</sup>

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*The Lord Emly*) Aug 11 (No. 181)

Read 2<sup>d</sup> August 12

Committee; Report August 13

Read 3<sup>d</sup> August 14

Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 64]

**Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1868—Private Burying Grounds**

Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 12, [246] 1731

**Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1875**

Question, Colonel Boreford; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 3, [247] 1288; Questions, Mr. Fawcett; Answers, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Mr. Assheton Cross July 22, [248] 962; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg July 31, 1708; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 7, [249] 389

Official Representations, *P.P.* No. 164

*Cost of Metropolitan Improvements*, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg July 14, [248] 303

*Operation of Act*, Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Dec 9, [243] 306

**Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1875 — Compensation**

Moved to resolve, "That in the opinion of this House no further improvements ought to be sanctioned under the Act until the principle on which compensation is awarded for property taken shall have been amended" (*The Earl of Camperdown*) July 24, [248] 1157; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

**ASHBURY, Mr. J. L., Brighton**

Africa (West Coast)—Treaties with Native Chiefs, [246] 1233  
Income Tax—Brighton—Schedule D., [245] 269

**ASHLEY, Hon. A. Evelyn M., Poole**

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Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 44, [247] 228; cl. 131, 1856  
Children's Dangerous Performances, 2R. [247] 1185  
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Consecration of Churchyards Act (1867) Amendment, 2R. [243] 1802  
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**Asia, Central**

Khan of Khelat—Treaties, &c., Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 10, [244] 518  
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Reported Russian Operations against Merv, Questions, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 18, [244] 1160; Mar 20, 1313  
Russian Advances on Merv, Question, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 14, [248] 306  
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Central Asia and Quetta . . . No. 73  
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**Assessed Rates Act Amendment Bill**

(Mr. Marten, Sir Henry James, Mr. Torr)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 25 [Bill 113]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 3  
Committee; Report April 4  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> April 7  
Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Earl Stanhope) April 21 (No. 55)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 24, [245] 966  
Committee; Report April 25  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> April 28  
Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. 10]

**ASSHETON, Mr. R., Clitheroe**

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Blackburn and Over Darwen Tramways, 2R. [245] 1814  
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Parliament—Public Business—Wednesday Sittings, Res. [249] 915  
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Supply—War in South Africa—Vote of Credit, [243] 1894  
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**Assizes Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 19 [Bill 83]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Feb 24, [243] 1703  
Committee; Report, after short debate Feb 27, 1935  
Read 3<sup>o</sup>, after debate Feb 28, 2048  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Chancellor) Mar 3 (No. 17)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 4  
Committee; Report Mar 6  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 7  
Royal Assent Mar 14 [42 Vict. c. 1]

**ASTLEY, Sir J., Lincolnshire, N.**

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247] Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 44, 263, 279; cl. 45, 320; cl. 83, 858; cl. 91, 988, 990, 992, 994, 999, 1001; cl. 107, 1031; cl. 126, 1303, 1304, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309; cl. 127, 1312; cl. 128, 1316; cl. 147, 1730, 1888; cl. 148, 1893, 1894; cl. 149, 1897, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1905, 1906  
248] Postponed cl. 69, 377; add. cl. 497; Consid. cl. 42, 778; cl. 45, 779  
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- Maritime and Land Defences*, Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach May 8, [245] 1966

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- Amendt. on Committee of Supply August 1. To leave out from "That," and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of Official Reports on Australian Defences, by Sir W. F. D. Jervois and Colonel Scratchley, R.E.; and of Correspondence relating thereto between those Officials, the Governments of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Colonial Office" (*Colonel Arbuthnot*) v., [248] 1852; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

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- Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel June 19, [247] 181

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- Criminal Law—Criminal Lunatics in County Asylums, [245] 984  
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 246] cl. 30, 428; cl. 31, 435; cl. 32, 447; cl. 36, Amendt. 464, 472; cl. 38, 573, 576; cl. 40, 591; cl. 41, 602; cl. 42, 605, 606, 607, 852; cl. 44, 859, 863, 866, 874  
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Cyprus—Administration of the Island—Civil Police Force, Res. [248] 1568, 1577

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India—Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations), Res. [243] 996

India—East India Revenue Accounts—Financial Statement, Comm. [246] 1784

National Expenditure, Res. [245] 1311

Sugar Industries, Res. [245] 913, 917

*Ballot Act*Question, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *August 8*, [249] 506Continuance, Question, Sir David Wedderburn; Answer, Mr. Ascheton Cross *April 7*, [245] 449*Bank Deposits*

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, whether a moderate and discriminating scale of Stamp or composition Duties may, with advantage to the interests of the Country and of the Banks, be hereafter applied to all interest-bearing deposits in the Banks of the United Kingdom, and whether a Bill on the subject should be introduced to Parliament at an early date" (*Sir Joseph McKenna*) *Feb 25*, [243] 1754; after debate, Motion withdrawn

*Bankers' Books (Evidence) Bill*

(Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Herschell, Sir Charles Mills, Mr. Rodwell)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Dec 16* [Bill 65]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate *Feb 13*, [243] 1168  
 Committee—*a.p.* *Feb 17*  
 Committee; Report *Mar 3*  
 Considered *Mar 7*  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> *Mar 11*  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Selborne*) *Mar 13* (No. 24)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> *Mar 31*  
 Committee *April 3*  
 Report *April 4*  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> *April 21*  
 c. Lords Amends. *April 22* [Bill 130]  
 l. Royal Assent *May 23* [12 *Vict.* c. 11]

*Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill*

(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)

- 245] c. Ordered that the Orders of the Day subsequent to the Committee of Supply be postponed until after the Notice of Motion for the introduction of the Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill (*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *April 21*, 705  
 Resolution in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *April 21* [Bill 126]  
 Question, Mr. Sampson Lloyd; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April 25*, 1103  
 247] Question, Colonel Ormerod Walker; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 7*, 1715

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*Banking and Joint Stock Companies Bill—cont.*

- 248] Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°"  
July 22, 978  
After short debate, Amendt. to leave out  
"now," and add "upon this day three  
months" (*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh*); Ques-  
tion proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after  
further debate, Debate adjourned  
Debate resumed July 29, 1537; after debate,  
Question put, and agreed to  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°;  
Committee; Report [Bill 264]  
Questions, Mr. Muntz, Sir Joseph M'Kenna;  
Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer  
July 31, 1711; Question, Mr. W. E. For-  
ster; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson  
249] August 4, 174  
Committee (*on re-comm.*) deferred August 9,  
847  
Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read;  
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave  
the Chair" August 12, 825  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"this House will, upon this day three  
months, resolve itself into the said Com-  
mittee" (*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*) v.; Question  
proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after  
short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put,  
and agreed to; Committee; Report  
Considered; after short debate, Bill read 3°  
August 13, 955  
l. Read 1° (*Viscount Cranbrook*) August 13  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°"  
August 14, 965  
Amendt. to leave out ("now," and add ("this  
day three months") (*The Lord Denman*);  
on Question, "That ('now,' &c.;" resolved  
in the affirmative; Bill read 2°; Committee  
negative; read 3° (No. 201)  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 70]

**Banking and Joint Stock Companies  
(No. 2) Bill** (*Dr. Cameron, Sir Andrew  
Lusk, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Earp*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed  
to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°  
May 9 [Bill 168]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Banking Laws Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. James Barclay, Mr. Baxter, Mr. James  
Cowan, Mr. Courtney*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed  
to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°  
Feb 14 [Bill 73]  
Read 2° April 30  
Committee; Report May 1 [Bill 148]  
Re-committed [Dropped]

**Banking Legislation**

Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, The Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer Mar 21, [244] 1429

**Bankruptcy Act (1869) Amendment Bill**  
(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Whitwell,  
Mr. Ripley*)

- c. Ordered; read 1° Dec 13 [Bill 64]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Bankruptcy Act—The Comptroller's Re-  
port**

Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, The  
Attorney General June 23, [247] 423  
General Report, 1878 . . . P.P. 222  
Bankruptcy Law, France . [2283] [2334]  
Bankruptcy Law, Germany . . . [2331]

**Bankruptcy Law Amendment Bill [S.L.]**  
(*The Lord Chancellor*)

- l. Presented; read 1°, after short debate Feb 17,  
243] 1286 (No. 8)  
French Law of Bankruptcy, Question, Sir  
George Bowyer; Answer, Mr. Asheton  
Cross Feb 27, 1828  
244] Read 2°, after short debate Mar 3, 1  
Committee Mar 13, 790  
Report Mar 20, 1804  
Read 3° Mar 24  
c. Read 1° (*Mr. Attorney General*) Mar 28  
[Bill 114]  
Question, Mr. Morley; Answer, The Chan-  
245] cellor of the Exchequer April 7, 450  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°"  
248] July 16, 555  
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon  
this day three months" (*Mr. Serjeant Simon*);  
Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;"  
after debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be  
now read 2°;" Moved, "That the Debate be  
now adjourned" (*Mr. Bigger*); after short  
debate, Debate adjourned  
After short debate, Adjourned Debate further  
adjourned July 17, 720  
Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, The Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer July 21, 857  
Debate resumed July 21, 955; after short de-  
bate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill  
read 2°; Committee; Report; Bill re-com-  
mitted  
Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, The Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer July 22, 969  
Moved, "That the House will, upon Saturday,  
resolve itself into the said Committee"  
July 31, 1821 [House counted out]  
Bill withdrawn August 7 [Bill 254]

**Bankruptcy (Scotland) Bill**

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Fraser Mackin-  
tosh, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. Ramsay*)

- c. Ordered; read 1° Dec 11 [Bill 59]  
Bill withdrawn June 11

**Bankrupts—Debtors Act, 1869**

Question, Mr. Dodds; Answer, The Attorney  
General April 24, [245] 978

**BARCLAY, Mr. A. C., Taunton**

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**BARING, Mr. T. C., Essex, S.**

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- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 6 [Bill 46]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 23, [245] 959
- Committee \*; Report May 13
- Considered \* June 16
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* June 17
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Lord O'Hagan*) June 19 (No. 119)

## Bills of Sale (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord O'Hagan*)

- l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 18 (No. 155)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* July 24
- Committee \* July 28
- Report \* July 29
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 31
- c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 31 [Bill 273]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* August 5
- Committee \*; Report August 6
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* August 7
- l. Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 50]

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- Banking and Joint Stock Companies, 2R. [248] 1014
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- c. Order for 2R. read May 6, [245] 1806; after short debate, Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

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**Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill** (*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Scott, Mr. Isaac, Mr. Benjamin Williams*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 4 [Bill 93]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 26  
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Mar 27, [244] 1961  
 Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Monk*); after short debate [House counted out]  
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" April 1, [245] 192; after short debate [House counted out]  
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" April 17, 588  
 Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will, upon this day six months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr. Dilwyn*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
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 Moved, "That the Bill be taken into Consideration this day" August 8, 593  
 After short debate, Amendt. to leave out "this day," and insert "upon Monday next" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) v.; Question, "That the words 'this day,' &c." put, and agreed to; after further short debate, main Question put, and agreed to; Consideration, as amended, deferred till this day  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" August 9, 655; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Rylands*); Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered [House counted out]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be read 3<sup>o</sup> this day" August 11, 811; after short debate, Question put: A. 35, N. 11; M. 24 (D. L. 235)  
 Moved, "That the Bill be read 3<sup>o</sup> this day" August 12, 908  
 Amendt. to leave out "this day," and insert "upon Thursday" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); Question, "That the words, &c." put, and agreed to; main Question put, and agreed to; 3R. deferred till this day  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" August 13, 963 [House counted out]  
 Observations, Mr. Monk; Reply, Mr. Speaker; Observations, Mr. Wheelhouse August 14, 987

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Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot Mar 10, [244] 519

**Boiler Explosions—Inspection of Steam Boilers**

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that enginemmen should undergo

**Boiler Explosions—Inspection of Steam Boilers** cont.

an examination as to their fitness before they are placed in charge of engines and boilers, and that it is incumbent on steam users to provide for a competent and an independent inspection of all steam boilers, and to report to the Board of Trade or the Home Office" (*Mr. Burt*) April 29, [245] 1404; after debate, Motion withdrawn

*Stone Clough, Boiler Explosion at*, Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 17, [247] 31

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**Border Summons Bill [H.L.]**

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 31 (No. 170)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 1

Committee; Report August 4

Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 5

c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> August 6 [Bill 284]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 8

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*British Borneo Company, The*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 10, [243] 623

*Northern Borneo—Cession of Territory, &c.*, Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Mr. Bourke June 12, [246] 1608; Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Mr. Bourke June 16, 1911

**Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Blennerhassett, Major O'Gorman, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Richard Power*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 9 [Bill 49]

Bill withdrawn \* Feb 13

**Boundary Commission (England and Wales) Bill**

(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Pell, Mr. Clave Read, Mr. Backhouse*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 28 [Bill 263]

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Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "the injury sustained by Breach of Promise of Marriage cannot be weighed by the standard of pecuniary loss alone, and that the limitation of the action in the manner proposed by the Resolution would be very undesirable" (*Sir Eardley Wilmot*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.," after debate, Question put; A. 106, N. 65; M. 41 (D. L. 79)

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l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°"  
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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°"  
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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 13 [Bill 68]  
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Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 8 [Bill 237]  
 Bill withdrawn \* August 5

CHAPLIN, Lieut.-Colonel E., *Lincoln*

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## Charity (Expenses and Accounts) Bill

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 26 [Bill 221]  
 Bill withdrawn \* June 27

## Charity (Expenses and Accounts) (No. 2)

Bill (*Mr. Raikes, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

- c. Considered in Committee June 30, [247] 1057  
 Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 1 [Bill 230]  
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**CHARLEY, Mr. W. T., *Salford***

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**Chartered Banks (Colonial) Bill**

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

- c. Question, Mr. Freshfield; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 17, [248] 629  
 Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* August 2 [Bill 278]  
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**CHILDERS, Right Hon. H. C. E., *Pontefract***

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**Children's Dangerous Performances Bill**

[H.L.] (*The Earl De La Warr*)

- l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 29 (No. 64)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate May 23, [246] 1110  
 Committee May 29, 1407  
 Committee \* June 17  
 Committee, after short debate June 19, [247] 137  
 Report \* June 24 (No. 122)  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* June 26  
 c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Mr. Evelyn Ashley*) June 30 [Bill 229]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate July 1, 1185  
 Committee—A.P. July 3, 1404  
 Committee—A.P. July 7  
 Committee \*; Report July 10  
 Considered \* July 14  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 15  
 l. Royal Assent July 24 [12 & 43 Vict. c. 34]



*Chili and Peru*—See title *America, South*

### China

*The Chefoo Convention*, Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 12, [243] 638; Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 17, 1311; Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Hammond, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury May 9, [246] 1  
*Tibet—Trade to Chung-King*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 17, [243] 1308

Commercial Reports of Consuls P. [2231]  
Mr. Barber's Report [2393]

### Christ's Hospital and School

Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 28, [244] 1987

### CHURCHILL, Lord R., Woodstock

Africa, South—Cape Colony—Mounted Police, [243] 1193  
Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [243] 1231, 1234

### Church of England—The Chapter of York Cathedral—Case of the Rev. James Fleming

Observations, Question, Lord Hampton; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield; Observations The Archbishop of York June 16, [246] 1887  
Convocation—*The Ritual Commission*, Question, Mr. Holt; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 11, [249] 668

### Church of England—Glebe Lands—Queen Anne's Bounty

Moved for, "A Return from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty of all sales of lands belonging to or held in trust for parochial benefices or districts which have been effected or assented to by them respectively during the last ten years, specifying in each case the amount of land sold, the rental of the same, and the price obtained for it; also the like particulars of all cases in which sales have been refused within the same period" (*The Bishop of Peterborough*) May 30, [246] 1427; Motion agreed to (P.P. 165)

### Church of Scotland Bill

(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Fraser Mackintosh*)

c. Considered in Committee Dec 6, [243] 211; after short debate, Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> [Bill 89]  
Bill withdrawn \* June 16

### City of Glasgow Bank Bill

c. Order for 2R. discharged, after short debate Mar 4, [244] 109

### City of London School Bill (Lords)

c. Moved, "That the City of London School Bill be referred to a Select Committee, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection

"That all Petitions against the Bill, presented on or before the 17th instant, be referred to the Committee, and that such Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitioners

"That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records:—That Three be the quorum" (*Mr. Raikes*) May 13, [246] 231; Motion agreed to

And, on May 16, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Hanbury, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. David Plunket:—Sir Thomas Acland and Sir John Hay added by the Committee of Selection

### Civil Procedure Acts Repeal Bill [M.L.]

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

1. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> June 27 (No. 132)

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* July 11

Committee \*; Report July 14

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \* July 15

c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* July 21 [Bill 253]

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* July 24

Committee \*; Report August 4 [Bill 280]

Committee \* (on re-comm.); Report; read 3<sup>rd</sup> August 8

Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 59]

### Civil Service Estimates

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report upon the Civil Service Estimates in the order in which they appear" (*Mr. Dillwyn*) Feb 18, [243] 1409; after debate, Question put; A. 95, N. 158; M. 63 (D. L. 14)

### Clergy Co-operative Association—Joint Stock Companies Act, 1 & 2 Vict.

c. 106, ss. 29, 31

Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, The Attorney General Feb 17, [243] 1303

### Clerical Disabilities Bill (*Mr. Goldney*,

*Mr. Hibbert, Sir Windham Anstruther*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 18]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>nd</sup>" Mar 12, [244] 780

Amend. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Bouverie Hope*); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 66, N. 125; M. 69 (D. L. 42)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

### CLINTON, Lord

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- Reports of the Inspectors, 1878, *P.P.* [2321]  
*Accident at the Cwm Aron Colliery*, Question,  
 Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton  
 Cross July 10, [248] 18  
*Explosion of Fircamp at Blantyre*, Questions,  
 Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Assheton  
 Cross July 3, [247] 1290  
*The Abercarn Explosion*, Questions, Mr.  
 Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross  
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*The Dinas Colliery Explosion*, Questions, Mr.  
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COCHRANE, Mr. A. D. W. R. BAILLIE-  
*Isle of Wight*

- Africa, South—Zulu War, [246] 1377  
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**Coinage—Withdrawal of Worn Silver  
 Coin**

Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, The Chancellor  
 of the Exchequer Dec 9, [243] 299

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- Petroleum Act (1871) Amendment, Comm.  
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COLE, Mr. H. T., *Penryn, &c.*

- Administration of Justice, Res. [244] 1457  
 Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. *cl.* 6,  
 [245] 1552; *cl.* 53, [247] 504, 505; *add. cl.*  
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- Bank Deposits, Res. [243] 1760  
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COLMAN, Mr. J. J., *Norwich*

- Household Suffrage (Counties), Res. [244] 185  
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**Colonial Defences—Loans**

- Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Mr. W.  
 H. Smith June 23, [247] 417

**Colonial Marriages Bill***(Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Sir Thomas Chambers)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 17]  
 Question, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answer, Mr.  
 Knatchbull-Hugessen Mar 10, [244] 528  
 2R. [Dropped]

**Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865—Royal  
Colonial Naval Reserve Men**

Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Sir  
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Navy—H.M.S. "Boadicea," [244] 1289

**Commissioners of Woods (Thames Piers)  
Bill***(Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Gerard Noel)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 17 [Bill 249]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 23, [248] 1122

Committee\*; Report July 28

Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 29

- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) July 31 (No. 168)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 4

Committee\* August 5

Report\* August 8

Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 11

Royal Assent August 15 [42 &amp; 43 Vict. c. 73]

**Common Law Procedure and Judicature  
Acts Amendment Bill***(Mr. Waddy, Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Ridley)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 14 [Bill 181]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate May 23, [246] 1201

Committee\*—a.p. June 9

Committee [House counted out] June 12, 1804

Committee\*; Report June 16

Considered\*, debate adjourned June 20

As amended to be considered [Dropped]

**Commons**

Nomination of Select Committee Mar 6

[House counted out]

Committee nominated Mar 12 as follows:—

Mr. Spencer Walpole (Chairman), Sir  
 Walter B. Barttelot, Lord Edmond Fitz-  
 maurice, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Pell;  
 April 3, Mr. Fawcett disch.; Mr. Shaw  
 Lefevre added:—Mr. H. Cowper, Mr. C. B.  
 Denison, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Lord  
 Henry Scott, and Mr. Arthur Walsh added  
 by the Committee of Selection

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**Commons Act (1876) Amendment Bill**

*(Mr. Pell, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir Walter B.  
 Barttelot, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 4 [Bill 333]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 14

Committee\*; Report July 15

Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 16

- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Henniker) July 17 (No. 153)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 22, [248] 959

Committee\*; Report July 24

Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 25

Royal Assent August 11 [42 &amp; 43 Vict. c. 37]

**Commons Act (1876) Amendment (No. 2)**

Bill (Mr. . . ., Mr. Walpole, Lord  
 Edmond . . . Henry Peck)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>.  
 2R. [Dropped]

[Bill 240]

**Companies Acts Amendment Bill***(Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Coope, Mr. Herschell, Sir Charles Mills)*

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 14 [Bill 102]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate April 22, [245] 621  
 Committee—R.P. May 1, 1867  
 Committee \*; Report May 2  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* May 5
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Lord Aberdare) May 6 (No. 71)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate June 24, [247] 524  
 Order for Committee discharged July 31, [248] 1700

**Condition of the Country—The Prevalent Distress**

Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross, Mr. Solater-Booth Dec 17, [243] 949

[See titles—*Agricultural Distress;—State of the Country*]

**Consecration of Churchyards Act (1867) Amendment Bill***(Mr. Monk, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Forsyth)*

- c. Considered in Committee Dec 6, [243] 206; after short debate, Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* [Bill 13]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 26, 1791  
 Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Ernest Noel*): Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 129, N. 160; M. 31 (D. L. 29)  
 Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

**Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill***(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)*

- c. Resolution in Committee \* Feb 28  
 Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered \* Mar 3  
 Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 4  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 5  
 Committee \*; Report Mar 6  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 7
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Earl of Beaconsfield) Mar 10  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived Mar 11  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 13  
 Royal Assent Mar 14 [42 Vict. c. 2]

**Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill***(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)*

- c. Resolutions in Committee \* Mar 19  
 Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 20  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 21  
 Committee \*; Report Mar 22  
 Considered Mar 24, [244] 1500  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Mar 25, 1704

**Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill—cont.**

- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Earl of Beaconsfield) Mar 25  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived; read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 26  
 Royal Assent Mar 28 [42 Vict. c. 7]

**Consolidated Fund (No. 3) Bill***(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)*

- c. Resolution in Committee \* May 15  
 Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* May 16  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* May 19  
 Committee \*; Report May 20  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* May 21
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Earl of Beaconsfield) May 23  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived; read 3<sup>o</sup> May 26  
 Royal Assent May 27 [43 Vict. c. 14]

**Consolidated Fund (No. 4) Bill***(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)*

- c. Resolution in Committee \* June 19  
 Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 20  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* June 23  
 Committee \*; Report June 24  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* June 25
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Earl of Beaconsfield) June 26  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* June 27  
 Committee \*; Report June 30  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 1  
 Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 20]

**Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill***(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* August 9  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 11, [249] 681  
 Committee \*; Report August 12  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 13, 958
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (Viscount Cranbrook) August 13  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived; considered; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14  
 Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 51]

**Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875—"Besetting"**

Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross May 22, [246] 1007

**Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Bill***(Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Mundella)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 6 [Bill 34]  
 Bill withdrawn \* July 28

**Contagious Diseases Acts—The Select Committee**

Question, Sir Harcourt Johnstone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 24, [244] 1500; Questions, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. J. Trevelyan; Answers, Colonel Loyd Lindsay May 5, [245] 1715

[cont.]

[cont.]

*Contagious Diseases Acts—cont.*

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1868—1869, their administration, operation, and effect" June 11

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Massey (Chairman), Colonel Alexander, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Burt, Viscount Crichton, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, General Shute, and Mr. Stansfeld:—Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Kavanagh, Mr. Ernest Noel, and Mr. John Tremayne added by the Committee of Selection

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*Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878*

*American Cattle Trade*, The, Question, Mr. Bruen; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Feb 18, [243] 1407

*American Pigs*, Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 8, [245] 1966; Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon May 29, [246] 1406

*Cattle Disease in the United States*, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 3, [244] 10

*Cattle Disease (United States of America)*—Correspondence . . . P.P. 111

*Cattle from the United States*, Questions, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Mundella, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Lord George Hamilton Feb 14, [243] 1189; Question, Mr. Giles; Answer, Lord George Hamilton April 7, [245] 447; Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 12, [246] 128

*Section 34—Farm Dairies*, Questions, Mr. Paget; Answers, Lord George Hamilton Feb 14, [243] 1197

*Dairies, Cowsheeds, and Milkshops Order, 1879*, Question, Lord Cottesloe; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Feb 24, [243] 1639; Question, Mr. Clare Read; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 4, [244] 135

*Foreign Sheep*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 9, [246] 13

*Mersey Dock and Harbour Board*, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 25, [243] 1753

*Outbreak of Foot-and-Mouth Disease at Derby*, Question, Colonel Kingscote; Answer, Lord George Hamilton June 19, [247] 174

*Travelling Inspectors*, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 1, [245] 1494

*Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878—**Transit of Animals—The Rules and Regulations*

Moved that there be laid before the House, Copies of the Rules and Regulations issued by the Privy Council on the subject of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878 (*The Earl De La Warr*) April 28, [245] 1218; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal Bill*

(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Downing*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 4]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"

Mar 26, [244] 1772

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Marten*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. and Motion withdrawn: Bill withdrawn

*Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal (No. 2)*

Bill (*Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Patrick Smyth, Mr. O'Shaughnessy*)

c. Ordered • Mar 28

Read 1<sup>o</sup> • Mar 31

[Bill 116]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 21, [245] 817

Committee •; Report May 5

Considered • May 7

Read 3<sup>o</sup> • May 8

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> • (*The Lord O'Hagan*) May 9 (No. 77)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 30, [246] 1428

Committee; Report June 16, 1898

Read 3<sup>o</sup> • June 20

Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 28]

*Conveyancing and Land Transfer (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment Bill*

(*Mr. Yeaman, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Cameron*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> • May 26 [Bill 198]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> • June 10

Committee •; Report July 7

Considered • July 8

Read 3<sup>o</sup> • July 9

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> • (*Earl Camperdown*) July 10 (No. 141)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> • July 25

Committee •; Report July 28

Read 3<sup>o</sup> • July 29

Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 40]

*CONYNGHAM, Lord F. N., Clare*

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. [246] 847

Reproductive Loan Fund (Ireland)—Loans to Clare Fishermen, [246] 1912; [247] 418

Volunteer Corps (Ireland), Comm. cl. 1, [247] 810

*Coolies*

*Emigration of, from the Mauritius*, Question, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 27, [244] 1850

*Ill-treatment of, in Grenada*, Questions, Mr. Errington, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Dec 9, [243] 304; Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 18, 1407

Indian Emigrants, Grenada . P.P. [2249]

*Jamaica*, Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach June 16, [246] 1912

*COOPE, Mr. O. E., M<sup>rs</sup>*

Joint Stock Banks, [245] 72

**Co-operative Stores**

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the constitution and operations of certain trading societies, trading under the name of Co-operative Stores, and to ascertain whether they are exempted from taxes and imposts to which the trading community are liable" (*Sir Charles Russell*) *Mar 11*

And, on *April 1*, Committee nominated as follows:—*Sir Massey Lopes* (Chairman), *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Blake*, *Mr. Callan*, *Earl of Dalkeith*, *Sir George Elliot*, *Mr. Forsyth*, *Mr. Hardecastle*, *Mr. Isaacs*, *Mr. James*, *Mr. Macdonald*, *Viscount Macduff*, *Mr. Arthur Mills*, *Mr. Mundella*, *Mr. Otway*, *Mr. Ridley*, *Mr. Ripley*, *Sir Charles Russell*, and *Mr. Sheil*

Report of Select Comm. . . (*P.P. 344*)

**Copyright, Law of**

*Legislation*, Question, *Mr. E. Jenkins*; Answer, *Lord John Manners Feb 17*, [243] 1808; Question, *Mr. Hanbury-Tracy*; Answer, *Lord John Manners June 12*, [246] 1706; Question, *Mr. E. Jenkins*; Answer, *Lord John Manners July 17*, [248] 619

Copyright Commission—Analysis of Evidence . . . . . *P.P. [2245]*

**Copyright Bill** (*Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Forsyth*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Dec 9* [Bill 53]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Copyright (No 2) Bill**

(*Lord John Manners, Viscount Sandon, Mr. Attorney General*)

c. Acts read; considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *July 29* [Bill 265]  
2R. *August 15*

**CORK, Earl of**

Army—Auxiliary Forces—The Yeomanry, [244] 128  
India—Afghanistan—The War, [243] 174

**Cork Borough Quarter Sessions Bill**

(*Mr. Murphy, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Goulding, Colonel Colthurst*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *June 27* [Bill 226]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *July 1*  
Committee *—s.r. July 3*  
Committee *—; Report July 7*  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *July 8*  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord Boyle*) *July 10* (No. 142)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *July 15*  
Committee *—; Report July 17*  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *July 18*  
Royal Assent *July 21* [42 & 43 Vict. c. clxi]

**Corn—The Official Returns**

Question, *Mr. Clare Read*; Answer, *Mr. J. G. Talbot Mar 4*, [244] 134; Question, *Mr. Clare Read*; Answer, *Viscount Sandon May 26*, [246] 1227

Memorandum respecting . . . *P.P. 247*

*The Weekly Corn Averages*, Question, *Mr. Foljambe*; Answer, *Mr. J. G. Talbot June 26*, [247] 691

**Coroners Bill** (*Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Matthew Ridley*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Feb 14* [Bill 67]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *\*, and referred to Select Comm. Feb 20*  
*The Select Committee*, Question, *Mr. Pell*; Answer, *Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 24*, [243] 1655

And, on *March 18*, Committee nominated as follows:—*Sir Matthew Ridley* (Chairman), *Mr. Ashley*, *Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*, *Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*, *Mr. Goldney*, *Sir Julian Goldsmid*, *Mr. Mitchell Henry*, *Mr. Herschell*, *Lord Francis Hervey*, *Mr. Hicks*, *Mr. Law*, *Sir Trevor Lawrence*, *Sir Patrick O'Brien*, *Mr. Pell*, *Mr. Solicitor General*, *Mr. Benjamin Williams*, *Mr. Yorke*; *April 7*, *Mr. Briggs* and *Mr. Verner added*  
Report of Select Comm. *July 10* [No. 279]  
Bill withdrawn *July 21* [Bill 243]

**CORRY, Mr. J. P., Belfast**

Belfast Water, *Consid.* [246] 566  
Customs Re-organization, [245] 1584  
Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland), 2R. [248] 1128; Comm. [249] 907  
University Education (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. [248] 1231

**Costs Taxation (House of Commons) Bill**

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Moubray*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *May 19* [Bill 190]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *May 22*, [246] 1109  
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *May 23*, 1202; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. James*); after short debate, Question put; A. 21, N. 41; M. 20 (D. L. 110)  
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." put, and agreed to; Committee; Report  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *May 26*  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) *May 27* (No. 99)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *June 13*  
Committee *—; Report June 16*  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *June 17*  
Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. 17]

**COTTESLOE, Lord**

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1873—Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops Order, 1879, [243] 1639  
Trade with the United States of America, Motion for a Return, [245] 128

**COTTON, Mr. Alderman W. J. R., London**  
Banking and Joint Stock Companies, 2R. [248] 1551  
Criminal Law—Case of Edmund Galley, Motion for an Address, [248] 1342  
Franchise and the City Guilds, Res. [244] 826  
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. [246] 346  
Leadenhall Market and Improvements, 2R. [243] 1740  
London and North Western Railway (Additional Powers), 2R. Amendt. [244] 893

### County Boards Bill

(*Mr. Selater-Booth, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

*c. Urban and Rural Sanitary Districts—County Maps*, Question, Mr. Stansfeld; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth Feb 20, [243] 1509  
Motion for Leave (*Mr. Selater-Booth*) Mar 18, [244] 1199; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\*  
Bill withdrawn \* July 14 [Bill 105]

### County Courts Bill (*Mr. Norwood, Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Rowley Hill*)

*c. Ordered*; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Dec 6 [Bill 40]  
2R. [Dropped]

### County Courts (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

*l. Presented*; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Feb 18 (No. 12)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>\*, and referred to a Select Committee Mar 4  
And, on April 3, the Lords following were named of the Committee:—Ld. Chancellor, M. Lansdowne, E. Powis, E. Morley, V. Cranbrook, L. Brodrick, L. Hatherley, L. Penzance, L. Selborne, L. Winmarleigh, L. Blackburn  
Report of Select Comm. April 24 (No. 61)  
Bill reported \* April 24 (No. 60)  
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" April 28, [245] 1239; on Question, agreed to; Committee  
Report \* May 1 (No. 62)  
Read 3<sup>o</sup>\* May 2  
*c. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* (Mr. Attorney General)* May 19  
Bill withdrawn \* July 14 [Bill 191]

### County Infirmaries (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Errington, Mr. Arthur Moore*)

*c. Ordered*; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Dec 6 [Bill 46]  
2R. [Dropped]

### COURTNEY, Mr. L. H., *Liskeard*

Africa, South—Zulu War—Miscellaneous Questions  
[246] 1380  
Cetewayo, Submission of, [245] 453; [249] 373  
Peace Negotiations—Telegram, [247] 1721  
Sir Bartle Frere, [246] 1364;—Despatches of, [247] 1285  
Transvaal, [246] 1919  
Transvaal Papers—"White v. Rudolph," [248] 24  
Zulu King, [243] 853

### COURTNEY, Mr. L. H.—cont.

Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere, Res. [244] 2021; Motion for Adjournment, 2090; Res. [245] 21, 30  
Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 131, [247] 1383, 1395; Consid. cl. 177, [248] 814,  
Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Extension, Consid. [249] 654  
Assizes, 2R. [243] 1703  
Bank Deposits, Res. [243] 1767  
Banking and Joint Stock Companies, Leave, [245] 807, 815; Comm. cl. 4, Amendt. [249] 839, 843; cl. 8, Amendt. 854; cl. 9, Amendt. 855; cl. 10, 860; add. cl. 871; Consid. cl. 5, Amendt. 955; cl. 10, Amendt. *ib.*  
Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education), Comm. cl. 3, [245] 691  
Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [249] 178  
Children's Dangerous Performances, 2R. [247] 1186; Comm. 1404  
Clare County Writ, [245] 1146, 1174  
Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [245] 922; Comm. cl. 2, 1567  
Costs Taxation (House of Commons), Comm. [246] 1203  
Council of India, Motion for Papers, [247] 108  
Criminal Law—Case of Edmund Galley, Motion for an Address, [248] 1366  
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. cl. 15, [246] 1519, 1526; cl. 23, 1877  
Cyprus, [244] 1586  
Disqualification by Medical Relief, Comm. [243] 943  
East India [Loan], Comm. [244] 1959  
East India Loan (Annuities), 2R. [249] 581  
East India Loan (Consolidated Fund), Comm. cl. 2, [248] 1515  
East India Loan (£5,000,000), Comm. [249] 553  
East India Railway, Consid. [247] 1130  
Egypt, [249] 718  
Abdication of the Khedive, [247] 431  
Electoral Disabilities of Women, Res. [244] 405, 422, 467, 488, 490  
Employers' Liability, Leave, [244] 1141  
England, North of—New University—Issue of a Charter, [246] 698  
Household Suffrage (Counties), Res. [244] 227, 235  
Law of Distress, Res. [246] 81  
Marriages Confirmation (Her Majesty's Ships), 2R. [245] 1778; 3R. Amendt. 2050, 2053  
National School Teachers (Ireland), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, [248] 1091; Comm. Amendt. [249] 836; cl. 7, Amendt. 899; cl. 12, 902; Schedule, 904, 905, 906  
National School Teachers (Ireland) (Repayment of Advances), Comm. [248] 1518, 1628  
Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions  
Business of the House, [249] 411  
Orders of the Day, [243] 1334  
Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to—Report, [243] 800  
Parliament—Privilege—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery, Res. [248] 190  
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices, Comm. cl. 2, [249] 805; Amendt. 805, 805; Consid. 877; Amendt. 864  
Parliamentary Elections—[Expenses], Report of  
Poor Law Amendment  
Comm. cl. 1. 1  
Prerogative

[cont.]

**COURTNEY Mr. L. H.—cont.**

- Prosecution of Offences, Comm. cl. 3, [245]  
1092, 1093  
Public Works Loans (No. 2), Comm. cl. 6, [249]  
796, 797, 798  
Sugar Industries, Res. [245] 884  
Summary Jurisdiction, Comm. cl. 16, [246] 95  
Supply—Charitable and other Allowances,  
Great Britain, [248] 1613  
Post Office Services, &c. [248] 1622; Motion  
for reporting Progress, 1623, 1624  
Report, [249] 551  
War in South Africa—Vote of Credit, [249]  
128  
Supreme Court of Judicature Acts Amendment,  
Comm. [246] 1541  
Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis)—Breach  
of Privilege—Consideration of Special Report,  
[247] 1879; Nomination of Select Com-  
mittee, 1960, 1965; Petition, [248] 1638  
Trustees Relief, 2R. [246] 507  
University Education (Ireland), Leave, [246]  
495, 503  
[248] University Education (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R.  
1201, 1251, 1269; Comm. Amendt. 1940  
[249] 191, 301; cl. 2, Motion for reporting Pro-  
gress, 228, 229, 231; Amendt. 232, 236,  
241; cl. 3, 242; Amendt. 243, 250, 251;  
cl. 4, Amendt. 261, 262; cl. 8, Amendt.  
265, 268; cl. 11, 276; add. cl. 282, 326,  
327, 332; Amendt. 353, 354; Consid. 721;  
cl. 3, Amendt. 728; cl. 8, Amendt. 733;  
cl. 9, Amendt. *ib.*; cl. 11, Amendt. 737,  
741  
Ways and Means, Report, [244] 107

**COURTOWN, Earl of**

Hares (Ireland), Comm. [246] 1897

**Courts of Justice Building Act (1865)**  
*Amendment [Expenses]*

Considered in Committee May 16

**Courts of Justice Building Act (1865)**  
*Amendment Bill*

- (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Gerard Noel*)  
a. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> May 5 [Bill 156]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate May 12, [246] 2  
*Increase of Fees upon Suitors*, Question, Mr.  
Herschell; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-  
Ibbetson May 19, 696  
Bill withdrawn August 7

**Courts of Justice Buildings Bill [u.l.]**

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

- L. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> April 3 (No. 44)  
Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn  
April 24, [245] 966

**COWAN, Mr. J., Edinburgh**

Africa, South—Zulu War—Presbyterian and  
Wesleyan Chaplains, [243] 1749

**COWAN, Mr. J., Newcastle-on-Tyne**

Africa, South—  
Army Discipline  
[247] 1853  
Boiler Explosions  
War, [244] 913  
Regulation, Comm. cl. 141,  
Clough, [247] 31

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**COWEN, Mr. J.—cont.**

- Boiler Explosions, Res. [245] 1409  
Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal, 2R. [244]  
1808  
County Boards, Leave, [244] 1214  
Criminal Law—The Rev. H. J. Dodwell, [243]  
1748  
Law Courts—Ventilation in the Court of  
Queen's Bench, [244] 518  
Municipal Corporations (Property Qualifica-  
tion Abolition), 2R. [245] 219  
Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [243]  
1528  
Quarantine Act—Cargo of Rags from Russia,  
[244] 1157  
Railway Passenger Duty—Wantage Tramway  
Company, [244] 130  
Railways—Automatic Brakes, [248] 24  
Russia—Treatment of Political Offenders—  
Russian Atrocities, [248] 842, 1403  
Supply—Home Office, [244] 332  
Stationery, &c. [244] 311, 315; [246] 141  
Tramways—Wantage Tramway, [247] 692  
Treaty of Prague—Article 5, [243] 1649  
Weights and Measures Act—41 & 42 Vict. c. 49,  
[243] 736

**COWPER, Earl**

- Public Health Act (1875) Amendment (Inter-  
ments), Comm. [248] 7  
Rivers Conservancy, [244] 1019; Comm. cl. 8,  
Amendt. [245] 829  
Volunteer Force—Finance and Organization,  
Report of Committee, [243] 1178

**CRANBROOK, Viscount (Secretary of State  
for India)**

- Africa, South—Zulu War—Re-inforcements—  
Condition of the Regiments, [246] 681  
Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere,  
[244] 1405; Alteration of Res. 1494; Res.  
1620  
Army—Army Organization—Departmental  
Committee, [246] 1905  
Army—Condition of the Army and Short Ser-  
vice System, Address for Papers, [246] 1426  
Army (India)—The Workshop System, Ad-  
dress for Papers, [249] 497  
Army Discipline and Regulation, 2R. [248] 830  
Army Discipline and Regulation (Commence-  
ment), 1R. [248] 960  
Banking and Joint Stock Companies, 2R. [249]  
965  
British Burmah, [244] 367  
East India Loan (Consolidated Fund), 2R.  
[249] 35, 37  
India—Miscellaneous Questions  
Afghanistan—The War—Address of General  
Roberts, [243] 1393  
Bombay, Disturbances in, [246] 795  
Brahmin Kishen Dutt, [248] 150  
Corporal Punishment in Indian Gaols, [248]  
1402  
Criminal Law—Use of Torture, [248] 1290  
Indian Museum, [249] 492  
Military Operations—Advance on Cabul,  
[245] 696  
Negotiations with Yakoob Khan, [244]  
1963  
Papers—General Roberts' Proclamation,  
[244] 612

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- Peace Negotiations, [246] 655, 1204  
 Scarcity of Grain in the Punjab, [244] 126  
 Suchait Singh—The Chumba Succession, [248] 741  
 India—Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations), Notice of Motion, [243] 6; Res. 219  
 India—Afghan War—Vote of Thanks to the Viceroy of India and to the Military Forces, Res. [249] 2, 19  
 India Factories, Motion for an Address, [245] 358  
 India (Finances, &c.), Petition, &c. [247] 150  
 India—Indian Principalities—Rights of Succession, Res. [247] 1415  
 India—Telegraphic Communication with India, Address for Papers, [246] 822  
 Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. [245] 1802  
 National School Teachers (Ireland), 2R. [249] 964  
 Navy—Heavy Gun Committee, [245] 253  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [243] 38, 67, 69  
 Public Health Act (1875) Amendment (Interments); Comm. [248] 4, 5; 3R. 440  
 Railways (Ireland), Res. Amendt. [245] 975  
 University Education (Ireland), 2R. [247] 1831

## Cremation

- Question, Observations, The Earl of Onslow;  
 Reply, Earl Beauchamp Mar 21, [244] 1406  
 Correspondence relative to . . . P.P. 101

## Criminal Code (Indictable Offences) Bill

(Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross,  
 Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Attorney General  
 for Ireland)

- c. Ordered that the Orders of the Day subsequent to Ways and Means be postponed until after the Motion for leave to bring in the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences) Bill (*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*) April 3, [245] 275  
 Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General*) April 3, 310; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\*  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after debate May 5, 1750 [Bill 117]  
 Committee\*; Report May 12 [Bill 170]  
*Repeal of Statutes*, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Attorney General May 26, [246] 1238  
*Report of the Commissioners*, Question, Sir Henry James; Answer, The Attorney General June 12, [246] 1719  
*Memorandum of the Lord Chief Justice*, Questions, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Wheelhouse; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Asheton Cross June 16, [246] 1815  
 Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Attorney General June 30, [247] 953; Question, Mr. Cole; Answer, The Attorney General July 3, 1281  
 Bill withdrawn \* July 14  
 Parl. Papers—  
 Report of Commissioners . . . [2345]  
 Memorandum of Changes . . . No. 140  
 Letter of the Lord Chief Justice No. 232

## CRIMINAL LAW

## MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

- Alleged Cruelty at Hanley*, Question, Earl Percy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross May 9, [246] 11  
*Bail in Charges of Fraud*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Airlie; Reply, The Lord Chancellor Feb 21, [243] 1598  
*Criminal Punishments—Admission of the Press*, Questions, Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Paget; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 27, [243] 1831  
*Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1868—Execution of Catherine Churchill at Taunton—Admission of the Press*, Question, Observations, Lord Houghton; Reply, Earl Beauchamp; short debate thereon May 29, [246] 1412  
*Case of Edward Harris*, Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 31, [245] 15  
*Case of Frederick Taylor*, Question, Mr. Boord; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross May 2, [245] 1595  
*Case of James Swanton*, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 20, [244] 1316  
*Case of John Nolan*, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Dec 9, [243] 308; Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 20, 1819  
*Case of John Stanley*, Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Sir Matthew White Ridley May 13, [246] 231  
*Case of Michael Gilmore*, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 13, [244] 1149  
*Case of — Ryan*, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther June 13, [246] 1819  
*Case of Seth Evans*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 7, [244] 401  
*Case of — Stevenson*, Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, The Lord Advocate Mar 4, [244] 130  
*Case of the Convict Perryman*, Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross April 7, [245] 442; Questions, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Dr. Kenealy; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross April 18, 605; Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross July 17, [248] 628; August 5, [249] 181; Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross August 15, 1037  
*Case of the Rev. Mr. Dodwell, a Lunatic*, Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 25, [243] 1748; Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Sir Matthew White Ridley Mar 13, [244] 821  
*Case of Thomas Moran*, Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross April 25, 1101; Questions, Colonel Beresford, Mr. Cole; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross April 28, 1242; Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross May 5, 1720  
*Case of William Habron, Convicted of Murder*, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 17, 1035; Questions, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Dr. Kenealy; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 21, 1430; Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 25, 1702; Question, Mr. Callan;

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- 245] Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 3, 274 ; Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 7, 453
- Cases of A. J. Mitchell and J. Edgington*, Question, General Shute ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 7, [245] 448
- Conviction of Ambrose Pentney*, Question, Mr. Macdonald ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 17, [248] 624
- Convicts Theodoridi and Gorlero, The*, Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor ; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 7, [244] 402 ; Questions, Mr. Callan ; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 11, 629 ; Mar 27, 1862 ; Mar 28, 1899
- Conviction of Charles Neville*, Question, Dr. Kenealy ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 4, [245] 368
- Circulation of Disgusting Literature*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 12, [246] 1718
- Criminal Lunatics in County Asylums*, Question, Sir Joseph Bailey ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 24, [245] 984 ; Observations, Viscount Middleton ; Reply, Earl Beauchamp August 4, [249] 20
- Criminal Proceedings against Soldiers*, Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy ; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 14, [248] 303
- Dangerous Performances by Children (Birmingham)*, Question, Dr. Kenealy ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 4, [245] 368 ;—*Cruelty to Children*, Question, General Shute ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 1, 1494
- Exhibition of Zulus at St James's Hall*, Withdrawal of Question, Mr. E. Jenkins ; Observation, Mr. Assheton Cross July 15, [248] 444
- Imprisonment for Stealing Flowers*, Question, Mr. Pease ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 14, [248] 307
- Infant Life Protection Act, 1872—Cruelty to Children*, Question, General Shute ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 1, [245] 1494
- Manslaughter of a Game Watcher—The Sentence*, Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 15, [246] 392
- Penal Servitude Acts*, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 3, [244] 13
- Poisoning by Alcohol*, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 14, [248] 300
- The Derby Murder*, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 4, [249] 56 ;—*Conduct of the Jury*, Question, Mr. Callan ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 9, 597
- The Euston Square Murder*, Question, Sir William Fraser ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 7, [247] 1727
- The Murder in Kent*, Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Dec 6, [243] 205
- The Devonport Watch Committee*, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 20, [244] 1310
- The Stripping and Searching of Prisoners*, Questions, Mr. H. B. Sheridan ; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross July 17, [248] 632 ; July 21, 848

## CRIMINAL LAW—cont.

- The Tichborne Case—Sir Roger D. Tichborne*, Question, Major O'Gorman ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 20, [243] 1514 ; Questions, Dr. Kenealy ; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 27, 1810 ; July 8, [247] 1863 ; Notice of Question, Dr. Kenealy July 16, [248] 554 ; Question, Dr. Kenealy ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 18, 756
- The "Tichborne Demonstration,"* Question, Dr. Kenealy ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 17, [245] 518
- Vaccination Act, 1871*, Question, Mr. Hopwood ; Answer, Mr. Slater-Booth June 19, [247] 179
- [See title *Prisons (England) Act*]

## Criminal Law—The Case of Edmund Galley

- Questions, Sir Eardley Wilmot ; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross May 9, [246] 16 ; Question, Mr. Hopwood ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 27, 1355
- Amendt. on Committee of Supply July 25, To leave out from "That," and add "the innocence of Edmund Galley of the crime of which he was convicted at Exeter in 1836 has been established beyond all reasonable doubts ; and that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty graciously to grant a free pardon to Edmund Galley" (*Sir Eardley Wilmot v.*, [248] 1335 ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c. ;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to grant a free pardon to Edmund Galley" (*Sir Eardley Wilmot v.*, 1368 ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c. ;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived ; words added ; main Question, as amended, put and agreed to

## Criminal Law—The Convict Theodoridi

- Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of any Memorial presented by or on behalf of the Convict 'Theodoridi'
- "Of any Correspondence with respect to 'Theodoridi,' or Memorandum of any representations made on behalf of the Convict
- "And, of usual form, printed or lithographed, sent to the Judge who tried any convict on whose behalf any memorial may have been presented or representation made for his opinion" (*Mr. Callan June 16, [246] 2030 ;* after short debate, Motion withdrawn
- Papers relating to . . . . P. P. 213

Cross, Right Hon. R. A. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Lancashire, S.W.*

- Administration of Justice, Res. [244] 1480
- 245] Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. 1531 ;
- . cl. 1, 1510, 1541, 1542 ; cl. 10, 1984 ; cl. 17,
- . 2009 ; cl. 19, 2025 ; cl. 27, 2047 ; cl. 28,
- . 2048

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- 246] *cl.* 44, 800, 861, 862, 863, 865  
 247] 62, 63, 214; *cl.* 53, 505; *cl.* 72, 571; *cl.* 77,  
 . 773; *cl.* 83, 864; *cl.* 87, 890, 894; *cl.* 96,  
 . 1003, 1004; *cl.* 103, 1026; *cl.* 104, 1028;  
 . *cl.* 108, 1033; *cl.* 109, 1034; *cl.* 126, 1308;  
 . *cl.* 129, 1324; Amendt. 1331; *cl.* 131, 1336,  
 . 1340, 1341, 1344, 1354, 1355, 1363; Amendt.  
 . 1365, 1403, 1555, 1556, 1559, 1564, 1566,  
 . 1567, 1569, 1584, 1594, 1597, 1598, 1599,  
 . 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603; *cl.* 137, 1622;  
 . *cl.* 141, 1647, 1650; *cl.* 147, 1667, 1675,  
 . 1678, 1734, 1801  
 248] *cl.* 180, 121; Postponed *cl.* 69, 355, 374,  
 . 375, 376; *cl.* 128, 387; *add. cl.* 528, 543;  
 . *Consid. cl.* 45, 781, 792; *cl.* 127, 808  
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 Army Discipline and Regulation—Imprison-  
 ment of Military Offenders, [248] 1850  
 Army Discipline and Regulation (Commence-  
 ment), *Comm. cl.* 7, [248] 977  
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 ing Grounds, [246] 1721  
 Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings, Act, 1875,  
 [243] 307; [247] 1288; [248] 963; [249] 390  
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 1660; *Comm.* [249] 836; *cl.* 7, 852; *cl.* 10,  
 857, 862; *add. cl.* 869; *Consid. cl.* 10, 956  
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 [245] 1717  
 Children's Dangerous Performances, 2R. [247]  
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 Christ's Hospital and Schools, [244] 1988  
 Clare County Writ, Re-appointment of Select  
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 Clerical Disabilities, 2R. [244] 783  
 Coal Mines—see under Mines  
 Consecration of Churchyards Act (1867)  
 Amendment, 2R. [243] 1815  
 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act,  
 1875—"Besetting," [246] 1008  
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 244] Prosecution of Offences, Comm. 972, 991, 995  
 245] cl. 2, 1088, 1089; Amendt. 1090; cl. 3, Amendt. 1091, 1092, 1094, 1351, 1352, 1353; Amendt. 1562, 1563, 1564; cl. 8, 1565; add. cl. ib., 1566, 1723  
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- Solicitors Acts, 1860 and 1877—Examination of Clerks to Solicitors, [245] 440, 980  
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 243] Summary Jurisdiction, 2R. 1939  
 245] Comm. 2049  
 246] *cl.* 5, 88; *cl.* 7, 89; *cl.* 8, *ib.*; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 90; *cl.* 10, 92; *cl.* 11, 94; *cl.* 16, 96, 98; *cl.* 22, 99; *cl.* 28, 214; *cl.* 29, *ib.*; *cl.* 39, Amendt. 215; *cl.* 55, 222; Schedule 1, 224; Consid. 1096, 1103, 1106, 1107, 1108  
 249] Lords' Amendts. Consid. 174  
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 University Education (Ireland), 2R. [247] 659, 665  
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**Cross, Mr. J. K., Bolton**

- East India (Duties on Cotton Goods), Res. [245] 416  
 India—East India Revenue Accounts—Financial Statement, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, [246] 1197, 1724, 1727, 1794  
 India—Exchanges, [244] 1154

**Cruelty to Animals Bill**

(Mr. Holt, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Hardcastle, Sir Charles Legard, Mr. Charles Wilson)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 28]  
 2R. [Dropped]

**Cruelty to Animals Bill [R.L.]**

(*The Lord Truro*)

1. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 24 (No. 125)  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
 July 15, [248] 419  
 Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Steward*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.; Cont. 16, Not-Cont. 97; M. 81  
 Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 435  
 Resolved in the negative; and Bill to be read 2<sup>o</sup> this day three months

**CUBITT, Mr. G., Surrey, W.**

- Kew Gardens, Res. [244] 296  
 Thames River (Prevention of Floods), Nomination of Committee, Motion for Adjournment, [244] 795, 809

**CUNINGHAME, Sir W. J. M., Ayr, &c.**

- Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. *cl.* 42, [246] 845; *cl.* 44, Amendt. 1565; *cl.* 46, [247] 331; *cl.* 47, 469  
 Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [244] 1268  
 Inland Revenue—Office of Distributor of Stamps, Greenock, [249] 395  
 Poor Law Medical Relief (Scotland), [247] 419  
 Scotland—Herring Fisheries in Loch Fyne, [245] 1401

**Customs and Inland Revenue Bill**

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)

- c. Resolutions in Committee \* April 3  
 Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered \* April 4  
 Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* May 2 [Bill 150]  
 246] Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 9, 19  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
 May 19, 756  
 Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will not recognize or accept as binding any Treaty or other engagements entered into by Her Majesty's Ministers which might forestall or limit the control of this House over the financial resources and taxation of this Country, until full information as to such contemplated engagements has been laid upon the Table of this House, and this House shall have had the opportunity of expressing an opinion thereon" (*Mr. Newdegate*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Motion withdrawn  
 Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
 . Committee—*a.r.* May 30, 887  
 . Committee—*a.r.* June 9, 1518  
 . Committee; Report June 13, 1875  
 . Considered June 16, 2027  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* June 26  
 1. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*The Lord President*) June 27  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived June 29  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 1  
 Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 3 *Vol. c. 22*]

**Customs, Board of**

*The Secretary*, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 10, [248] 19

**Customs, Board of**

*The Commission on Official Statistics*, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 27, [243] 1833;—*Report of Committee*, Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 3, [244] 13

**Customs Department Re-organisation**

- 243] Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Dec 9, 303; Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 24, 1643; Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 27, 1850; Questions, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. J. Holms; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson April 3, 264; Observations, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Anderson; Reply, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson; Observations, Mr. Rylands, General Sir George Balfour April 17, 573; Question, Mr. J. Corry; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson May 2, 1584
- The Re-organisation Scheme*, Questions, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Pease; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson May 15, [246] 393; Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson June 12, 1703
- The Clerical Service*, Questions, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson June 19, [247] 180
- Twenty-third Report . . . P. P. [2344]

*Civil Service Writers*, Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson June 30, [247] 955

*The Tea and East India Departments—Defective Sanitary Arrangements*, Questions, Mr. Fawcett; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson May 19, [246] 895; June 10, 1549

*Wines of Spain and Portugal*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 21, [244] 1435

**Customs Bill of Entry Office**

Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson July 21, [248] 853

**Customs Buildings Bill**

(Mr. Noel, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 30 [Bill 228]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 7
- Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report July 8
- Considered<sup>o</sup> July 10
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 11
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) July 14 (No. 146)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 21
- Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report July 22
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 24
- Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 36]

**Cyprus**

**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

Observations, Sir Charles W. Dilke Mar 24, [244] 1509; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Dillwyn); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Administration of Justice—Ordinances of the Legislative Council*, Questions, Sir Henry James; Answers, Mr. Bourke Feb 17, [243] 1313; Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. Bourke May 15, [246] 399; May 27, 1860; June 16, 1908;—*Punishment of Priests*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Bourke June 13, 1809; Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury June 17, [247] 19;—*The Papers*, Question, Mr. Gladstone; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 11, [248] 161

*Administration of the Government*, Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 27, [246] 1854; Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Bourke June 10, 1850

*Administration of the Island—Civil Police Force*, Questions, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Dodson; Answers, Mr. Bourke July 28, [248] 1411

*Chart of Surveys*, Question, Mr. Dodson; Answer, Mr. A. F. Egerton Feb 17, [243] 1306

*Condition of the Population*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 8, [245] 1962

*Consular Jurisdiction*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 3, [244] 10

*Despatches—Cyprus—Jurisdiction of Courts of Law*, Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. Bourke Dec 9, [243] 301

*Enforced Labour—The Ordinance*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Mr. Bourke Mar 17, [244] 1025; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. Bourke April 4, [245] 367; Question, Mr. Goldney; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 5, 1711

*Greek Language, The*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, Mr. Bourke Mar 18, [244] 1156

*Harbour of Famagousta*, Question, Observations, The Duke of Somerset; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury; Observations, Earl Granville Mar 21, [244] 1409

*Health of the Troops*, Question, Mr. A. C. Barclay; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 20, [244] 1318; Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 7, [247] 1713

*Import Duties on Grain*, Question, Mr. Potter; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 8, [245] 1957

*Loans for Public Works*, Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Childers, Mr. Ramsay; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 9, [249] 600

*Loans—Revenue and Expenditure*, Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 11, [249] 669

*Mr. Di Cesnola*, Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Sir William Harcourt; Answers, Mr. Bourke Dec 12, [243] 636

*Mr. Mitsis*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke August 15, [249] 1034

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- Public Works Return*, Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. Bourke *July 15*, [248] 445  
*Purchase of Land by Foreigners*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *June 30*, [247] 956  
*Revenue and Expenditure Accounts*, Questions, Mr. Dodson; Answers, Mr. Bourke *June 12*, [246] 1705; *August 4*, [249] 49; Questions, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Childers; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *August 7*, 396  
*Slavery*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Shaftesbury; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury *July 28*, [248] 1397  
*Taxation*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *August 8*, [249] 507  
*The Mediterranean Islands*, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 31*, [245] 12  
*The Military Forces*, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, Colonel Stanley *August 8*, [249] 507  
*The New Coinage*, Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June 12*, [246] 1705  
*The Papers*, No. 4, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *July 29*, [248] 1529  
*The Pioneer Regiment*, Question, General Sir George Ballour; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Mar 27*, [244] 1867

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*Cyprus—Ordinances VI. VIII. and XVI.*

- Amendt. on Committee of Supply *June 20*, To leave out from "That," and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of the Ordinance No. VIII. of 1879, giving power to the Government of Cyprus to exile persons without trial:

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- l. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 17 (No. 9)  
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**Dispensaries (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Bruen, Mr. Downing, Mr. Mulholland, Dr. Ward*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Dec* 16 [Bill 66]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *April* 30  
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Considered *May* 19  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *May* 20  
*l.* Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Viscount Hutchinson*) *May* 23  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *June* 26 (No. 88)  
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(*Mr. Rathbone, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Ritchie*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Dec* 6 [Bill 22]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate *Dec* 11, [243] 623  
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Dec* 16, 943; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Serjeant Spinks*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived  
Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report  
Considered *Dec* 17  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" *Feb* 14, 1276  
Amendt. to leave out "now read 3<sup>o</sup>," and add "re-committed" (*Mr. Pell*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'now read 3<sup>o</sup>' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 65, N. 40; M. 25 (D. L. 7)  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3<sup>o</sup>, with an amended Title  
*l.* Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Aberdare*) *Feb* 17 (No. 6)  
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**District Auditors Bill** (*Mr. Selater-Booth, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbotson, Mr. Salt*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Feb* 17 [Bill 79]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *Feb* 21  
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*l.* Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) *Mar* 20 (No. 30)  
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**Divinity School (Church of Ireland) Bill**  
[H.L.] (*The Earl of Belmore*)

*l.* Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup>, after debate *Mar* 27, [244] 1822 (No. 36)  
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**Dogs Regulation (Ireland) Act (1865) Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

a. Motion for Leave (*Mr. James Lowther*) April 21, 245] 817; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 129]

Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther April 24, 985

2R. deferred, after short debate May 8, 2049

Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. 247] Lowther June 30, 955

Bill withdrawn June 30

**DONOUGHMORE, Earl of**

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Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. [249] 382, 384

**DORCHESTER, Lord**

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Army—Army Organisation—Departmental Committee, [246] 1907

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**DOUGLAS, Sir G. H. S., Roxburghshire**

Hypothee Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [244] 1249

**DOWNING, Mr. M'Carthy, Cork Co.**

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*Drainage and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Act, 1878*

Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland Mar 24, [244] 1506

**Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill** (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. James Lowther*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 4 [Bill 94]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 11

Committee; Report Mar 20

Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 21

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Henniker*) Mar 24 (No. 32)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 1

Committee; Report April 3

Read 3<sup>o</sup> April 4

Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. ii]

**DUFF, Mr. M. E. G., Elgin, &c.**

East India Loan (Consolidated Fund), 2R. [248] 1320

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India—Maharajah of Cashmere, [243] 1404, 1645

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Indian Finance—The Government of India Act, 1853, Motion for a Select Committee, [243] 1987

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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Report, Motion for Adjournment, [243] 622, 640, 663

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**DUFF, Mr. R. W., Banffshire**

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**DUNRAVEN, Earl of**

Army—Militia, Motion for a Select Committee, [245] 1234

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## Duration of Parliament Bill

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. Cameron  
Mr. Collins, Mr. Henry Samuelson*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 36]  
Bill withdrawn \* April 18

## DYKE, Sir W. H. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Kent, Mid*

Parliament—Select Committees (Nomination),  
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Sugar Industries, Res. [245] 919

## East India Loan (Annuities) Bill

(*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the  
Exchequer, Mr. Raikes*)

- c. Considered in Committee \* July 31  
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> August 1 [Bill 275]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate August 8, [249] 580  
Committee \*; Report August 9  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 11  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Viscount Cranbrook*) August 12  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negative August 13  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* August 14  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 61]

## East India Loan (Consolidated Fund) Bill

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Edward Stanhope,  
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

- c. Resolution in Committee \* May 26  
Resolution reported; Bill ordered \* May 27  
Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 9 [Bill 201]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
July 25, [248] 1301  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"considering that it has been officially stated  
that the Afghan War was undertaken in the  
interests of England and India jointly, this  
House is of opinion that it is unjust to make  
India pay towards the expenses of that war  
more than seven times as much as will be  
contributed by England" (*Mr. Fawcett*) v.;  
Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;"  
after debate, Question put; A. 137, N. 125;  
M. 12 (D. L. 194)  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Committee; Report July 28, 1512  
Considered \* July 30  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 31  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*V. Cranbrook*) August 1 (No. 172)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after debate August 4, [249] 30  
Committee \*; Report August 5  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* August 7  
Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 45]  
[See title *India (Finance, &c.)—East India  
Loan [Consolidated Fund]*]

## East India Loan (£2,000,000)

Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 25, [245] 1104;  
Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 6, 1816

## East India Loan (£5,000,000) Bill

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

- c. Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 28, [244] 1990  
Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* May 26 [Bill 197]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
June 12, [246] 1803  
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned"  
(*Sir George Campbell*); after short debate,  
Motion withdrawn  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr.  
Speaker do now leave the Chair" July 25,  
[248] 1334; after short debate, Debate adjourned till this day  
Debate resumed August 8, [249] 582; after  
short debate, Question put, and agreed to;  
Committee; Report  
Considered \* August 9  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>"  
August 11, 810; Question put; A. 42, N. 13;  
M. 29 (D. L. 234); Bill read 3<sup>o</sup>  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Viscount Cranbrook*) August 12  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negative August 13  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* August 14  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 60]  
[See title *India (Finance, &c.)—East India  
[Loan]*]

## East India Railway Bill (by Order)

- c. Select Committee nominated Mar 19, as follows:—*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Fawcett, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Hubbard*  
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now taken into Consideration" (*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) July 1, [247] 1074  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"this House, adopting the recommendation contained in the Special Report of the Committee to which this Bill was referred, is of opinion that its provisions should not be regarded as a precedent for defining the terms on which the Indian Government may hereafter exercise its right of acquiring possession of the other guaranteed Railways in India" (*Mr. Fawcett*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negative  
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to  
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now taken into Consideration" (*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) July 2, 1187  
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon Wednesday next" (*Sir George Campbell*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn.

## East India Railway (Redemption of Annuities) Bill

(*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Lord George Hamilton*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 14 [Bill 244]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* July 17  
Committee \*; Report July 21  
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l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Viscount Cranbrook*) July 23  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* July 28  
Committee \*; Report August 4  
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*Ecclesiastical Courts—The Dean of Arches*  
Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Attorney General Dec 16, [243] 859

**EDMONSTONE**, Admiral Sir W., *Stirlingshire*  
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University Education (Ireland), 2R. [247] 654

**Edmunds, Mr. Leonard**—"The Attorney General v. Edmunds"

Questions, The Earl of Redesdale; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Observations, The Lord Chancellor June 19, [247] 167

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the proceedings taken upon an order of reference made by the Court of Common Pleas on the 26th June 1869 in an action entitled "Edmunds v. Greenwood," and in relation to the award of the arbitrators under the said order of reference (*The Earl of Redesdale*) July 4, 1407; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative  
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*Revision of the Education Code*, Question, Mr. Arthur Mills; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 20, [243] 1519

*The New Code*, Question, Mr. James Stewart; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 31, [245] 16

*The Revised Code—Certificated Teachers*, Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Dec 16, [243] 854

*The Education Vote—Singing*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Lord George Hamilton August 5, [249] 186

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*Children in Board Schools—Free Breakfasts*, Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth May 1, [245] 1492

*Horley School Board*, Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Lord George Hamilton July 17, [248] 617

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*Drummer Boys*, Question, Mr. Simonds; Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 17, [244] 1033

*Expenditure on Elementary Schools*, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Lord George Hamilton June 26, [247] 730

*Industrial Schools*, Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Lord George Hamilton Feb 25, [243] 1751

*London School Board Expenditure—Temporary Loans*, Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 10, [244] 525; Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Mar 31, [245] 9; Questions, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Lord George Hamilton June 19, [247] 177

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*London School Board—Mr. George Potter*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 9, [246] 14

*Offending Teachers*, Question, Mr. J. C. Brown; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 25, [243] 1752

*Religious Education of Children in Unions*, Question, Sir Matthew Wilson; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth May 1, [245] 1496

*Salaries of Schoolmasters*, Question, Sir George Jenkinson; Answer, Lord George Hamilton July 17, [248] 619

*Teachers' Salaries*, Question, Mr. Sampson Lloyd; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 15, [246] 401

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*Education Code—Elementary Science*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply July 30, To leave out from "That," and add "it would be desirable to modify the Code of Education by adding Elementary Science to the subjects mentioned in Article 19, c. 1" (Sir John Lubbock) v., [248] 1639; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 80, N. 48; M. 32 (D. L. 199)

*Education Department—School Inspectors*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Feb 21, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, arrangements ought to be at once made to provide that in future, before being appointed to an independent post, newly appointed School Inspectors should have one year's training under an experienced Inspector, unless they have been previously engaged in the education of children for a sufficient time to make this unnecessary" (Mr. Rathbone) v., [243] 1607; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

*Education—London School Board Expenditure*

Moved, "That the rapidly increasing expenditure of the London School Board requires the early attention of the Government, with the view of imposing on it some more effectual checks than appear at present to exist" (Mr. Reginald Yorke) June 10, [246] 1624; after long debate, Debate adjourned  
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*Education—The New Northern (Victoria) University—Issue of a Charter*

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*Education (Wales)*

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to consider the best means of assisting any local effort which may be made for supplying the deficiency of higher education in Wales" (Mr. Hussey Vivian) July 1, [247] 1141  
Amendt. to leave out "assisting any local effort which may be made for" (Viscount Emllyn); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negatived  
Main Question, as amended, put; A. 54, N. 105; M. 51 (D. L. 142)

EGERTON, Hon. A. F. (Secretary to the Board of Admiralty), *Lancashire, S.E.*

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*Rumoured Deposition of the Khedive (Ismail Pasha)*, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 25, [245] 1100

*Abdication of the Khedive*, Observations, Questions, Mr. Otway, Mr. Childers; Replies, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 247] quer June 20, 307; Question, Earl Granville; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury June 23, 404; Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Mr. Bourke; short debate thereon June 23, 429; Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury June 26, 671; Explanation, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon June 26, 725

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*British Consul General, The*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 18, [244] 1161

*Despatch of Ships of War*, Question, Mr. Elliot; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 25, [243] 1762

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*Disturbances at Cairo*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 20, [243] 1621

*Egyptian Affairs*, Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Goschen; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson July 25, [248] 1300

*Finance*, Observations, Mr. H. Samuelson; debate thereon Feb 21, [243] 1619; Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 10, [244] 523; Observations, Sir George Campbell; debate thereon Mar 13, 830; Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 27, 1857:—*The Identic Note*, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 24, 1508

*Financial Changes—Mr. Rivers Wilson*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 13, [244] 823:—*Dismissal of Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. De Blignières*, Questions, Observations, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. E. Jenkins; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 17, [245] 519; Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 21, 699; April 24, 981; Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bourke April 28, 1216; Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 13, [246] 236:—*Action of the Controllers*, Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 5, 1709

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*Nubar Pasha*, Questions, Mr. Otway; Answers, Mr. Bourke July 10, [248] 25; Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 16, 445

*Taxation*, Question, Mr. Ralli; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 31, [245] 11

*The Commissioners of the Daira Lands*, Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 16, [243] 857

*The French and English Governments*, Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 27, [246] 1361

*The Ministerial Crisis*, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 25, [244] 1703

*The Papers*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Bourke April 21, [245] 703; Question, Observations, The Marquess of Lansdowne, Earl Granville; Replies, The Marquess of Salisbury, The Earl of Beaconsfield; Observations, The Earl of Kimberley May 1, [245] 1481; Questions, The Marquess of Hartington; Mr. Chamberlain; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 26, [246] 1240; Observations, Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 3, [247] 1289; Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 4, 1419; Questions, Mr. Otway, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 1, [248] 1847

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*The Succession—The Firmans*, 1841-73, Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Mr. Bourke June 30, [247] 958 P.P. [2396]

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Rhodes Commission, Report of, [243] 300, 958, 959, 962

**Election Petitions (Costs) Bill**

(Major Nolan, Mr. Gray, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Patrick Martin)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 72]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Elective County Boards (Ireland) Bill**

(Major Nolan, Mr. O'Clery, Mr. Fay, Mr. O'Sullivan)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 7]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Electoral Disabilities of Women**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 7, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is injurious to the best interests of the Country that women who are entitled to vote in municipal, parochial, and school board elections, when possessed of the statutory qualifications, should

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**Electoral Disabilities of Women—cont.**

be disabled from voting in Parliamentary elections, although possessed of the statutory qualifications; and that it is expedient that this disability should be forthwith repealed" (*Mr. Courtney*) v., [244] 405; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 217, N. 108; M. 114 Div. List, A. and N., 505

**Electricity**

[See title *Lighting by Electricity*]

**Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Brighton and Preston, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Viscount Cranbrook*)**

- l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> April 4 (No. 48)
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> April 28
- Committee<sup>\*</sup> May 6
- Report<sup>\*</sup> May 8
- Read 3<sup>rd</sup> May 9
- c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Lord George Hamilton*) May 13
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> May 20 [Bill 177]
- Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report May 27
- Read 3<sup>rd</sup> June 10
- l.* Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lviii]

**Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] (*The Viscount Cranbrook*)**

- l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> April 4 (No. 47)
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> April 28
- Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report May 6
- Read 3<sup>rd</sup> May 8
- c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Lord George Hamilton*) May 13
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> May 20 [Bill 176]
- Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report May 27
- Read 3<sup>rd</sup> June 10
- l.* Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lix]

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(*Mr. Burt, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Gorst*)

- c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 21]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Employers' Liability Bill**

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

- c.* Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General*) Mar 17, [244] 1135; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> [Bill 103]
- Government Employés*, Question, *Mr. Bruce*; Answer, *The Attorney General* Mar 31, [245] 10
- Bill withdrawn<sup>\*</sup> July 30

**Employers' Liability for Injuries to their Servants**

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**Employers' Liability for Injuries to Servants Bill (*Mr. Brassey, Mr. Morley, Mr. M. Bass, Mr. Sullivan*)**

- c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 75]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Employers' Liability for Injuries to Servants (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Earp, Mr. Burt*)**

- c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 17 [Bill 80]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Endowed Schools Acts**

Moved that there be laid before the House, Return made out, county by county, in continuation of Return respecting the Endowed Schools Acts, Paper (No. 5.), ordered to be printed on the 13th of February last [with details] (*The Earl Fortescue*) June 24, [247] 527; after short debate, Motion agreed to

*Parl. P.* 5, 138

*The Continuance Bill*, Questions, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answers, Lord George Hamilton June 26, [247] 686; July 10, [248] 19

**Endowed Schools Acts Continuance Bill**  
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- a. Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, Lord George Hamilton July 10, [248] 19  
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Considered<sup>o</sup>; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 9  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) August 11 (No. 182)  
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- c. Considered in Committee August 6  
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- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 21 [Bill 193]  
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- c. Resolutions in Committee<sup>o</sup> Feb 23  
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- Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 10
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Earl of Beaconsfield) Mar 11
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>; Committee negatived; read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 13
- Royal Assent Mar 14 [42 Vict. c. 3]

## **Exchequer Bills and Bonds (No. 2) Bill** (*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,* *Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

- c. Resolutions in Committee \* August 1
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- Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate August 8, [249] 588
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- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Earl Beaconsfield) August 12
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- Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14
- Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 62]

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- c. Questions, Major Nolan, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson August 2, [248] 1945
- Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> August 3 [Bill 279]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 4
- Committee \*; Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 8
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) Aug 11 (No. 183)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 12
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- Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 67]

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**Free Trade and Reciprocity**

- Moved to resolve, "1. That this House, fully recognizing the benefits which would result to the community if a system of real free-trade were universally adopted, is of opinion that it is expedient in all future commercial negotiations with other countries to advocate a policy of Reciprocity between all inter-trading nations; and  
 2. "That the long continued depressed state of the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests should form the subject of a full Parliamentary inquiry, with the view of ascertaining the causes, the best means of redress, and of counteracting the injurious effects of the excessive tariffs levied by foreign nations against the produce and manufactures of this country" (*The Lord Bateman*) April 29, [245] 1356; after debate, on Question ? resolved in the negative

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- Question, Mr. Hardcastle; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 18, [248] 754

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**Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

- c. *Legislation*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 16, [243] 854  
 Ordered \* Feb 25 [House counted out]  
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 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 10  
 Committee; Report Mar 11, [244] 755  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 12  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Earl of Beaconsfield*) Mar 13  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 22 (No. 25)  
 Committee; Report April 24  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* April 25  
 Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. 9]

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 30 [Bill 143]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate May 2, [245] 1672  
Order for Committee read May 5, 1775  
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the operation of the Bill to the whole of the  
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Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 8  
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Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 27  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Henniker*) May 27 (No. 101)  
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Committee\* July 1  
Report\* July 4  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 7  
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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Mar 20 [Bill 110]  
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l. Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup> \* Mar 31 (No. 38)  
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(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mark Stewart*)

a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 10 [Bill 57]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" June 18, [247] 118

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Bruen*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Debate adjourned  
Adjourned Debate on 2R. [Dropped]

## Habitual Drunkards Bill

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Ashley, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. William Holmes, Mr. O'Shaughnessy*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 47]

2R. Feb 13, [243] 1159 [House counted out]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 17, 1884

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
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Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report Feb 27

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l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*E. of Shaftesbury*) Mar 13 (No. 26)

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(No. 86)

Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 29

(No. 93)

c. Lords Amendts. June 13

[Bill 206]

l. Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 19]

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Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the operation of the Acts relating to the Hall-Marking of Gold and Silver manufactures" (*Sir Henry Jackson*) Feb 26

And, on Mar 5, Committee nominated as follows:—*Sir Henry Jackson* (Chairman), Mr. Bates, Colonel Blackburne, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Orr-Ewing, Mr. Freshfield, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Hankey, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir Joseph McKenna, Mr. Munts, Sir Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Puleston, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. John Talbot, Mr. Torr, and Mr. Whitwell

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**Hesse—Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Hesse (Princess Alice)**

**Loans**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess Alice of Great Britain and Ireland, second daughter of Her Majesty the Queen, and daughter of His Majesty the King of Prussia."

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*Hesse—Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Hesse (Princess Alice)—Lords—cont.*

"To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic relations; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of her family" (*The Earl of Beaconsfield*) Dec 17, [243] 945; after short debate, on Question, agreed to, nemine dissentiente

Her Majesty's Answer reported Feb 13, 1041

**COMMONS**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess Alice of Great Britain and Ireland, second daughter of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion

"To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic relations; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of her family" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Dec 16, [243] 859; after short debate, Address agreed to

Her Majesty's Answer reported Feb 17, 1317

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(*Mr. Solater-Booth, Mr. Salt*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 27 [Bill 227]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 3

Committee\*; Report July 7

Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 8

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) July 10 (No. 143)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 15

Committee\* July 17

Report\* July 18

Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 21

c. Lords Amendts July 23 [Bill 255]

l. Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 39]

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(Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Dr. Cameron, Major Nolan, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Henry Samuelson)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 6 [Bill 11]
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" June 11, [246] 1650
- Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (Mr. Assheton); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 165, N. 190; M. 25 (D. L. 117)
- Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for three months

Household Suffrage (Counties)

- Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it would be desirable to establish throughout the whole of the United Kingdom a Household Franchise similar to that now established in the English boroughs" (Mr. Trevelyan) Mar 4, [244] 137
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House is of opinion that it is inexpedient to reopen the question of Parliamentary Reform at the present time" (Lord Claud Hamilton) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 226, N. 291; M. 65
- Div. List, A. and N., 252
- Question proposed, "That the words 'this House is of opinion that it is inexpedient to reopen the question of Parliamentary Reform at the present time' be there added"
- Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to leave out "at the present time" (Mr. Lowe); Question, "That the words 'at the present time' stand part of the said proposed Amendt." put, and negatived

[*cont.*]

Household Suffrage (Counties)—*cont.*

- Words, as amended, added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
- Resolved, That this House is of opinion that it is inexpedient to reopen the question of Parliamentary Reform

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**Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill**

(Mr. Vans Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George Douglas, Colonel Alexander)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 3]  
244] Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
Mar 19, 1222

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"inasmuch as the Law of Hypothec is the  
equivalent in Scotland of the English and  
Irish Law of distress, and inasmuch as many  
other examples of preferential security over  
property being given in certain circumstances  
to particular creditors are to be found in the  
commercial Law of this and other Nations,  
this subject, if dealt with at all by Parlia-  
ment, should be considered as a whole, and  
not be treated locally and exceptionally as in  
the present Bill; and in dealing with this  
subject due consideration should be given to  
the fact that the preferential security for  
payment of rent which landlords have from  
time immemorial enjoyed at Common Law,  
regulated by Statute, has, to the great ad-  
vantage of the Nation, enabled many indus-  
trious and enterprising men of small means  
to obtain farms and rise in the world, which  
otherwise they could not have done" (*Lord  
Eldon*) v.; Question proposed, "That the  
words, &c.;" after long debate, Question  
put; A. 204, N. 77; M. 127 (D. L. 48)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
245] Order for Committee read; Moved, "That  
Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"  
April 1, 169; after short debate, Question  
put, and agreed to; Committee; Report  
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246] Consideration, as amended, deferred May 16,  
650 [Bill 119]

Moved "That the Bill, as amended, be now  
taken into Consideration" May 27, 1401;  
after short debate, Moved, "That the De-  
bate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Ernest Noel*);  
after further short debate, Debate adjourned  
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**Inclosure Provisional Order (East Stain-  
more Common) Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 12 [Bill 174]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 26  
Committee; Report June 9  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 10  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord Steward*) June 13  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17 (No. 108)  
Committee; Report June 23  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxiii]

**Inclosure Provisional Order (Maltby  
Lands) Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 12 [Bill 173]  
2R. deferred, after short debate June 16, [246]  
2029  
Bill withdrawn, after short debate July 3, [247]  
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**Inclosure Provisional Order (Matterdale  
Common) Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 12 [Bill 171]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 26  
Committee; Report June 9  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 10  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord Steward*) June 13  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17 (No. 107)  
Committee; Report June 23  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxi]

**Inclosure Provisional Order (Redmoor  
and Golberdon Commons) Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 12 [Bill 172]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 26  
Committee; Report June 9  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 10  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord Steward*) June 13  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17 (No. 109)  
Committee; Report June 23  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxii]

**Inclosure Provisional Order (Whitting-  
ton Common) Bill**

(Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 13 [Bill 207]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 23



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- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* (*The Lord Steward*) July 3
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>\* July 10
- Committee\*; Report July 17 (No. 136)
- Read 3<sup>o</sup>\* July 18
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## INDIA

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*East India Loan (£2,000,000)*, Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 25, [245] 1104; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 6, 1816

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*Indian Railways—Shipment of Railway Material*, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 24, [243] 1644  
*Kirwee Prize Money*, Question, General Shute; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope June 12, [246] 1701; Question, Lord George Cavendish; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope July 14, [248] 309; Question, Mr. M. Brooks; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope July 31, 1705  
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*The Maharajah of Cashmere*, Questions, Mr. Grant Duff; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 18, [243] 1404; Feb 24, 1645  
*The Maharajah Dhulceep Singh*, Questions, Mr. Fawcett; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope July 24, [248] 1169; July 28, 1408; Questions, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope August 4, [249] 43;—*Application for Increase of Allowance*, Observations, Mr. Fawcett; Reply, Mr. E. Stanhope August 7, 420  
*The Nisam—Loans*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope August 14, [249] 976  
*Village "Panchayets" or Courts of Arbitration*, Question, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope May 20, [246] 835

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*India (Finance, &c.)—East India [Loan]*  
(£2,000,000) [*Consolidated Fund*]

*Advance of £2,000,000 to the Indian Government*, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 17*, [243] 1311

Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April 25*, [245] 1104; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 6*, 1816

Considered in Committee *May 26*

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to issue, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the sum of two million pounds sterling, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, by way of Loan, to the Secretary of State in Council of India

Resolution reported *May 27*, [246] 1399; after short debate, Resolution agreed to

[See title *East India Loan (Consolidated Fund) Bill*]

*India (Finance, &c.)—East India [Loan]*

Considered in Committee; Moved, "That it is expedient to authorize the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise in the United Kingdom any sum or sums of money not exceeding £10,000,000, for the service of the Government of India on the security of the Revenues of India" (*Mr. E. Stanhope*) *Mar 27*, [244] 1951; after short debate, Moved to report Progress (*Sir George Campbell*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to

*The Adjourned Debate*, Questions, Mr. Childers; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope *May 1*, [245] 1503

Considered in Committee *May 23*, [246] 11

Amendt. to leave out "£10,000,000," and insert "£5,000,000" (*Mr. Edward Stanhope*) v.; Question proposed, "That '£10,000,000' stand part of the proposed Resolution;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Question, "That '£5,000,000' be inserted, instead thereof," put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Resolution reported *May 26*, 1325; after short debate, Resolution agreed to

[See title *East India Loan (£5,000,000) Bill*]

*India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Financial Statement*

246] Questions, Observations, Mr. Fawcett; Replies, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Speaker *May 12*, 129; Observations, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Observations, Sir George Campbell *May 13*, 237

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to this House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the Revenues of India, be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House (*Mr. Edward Stanhope*) *May 13*; Committee thereupon upon Thursday 22nd May

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. E. Stanhope*) *May 22*, 1040

*India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Financial Statement—cont.*

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House, regarding with apprehension the present state of Indian Finance, approves the decision to reduce Expenditure" (*Mr. Fawcett*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir George Campbell*); Motion agreed to

246] Debate resumed *May 23*, 1160; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. J. K. Cross*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to

Debate resumed *June 12*, 1724; after long debate, Question put, and agreed to

Accounts considered in Committee, 1795

After further short debate, Resolved, That it appears by the Accounts laid before this House that the Ordinary Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1878 was £51,793,866; the Revenue from Productive Public Works, including the Net Traffic Receipts from Guaranteed Companies, was £7,173,435, making the total Revenue of India for that year £58,969,301; that the Ordinary Expenditure in India and in England, including Charges for the Collection of the Revenue, for Ordinary Public Works, and for Interest on Debt exclusive of that for Productive Public Works, was £55,147,832; the Expenditure on Productive Public Works (Working Expenses and Interest), including the payments to Guaranteed Companies for Interest and Surplus Profits, was £7,364,556, making a total Charge for that year of £62,512,388; that there was an excess of Expenditure over Income in that year amounting to £3,543,087; and that the Capital Expenditure on Productive Public Works in the same year was £4,791,052

Resolution reported *June 16*

Petitions presented, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Gladstone *June 12*, 1723

Parl Papers—

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*Indian Finance—The Government of India Act, 1858*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Feb 28*, To leave out from "That," and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report upon the operation of 'The Government of India Act, 1858,' and the other Acts an ending the same" (*Mr. Fawcett*) v., [243] 1975; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 139, N. 100; M. 39 (D. L. No. 30)

*India—The Vernacular Press—British Indian Association*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *May 23*, To leave out from "That," and add "this House regrets that Lord Lytton and his advisers have shown such unwise respect for the

[cont.]

*India—The Vernacular Press—British Indian Association—cont.*

sentiments of a vast population, which is at the same time deprived of all constitutional representation, and subject to a harsh and grinding taxation of the most oppressive kind" (*Mr. O'Donnell*) v., [246] 1142; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 215, N. 36; M. 179 (D. L. 109)

*India—East India (Duties on Cotton Goods)*

245] Amendt. on Committee of Supply April 4, To leave out from "That," and add "the Indian Import Duty on Cotton Goods being unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer ought to be abolished, and this House is of opinion that the expenditure incurred for the Afghan War affords no satisfactory reason for the postponement of the promised remission of this duty" (*Mr. Briggs*) v., 375; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 24, N. 255; M. 231 (D. L. 58)

Question proposed, "That the words 'the Indian Import Duty on Cotton Goods being unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer ought to be abolished, and this House is of opinion that the expenditure incurred for the Afghan War affords no satisfactory reason for the postponement of the promised remission of this duty' be added," v., 430

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to leave out all the words after "Goods," and add "is a Tax which ought ultimately to be abolished; but that, in view of the present state of Indian finances, it is highly inexpedient to deal with the matter at the present moment" (*Mr. Ernest Noel*) v.

Question proposed, "That the words 'being unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer ought to be abolished, and this House' stand part of the proposed Amendt.;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Fawcett*); Question put; A. 38, N. 242; M. 204 (D. L. 59)

Question again proposed; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir David Wedderburn*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn Question put; A. 239, N. 19; M. 220 (D. L. 60)

• Main Question again proposed, 433

Question put, "That the words 'is of opinion that the expenditure incurred for the Afghan War affords no satisfactory reason for the postponement of the promised remission of this duty' stand part of the proposed Amendt.;" A. 84, N. 166; M. 82 (D. L. 61)

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to add, after "this House," the words "views with approval the recent reduction in these Duties as an important step towards their total abolition, to which Her Majesty's Government are pledged" (*Mr. Harcourt*), 434

Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Melden*); Question put; A. 62, N. 161; M. 99 (D. L. 62)

[cont.

*India—East India (Duties on Cotton Goods)—cont.*

Question again proposed, "That those words 245] be there added," 435; Amendt. to proposed Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to add, after "this House," the words "accepts the recent reduction in these Duties as a step towards their total abolition, to which Her Majesty's Government are pledged" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Question, "That those words be there added," put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to Resolved, That the Indian Import Duty on Cotton Goods being unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer ought to be abolished, and this House accepts the recent reduction in these Duties as a step towards their total abolition, to which Her Majesty's Government are pledged

Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. E. Stanhope April 24, 1883; May 1, 1495; May 8, 1961

*India—East India—Duties on Cotton Goods—Minute of the Council of India, 11th Nov., 1875*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, Copies of the Minute by Members of the Council of the Governor General of India on the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 11th day of November 1875, and referred to in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 17th day of March 1876 :

And, of all Communications which have passed between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India, or the Governor General, relating to the repeal of the Cotton Duties (in continuation of the Papers presented to Parliament in 1870)" (*Sir William Harcourt*) June 17, [247] 33

After debate, Amendt. to leave out from "of all Communications," and add "of the Memorandum of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, dated the 25th day of April 1876" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, Question put, and negatived

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

*Parl. Papers—*

Dissents of Members of Council . . . 188  
Opinions of Members of Council . . . 392  
Minute on Despatch of Nov. 7, 1875 . . . 240

*India—East India (Public Works)*

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan, both as regards financial results and the prevention of famine; That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members

[cont.

*India—East India (Public Works)—cont.*

Ordered, That the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on East India (Public Works), in the last Session of Parliament, be referred to the Select Committee on East India (Public Works) (*Mr. Edward Stanhope*) Feb 20

And, on Mar 19, Committee nominated as follows:—Lord George Hamilton (Chairman), Mr. Agnew, Mr. Ashbury, Mr. Balfour, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Childers, Mr. John Cross, Mr. Grant Duff, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Sir Joseph McKenna, Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Ernest Noel, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Pease, and Mr. Edward Stanhope

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*India—Factories*

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to instruct the Viceroy of India to take into immediate consideration the necessity of passing a law for regulating the labour of women and children in the mills and factories throughout Her dominions in India (*The Earl of Shaftesbury*) April 4, [245] 349; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*India—Indian Principalities and States—Rights of Succession*

Moved to resolve, That this House is of opinion that all cases of disputed succession to Indian Principalities or States not involving preponderating political considerations or criminal elements should be decided by judicial authority, and be referable to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council (*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) July 4, [247] 1415; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

*India—Suchait Singh—The Chumba Succession*

Moved to resolve, That this House is of opinion that the claim of Suchait Singh should be investigated either by referring it to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or to a Select Committee, or to a special Commission not composed of Indian Government officials (*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) July 18, [248] 733; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

*India—Telegraphic Communication with India*

Moved that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies of any minutes or memoranda by the Secretary of State for India, or by Members of Council, in 1873, on the subject of telegraphic communications with the Government of India (*The Duke of Argyll*) May 20, [246] 820; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Papers relating to . . . . . P.P. 286

**Indian Marine Bill**

(*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. John G. Talbot*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 14 [Bill 182]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
May 19, [246] 791  
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Whitwell*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned  
Debate resumed June 16, 2028; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

Committee; Report June 19, [247] 284 [Bill 211]

Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read;  
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" July 1, 1140; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Bill withdrawn \* July 21

**Industrial Enterprise (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Colonel King-Harman, The O'Donoghue*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 26 [Bill 222]  
[2R. Dropped]

**Industrial Schools (Powers of School Boards) Bill**

(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 8 [Bill 242]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 11  
Committee\*; Report July 14  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 16  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Steward*) July 17 (No. 153)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate July 28, [248] 1400  
Committee, after short debate July 31, 1699  
Report \* August 1  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* August 4  
c. Lords Amendments. August 6 [Bill 285]  
l. Royal Assent August 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 48]

**Infants Life Protection Act, 1872**

*Cruelty to Children*, Question, General Shute; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 1, [245] 1494

*Dangerous Performances by Children* (*Birmingham*), Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 4, [245] 366

*Infant Mortality, Exeter*, Question, Mr. A. Mills; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 30, [247] 948

**Inhabited House Duty and Income Tax Bill** (*Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sampson Lloyd*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 38]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 23  
Bill withdrawn \* August 13

**Inland Revenue—Office of Distributor of Stamps, Greenock**

Questions, Sir William Cunningham; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson August 7, [249] 395

### Intemperance

Moved that a Select Committee be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the prevalence of habits of intemperance, and into the manner in which those habits have been affected by recent legislation and other causes (*The Lord Aberdare*) Feb 14, [243] 1187; Motion agreed to

The Lords following were named of the Committee:—L. Abp. Canterbury, L. Abp. York, D. Westminster, E. Belmore, E. Onslow, E. Minto, E. Morley, E. Dudley, E. Kimberley, V. Gordon, V. Hutchinson, L. Bp. Peterborough, L. Bp. Exeter, L. Bp. Carlisle, L. Hartismere, L. Penrhyn, L. Aberdare, L. Cottesloe

- 244] *Report of the Select Committee*, Question, The Earl of Wharncliffe; Answer, Lord Aberdare Mar 11, 635; Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 20, 1317; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 27, 1851

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Legislation, Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 14, [248] 308

### Interments in Churchyards Bill

(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Woodd, Mr. Sampson Lloyd*)

- a. Considered in Committee Dec 6, [243] 209; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 24]  
2R. [Dropped]

### Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Dease, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Whitworth*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 32]  
Petition presented (*Mr. Maurice Brooks*) April 30, [245] 1428  
Moved, "That the Petition be read by the Clerk at the Table;" Motion agreed to; Petition read  
Moved, "That the said Petition do lie upon the Table" (*Mr. Maurice Brooks*); after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Meldon*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn  
Original Question put, and agreed to; Petition laid upon the Table  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" April 30, 1434  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "considering the recent legislation for the restriction of the hours of trade in public houses in Ireland, it is not expedient to pass any further measures of restriction during the present Session" (*Mr. Maurice Brooks*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned  
Debate further adjourned May 2, 1873  
Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. Sullivan May 16, [246] 395  
The Adjourned Debate, Observations, Mr. Callan, Mr. Speaker May 23, 1201  
Adjourned Debate on 2R. [Dropped]

### Intoxicating Liquors (Licences)

244] Moved, "That, inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquor is to supply a supposed public want without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of local option" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) Mar 11, 632

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it would be most undesirable and inopportune to change the arrangements now legislatively provided for the regulation of the trade carried on by the Licensed Victuallers of this Country, because any tribunal subject to periodical election by popular canvas and vote might, and in all probability would, lead to repeated instances of turmoil, and thus be detrimental to the peace and quietude of every neighbourhood in England" (*Mr. Wheelhouse*) v.; after long debate, Question put, "That the words, &c.;" A. 164, N. 252; M. 88 Div. List, A. and N., 746  
Question, "That the words 'it would be most undesirable, &c.' be there added" put, and negatived, 750

Amendt. to add, after "That" in the original Question, "it is undesirable for this House to commit itself to legislation on the subject of licensing till the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance have published their final Report" (*Lord Francis Hervey*); Question put, "That those words be there added;" A. 121, N. 169; M. 48 (D. L. 41)

Amendt. to add, after "That" in the original Question, "in the opinion of this House, among the conditions prescribed by Law for the granting of new Licences for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, it should be expressly provided that the licensing authority shall take into consideration the population and the number of existing licences in the district, and shall find as a fact, upon sworn evidence, that new licences are required for the necessary convenience of the public" (*Mr. Serjeant Simon*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Debate adjourned  
Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. 244] Serjeant Simon Mar 17, 1039  
Order for resuming Adjourned Debate read, and discharged Mar 24, 1509

### IRELAND

#### MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Agricultural Distress*, Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Monday 9th June" May 27, [246] 1332  
Amendt. to leave out "9th," and insert "2nd" (*Mr. O'Donnell*) v.; Question proposed, "That '9th' stand part of the Question;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Original Question put, and agreed to  
Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther June 23, [247] 425; Observations, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. P. Martin July 25, [248] 1373

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*Carrick-on-Suir Bridge*, Question, Mr. Delahunty; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther May 2, [245] 1589; Question, Mr. A. Moore; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther May 23, [246] 1014; Observations, Mr. O'Donnell; short debate thereon June 13, 1873

*Clive Castle Pier and Harbour*, Question, Mr. Staapooie; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 20, [243] 1512

*Colonel M'Kerlie*, Questions, Major O'Beirne; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Colonel Stanley Feb 13, [243] 1071

*Deel Drainage Works, The*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther August 8, [249] 608

*Drainage—The Mulcaire Drainage Scheme*, Questions, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson July 28, [248] 1406; August 13, [249] 911

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*County Down Grand Jury*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther July 7, [247] 1717

*Court of Bankruptcy*, Question, Sir Joseph M'Kenna; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Dec 13, [243] 741

*Disorderly Excursionists in the North of Ireland*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther August 5, [249] 181

*Dublin Metropolitan Police—Case of Mr. Taylor*, Observations, Mr. Sullivan August 11, [249] 678

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*The Police, Dublin*, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson August 14, [249] 978

*Grand Juries*, Observations, Mr. O'Donnell August 7, [249] 429; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. O'Donnell); Motion withdrawn

*Grand Jury Laws—Legislation*, Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 13, [244] 819; Questions, Major Nolan; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther April 18, [245] 607; April 25, 1897

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Ireland as compared with that existing in England and Scotland is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the Franchise in the three Countries" (*Mr. Meldon*) *v.*, [243] 1199; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 256, N. 187; M. 69 (D. L. 4)

*Ireland—Irish Farmers—The "Spencer System"*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *June 27*, To leave out from "That," and add "as it appears that great benefit has arisen in certain parts of Ireland by the working of the 'Spencer system,' under which small farmers have been encouraged and stimulated to improved cultivation by a distribution of small money prizes for competition, it is therefore expedient that this system should be encouraged by Her Majesty's Government undertaking to provide official inspection in all cases where individuals, or public or corporate bodies, are willing to provide funds for the carrying out of the system of rewards, more especially as the funds now available from the closing of certain model farms will be more than sufficient to enable this to be done" (*Colonel King-Harman*) *v.*, [247] 906; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

*Ireland—Irish Land Act, 1870*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *May 2*, To leave out from "That," and add "in view of the importance of a considerable addition to the number of owners of land in Ireland among the class of persons cultivating its soil, it is expedient that legislation should be adopted, without further delay, for increasing the facilities proposed with this object by the Irish Land Act, 1870, and for securing to the tenants of land offered for sale the opportunity of purchase, consistently with the interests of the owners thereof" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) *v.*, [245] 1596; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negatived  
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

*Ireland—Jurors' Remuneration*

Moved, "That Jurors in Ireland should be remunerated for the cost to which they are frequently put under the present law" (*Major Nolan*) *May 6*, [245] 1887; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Ireland—Landed Estates Court*

Moved, for, I. Return (in continuation of No. 238, 1876,) showing (1) in Provinces, and (2) in Counties, the Landed Estates held either in fee, fee farm, for lives renewable for ever, or for terms of years of which sixty shall have been unexpired, sold in one or

[cont.]

*Ireland—Landed Estates Court—cont.*

more lots in the Landed Estates Court for each of the years ending respectively 31st December, 1876, 1877, and 1878, giving the following particulars in each of the foregoing periods [and other details]

II. Return, in Provinces and Counties, of Estates sold during the years 1876, 1877, and 1878 in one or more lots in the Landed Estates Court under Part III. of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in which charging orders have been made in favour of the Board of Works, giving in each case the same particulars as in Return No. I (*The Duke of Argyll*) *May 19*, [246] 664; Motion agreed to

*Ireland—Police—Disturbed Districts and Intimidation*

247] *Orders of the Day—Notice of Motion*, Observations, The Chairman of Committees  
June 23, 412; Explanation, Lord Oranmore and Browne; Observations, The Earl of Beaconsfield *June 24*, 522

Moved that there be laid before this House, Return of all persons now receiving police protection in Ireland, and of police posts of constabulary located in disturbed districts; and a Return of farms now unoccupied from intimidation (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*) *July 7*, 1684; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Ireland—Poor Law—Children in Irish Workhouses*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *June 27*, To leave out from "That," and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire what steps it is desirable to take to improve the state of children in Irish workhouses" (*Mr. Arthur Moore*) *v.*, [247] 889; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

*Ireland—Royal Constabulary—Case of Mr. John Croker*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *August 7*, To leave out from "That," and add "the punishment inflicted on Mr. John Croker, late Sub-Inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary, by reduction in rank in 1867, and subsequent dismissal from that force for offences of which he declared himself to be innocent, without first affording him an opportunity of proving his innocence before an independent tribunal, was not just; and, in the opinion of this House, such an opportunity ought now to be given" (*Dr. O'Leary*) *v.*, [249] 414; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

*Ireland—Training of Teachers in Elementary Schools*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July 11*, To leave out from "That," and add "considering the very large proportion of untrained

[cont.]

*Ireland—Training of Teachers in Elementary Schools—cont.*

Teachers in charge of Elementary Schools in Ireland, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Primary Education which reported in 1868, it is desirable that steps should be immediately taken by Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the Resolution in regard to grants to Training Schools adopted by the Board of National Education in Ireland in December 1874" (*The O'Connor Don*) v., [248] 249; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 64, N. 48; M. 16 (D. L. 161)

*Ireland—Volunteer Corps (Ireland) [Pay and Allowances, &c.]*

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution thereon May 16, [246] 652

*Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill (Mr. David Plunket, Sir Arthur Guinness, Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Kavanagh)*

c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Plunket*) July 29, [248] 1629; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 269]  
Bill withdrawn \* August 7

*Irish Church Commission—Date of Expiration*

Question, Sir Harcourt Johnstone; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 24, [244] 1603

*Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners*

Mr. Ball, Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 16, [246] 395

*Return of Sales of Land*, Question, Mr. Bruen; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson April 29, [245] 1402; Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther August 12, [249] 817

*The Irish Land Act*, 1870, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther August 4, [249] 55

*The Report for 1878*, Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 20, [244] 1307

The Report . . . . . P.P. [228A]  
Report and Accounts, 1878 . . . . . 217  
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Building Societies Acts—Borrowing Powers, [248] 1406

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Malta (Cost of Police, &c.), Res. [248] 1902

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*Italy—Prolongation of Treaty of Commerce* . . . . . P.P. [2201]

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Employers' Liability, Leave, [244] 1142

Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, [243] 1198

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*Coolie Immigration*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach June 19, [247] 171

*Flogging for Libel*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 20, [244] 1309

*Reports on Colonial Possessions*, Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 3, [244] 11

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245] Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 10, 1978

246] cl. 36, 473; cl. 40, 584, 596, 597; cl. 41, Amendt. *ib.*, 598, 600, 601, 603; cl. 42, 840, 847; cl. 44, 1568, 1577

247] 265, 269; cl. 54, Amendt. 510; cl. 55, 512, 514; cl. 56, *ib.*, 516, 518; cl. 59, 520; cl. 76, 593; cl. 104, Amendt. 1031; cl. 126, 1304; Amendt. 1306, 1307, 1310, 1311; cl. 127, 1312, 1313; cl. 131, 1603; cl. 147, 1785; cl. 152, 1909, 1911, 1912; cl. 153, 1914; cl. 158, 1915; cl. 161, 1917

248] cl. 166, 87; cl. 167, 104; cl. 170, 107; Postponed cl. 69, Amendt. 347, 348; *add.* cl. 391, 515, 516, 527, 539; Consid. cl. 5, 770; cl. 45, 779, 782

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 246] cl. 30, 422; cl. 31, Amendt. 433, 434, 435; cl. 32, 437, 446, 447, 452, 458, 460, 461; Amendt. 462; cl. 34, 463; cl. 36, 466; Motion for reporting Progress, 471; cl. 38, 573; cl. 39, 577; cl. 40, 579, 581; Motion for reporting Progress, 585, 586  
 247] cl. 131, 1566, 1567; cl. 140, Amendt. 1624, 1626; cl. 141, 1630, 1632; cl. 147, 1739, 1746, 1800; cl. 148, Amendt. 1899, 1891, 1893, 1895; cl. 149, Amendt. 1899, 1906; cl. 158, 1916; cl. 161, Amendt. 1917, 1918  
 248] cl. 166, 32, 38, 42, 47, 85, 86, 90; cl. 167, 92, 93, 94; cl. 170, Amendt. 106, 107; Postponed cl. 69, 361, 362; add. cl. 399, 403; Motion for reporting Progress, 404, 522, 531, 538, 760; Consid. cl. 5, 767, 769, 770  
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*Charters and Letters Patent*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 7, [245] 439  
*Legislation*, Question, Mr. Coope; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 13, [243] 1072; Question, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, 1306  
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**Joint Stock Banks (Accounts) Bill**

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Benjamin Whitworth, Mr. Pennington, Mr. James Stewart*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \*  
Dec 6 [Bill 23]  
Bill withdrawn \* July 16

**Joint Stock Banks (Auditing of Accounts) (Scotland) Bill**

(*Mr. M'Laren, Sir Alexander Gordon, Sir George Balfour, Mr. Whitwell*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 11 [Bill 59]  
2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned  
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**Joint Stock Companies Acts—Insurance Companies—Participation of Profits**

Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Lord Chancellor June 30, [247] 931

**Judicial Factors (Scotland) Bill**

(*Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Baxter, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Dalrymple*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 23 [Bill 257]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* July 30  
Bill withdrawn \* August 6

**Jurors Remuneration Bill**

(*Mr. H. B. Sheridan, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Burt, Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. O'Connor Power*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 19 [Bill 81]  
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Bill (Mr. Noel, *Other Secretary Stanley*)  
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 Report of Select Comm.<sup>s</sup> July 24  
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 Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 28 [Bill 258]  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) July 29 (No. 166)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 5  
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**LAMBERT, Mr. N. G., Bucks**Public Health Act—Churchyard of North  
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Moved, "That an humble Address be presented  
to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to  
issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the  
supply of water to the manufacturing dis-  
tricts of Lancashire and the West of York-  
shire, and any deficiencies likely to arise  
therein; and, whether it is necessary or ex-  
pedient to resort to the Westmoreland and  
Cumberland Lakes to make good any defi-  
ciencies in such supply; and, if so, to what  
extent, and under what conditions, such  
resort should be sanctioned" (*Mr. Edward  
Howard*) Feb 25, [243] 1773; after short de-  
bate, Motion withdrawn

**Land Drainage Provisional Order (Bisp-  
ham, &c.) Bill**(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 17 [Bill 104]Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 17Committee<sup>s</sup>; Report April 25Read 3<sup>o</sup> April 28l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) April 29 (No. 65)Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 8Committee<sup>s</sup>; Report May 9Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 12

Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. xli]

**Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Bill**(*Mr. Herbert, Mr. King-Harman, Mr. Dease*)c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 26]

2R. [Dropped]

**Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill**(*Mr. Downing, Mr. Butt, Mr. Shaw*)c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 9 [Bill 51]Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
May 14, [246] 329

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon  
this day six months" (*Sir Sydney Waterlow*):  
Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after  
long debate, Question put; A. 91, N. 263;  
M. 172 (D. L. 93)

Words added; main Question, as amended,  
put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six  
months

**Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870)****Amendment Bill**(*Mr. Daniel Taylor, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr.  
Benjamin Whitworth*)c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 41]Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
July 2, [247] 1228

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon  
this day three months" (*Mr. Gregory*):  
Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;"

after debate, Debate adjourned

Adjourned Debate on 2R. [Dropped]

**Land Tax Commissioners' Names Bill**(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the  
Exchequer*)c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 20 [Bill 109]Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 24Committee<sup>s</sup>; Report July 31Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 1l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) August 4 (No. 173)Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 7Committee<sup>s</sup>; Report August 8Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 11

Royal Assent August 15 [43 &amp; 43 Vict. c. 53]

**Land Titles and Transfer**

Select Committee of last Session, "to inquire  
and report whether any and what steps  
ought to be taken to simplify the Title to  
Land, and to facilitate the transfer thereof,  
and to prevent frauds on purchasers and  
mortgagees of Land," re-appointed Dec 11

Committee to consist of Nineteen Members:—

Mr. Osborne Morgan (Chairman), Mr. At-  
torney General, Sir George Bowyer, Mr.  
Gregory, Lord Francis Hervey, Sir Henry  
Jackson, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Sir John  
Kennaway, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Charles  
Lewis, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Lowe, Mr.  
Alfred Marten, Mr. Patrick Martin, The  
O'Connor Don, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Walpole, Mr.  
Walter, and Sir Sydney Waterlow

Ordered, That the Evidence taken before the  
Select Committee on Land Titles and Trans-  
fer, of Session 1878, be referred to the Select  
Committee on Land Titles and Transfer (*Mr.  
Osborne Morgan*) Feb 18

Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, Mr.  
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 leave out from "That," and add "it is de-  
 sirable that the power of distraint for the  
 rent of agricultural holdings in England,  
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 (*Mr. Blennerhassett*) v., [246] 20; Question  
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*(by Order)*

- c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" (Sir Charles Forster) Feb 25, [243] 1729*  
*Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (Sir Charles W. Dilke); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn*  
*Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>*  
*Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee" (Mr. James); Question put; A. 83, N. 137; M. 54 (D. L. 28); Bill committed*

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1216; Question, Observations, The Earl of  
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1855  
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed" (*The  
Viscount Lifford*) May 6, 1785; after short  
debate, on Question? resolved in the ne-  
gative

*Letterkenny Railway and West Donegal  
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- Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into  
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and journals, and as to the mode of proving  
the publication of such Libels, and the means  
of rendering the proprietors and publishers  
of newspapers and journals responsible civilly  
and criminally for the Libels contained  
therein; with power to make any proposals  
for the alteration of the Law with regard to  
the above matters, or any of them" (*Mr.  
Attorney General*) Mar 4

*Libel, Law of*

- Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into  
the Law in relation to Libels in newspapers  
and journals, and as to the mode of proving  
the publication of such Libels, and the  
means of rendering the proprietors and pub-  
lishers of newspapers and journals respon-  
sible civilly and criminally for the Libels  
contained therein" April 25

[*cont.*]

*Libel, Law of—cont.*

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Attorney General (Chairman), Mr. Bates, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Bristowe, Mr. Bulwer, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Errington, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Gregory, Lord Francis Hervey, Mr. Egerton Hubbard, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Rodwell, and Mr. Serjeant Simon  
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**Libel Law Amendment Bill**

(Mr. Hutchinson, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Paleston, Mr. Morley, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Sullivan,

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 43]  
Bill withdrawn \* Mar 4

**Licensing Act (1872) Amendment Bill**

(Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Leatham, Mr. Mark Stewart)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 10 [Bill 108]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate April 1, [245] 189  
Committee [Dropped]

**Licensing Acts Amendment (Scotland)**

Bill (Mr. Mark Stewart, Sir George Douglas, Dr. Cameron, Sir Graham Montgomery)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 7 [Bill 124]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" April 28, 1853; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Onslow); Question put; A. 12, N. 43; M. 31 (D. L. 76)  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Committee [Dropped]

**Licensing Acts—Exemption Licences—Southampton Borough Magistrates**

Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 27, [247] 839

**Licensing Boards (Scotland) Bill**

(Mr. Fortescue Harrison, Sir George Balfour, Dr. Cameron)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 15]  
Bill withdrawn \* Feb 13

**Licensing Boards (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill**

(Mr. Fortescue Harrison, Sir George Balfour, Dr. Cameron)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 19 [Bill 82]  
Bill withdrawn \* April 30

**Licensing Laws Amendment Bill**

(Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Rodwell)

c. Considered in Committee Dec 6, [242] 200; after short debate, Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Assheton Cross Mar 14, [244] 926

*Licensing Laws Amendment Bill—cont.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" April 17, [245] 587

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (Sir Harcourt Johnstone); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Ritchie); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed May 16, [246] 651  
Question put; A. 48, N. 30; M. 18 (D. L. 101)  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Committee [Dropped]

**LIFFORD, Viscount**

Letterkenny Railway, Re-committal, [245] 1216, 1356, 1785  
Railways (Ireland), [244] 374; Res. [245] 966, 974, 975  
Tenant Right (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. [246] 798  
West Donegal Railway, 2R. [244] 616; Res. [245] 1580; Comm. [246] 1335

*Lighting by Electricity*

Gas Companies—The Electric Light—Legislation, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, [243] 1315

Select Committee appointed, "to consider whether it is desirable to authorise Municipal Corporations or other local authorities to adopt any schemes for Lighting by Electricity; and to consider how far, and under what conditions, if at all, Gas or other Public Companies should be authorised to supply Light by Electricity" (Viscount Sandon) Mar 28

And, on April 3, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Lyon Playfair (Chairman), Mr. Adam, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Alfred Gathorne-Hardy, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Heygate, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Lord Lindsay, Mr. Arthur Moore, Earl Percy, Mr. Paleston, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Christopher Talbot, and Sir David Wedderburn

Report of Select Committee, Question, Mr. Chadwick; Answer, Mr. Raikes July 29, [248] 1527  
The Report—P.P. 324

**LIMERICK, Earl of**

Army—Brigade Depôt System, Res. [246] 1224

**LINDSAY, Lord, Wigan**

Army—Officers' Charges, [245] 880

**LINCOLN, Colonel R. J. Loyd (Financial Secretary for War), Berkshire**

India, South—Zulu War—Miscellaneous Questions  
Papers and Despatches, [244] 1600  
Railways, [246] 131  
Trafalgar's Drift, Rewards for Services at, [244] 1835;—Duffen of—Brevet-Major Chard, 1835

LINDSAY, Colonel R. J. Loyd—*cont.*

**Army—Miscellaneous Questions**  
 Artillery and Engineer Officers, [244] 1856  
 Auxillary Forces—Yeomanry and Volunteer Adjutants, [248] 1707  
 Committee on Service of Officers under Age, [245] 1710  
 Compulsory Retirement of Officers, [249] 441  
 Out-Pensioners, [244] 1057  
 Portable Intrenching Tools, [244] 1863  
 Scientific Corps, [244] 1505  
 Yeomanry, &c. Adjutants, [247] 421  
**Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm.** [245] 1537; *cl.* 167, [248] 94  
**Army Estimates—Army Reserve,** [248] 2000, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015  
 Commissariat, Transport, &c. Motion for reporting Progress, [248] 2018  
 Land Forces, [244] 1103  
 Medical Establishments, &c. [246] 1967  
 Volunteer Corps, [246] 2016  
**Contagious Diseases Acts—Select Committee,** [245] 1716  
**Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment, Comm. cl. 2,** [244] 756  
**Prince Imperial, The late,** [248] 1297  
**Volunteer Corps (Ireland), Comm. cl. 22,** [247] 1059  
**War Office Locks,** [244] 1152  
**Wormwood Scrubs Regulation, Nomination of Select Committee,** [246] 326

**Linen and Hempen Manufactures (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

*e.* Acts read; considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 9 [Bill 202]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17  
 Bill withdrawn \* August 7

**Liverpool Lighting Bill (by Order)**

*e.* Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Mar 11, [244] 626  
 Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee of Seven Members, Four to be appointed by the House and Three by the Committee of Selection" (*Mr. Raines*); Motion agreed to  
 Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to inquire whether it is desirable to authorise any schemes for lighting by Electricity or other improved methods; to consider how far and under what conditions, if at all, the use of such modes of lighting should be sanctioned by Parliament in the case of Municipal Corporations, other local authorities, or Public Companies, and to report their opinion to the House; and that such of the Petitioners against the Bill as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents be heard upon their Petitions (if presented on or before the 17th day of March), and Committee have power to—"  
 "Committee"

[*cont.*]

**Liverpool Lighting Bill—*cont.***

And, on Mar 13, Committee nominated as follows:—*Mr. Adam, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Lord Lindsay, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope*

Moved, "That the Order [11th March] that the Liverpool Lighting Bill be committed to a Select Committee of Seven Members, Four to be appointed by the House and Three by the Committee of Selection, be read, and discharged" (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) Mar 24, 1802; Motion agreed to

LLOYD, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*

**Agricultural Distress, Royal Commission,** [249] 821, 988  
**Ancient Monuments, Comm. cl. 4,** [243] 2059  
**Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 19,** [245] 2022, 2029; *cl.* 40, [246] 594; *cl.* 44, 859, 861; *cl.* 83, [247] 870; *cl.* 149, 1905; *Consid. cl.* 45, [248] 781  
**Assizes, 2R.** [243] 1703; 3R. 2049  
**Ballot Act,** [249] 506  
**Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R.** [248] 722  
**Breach of Promise of Marriage, Res.** [245] 1878  
**Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal, 2R.** [244] 1817  
**Criminal Code (Indictable Offences), Leave,** [245] 326; 2R. 1758  
**Education (Wales), Res.** [247] 1174  
**Habitual Drunkards, Comm. cl. 11,** [243] 1711  
**India—Afghanistan—Afghan Correspondence,** [243] 525  
**Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res.** [244] 753  
**Parliament—Business of the House, Res.** [243] 1694, 1698  
**Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices, 2R.** [244] 1376; *Consid.* [249] 885  
**Prosecution of Offences, Comm.** [244] 968, 991, 995; *cl.* 2, [245] 1086; *Amend.* 1089, 1090  
**Summary Jurisdiction, Comm. cl. 54,** [246] 219; *cl.* 55, 223; *Consid. Amend.* 1093; *Schedule 1, Amend.* 1107  
**Supply—Civil Service Commission,** [245] 718  
**Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade,** [245] 655  
**Land Registry,** [246] 718  
**National Debt Office, Amend.** [245] 777, 784  
**Stationery, &c.** [244] 352  
**Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers), Comm. cl. 14,** [249] 991; *add. cl.* 994

LLOYD, Mr. S. S., *Plymouth*

**Bank Deposits, Res.** [243] 1762  
**Banking and Joint Stock Companies, Leave,** [245] 805, 1103; *Consid. cl. 4, Amend.* [249] 955  
**Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R.** [248] 583  
**Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. cl. 15,** [246] 1520, 1527  
**Education Department—Teachers' Salaries,** [246] 401  
**India—East India Revenue Accounts—Financial Statement, Comm.** [246] 1088  
**Japan—The Tariff,** [247] 1285  
**Metallic Currency and Trade, Royal Commission,** [247] 1421  
**Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Res.** [247] 1919, 1945, 1947, 1954

[*cont.*]

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243—244—245—246—247—248—249.

LLOYD, Mr. S. S.—*cont.*

Navy—Navigating Officers, [248] 755  
Officers of the Royal Marines, [244] 524  
Parliament—Business of the House, [245] 1902  
Post Office (Contracts)—Australian Mails, [248] 753  
Post Office (West India Mail Contract), Res. [244] 1199  
Prosecution of Offences, Comm. [244] 969  
Sugar Industries, Res. [245] 876  
Supply—Paris International Exhibition, [244] 1343  
Valuation of Property, Comm. *cl. 6*, [244] 1488  
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [245] 303  
Wine Duties, Res. [244] 1181

*Lloyds' Patriotic Fund*

Question, Sir Henry Havelock; Answer, Lord George Hamilton *May 16*, [246] 570

Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland)  
Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Chancellor*)

*l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> *April 1* (No. 40)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *April 24*  
Committee\*; Report *April 25*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *April 28*  
*c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)  
*May 1* [Bill 146]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>nd</sup>"  
*July 23*, [248] 1123  
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Meldon*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Committee deferred, after short debate *August 7*, [249] 486  
Bill withdrawn, after short debate *August 12*, 906

Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland)  
[*Salaries, &c.*]

*c.* Considered in Committee *July 28*, [248] 1516; after short debate, Resolution agreed to  
Resolution reported *July 29*

Local Government Board—Annual Report

Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth *June 23*, [247] 426

Local Government (Highways) Provisional Orders (Buckinghamshire)

(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> *May 7*  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 14*  
Committee\*; Report *May 22*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *May 23*  
*l.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*The Lord President*)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *June 16*  
Committee\*; Report *June 19*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 20*  
Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxv]

Local Government (Highways) Provisional Orders (Dorset, &c.) Bill  
(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> *May 16* [Bill 180]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 27*  
Committee\*; Report *June 10*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 11*  
*l.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Lord President*) *June 13* (No. 111)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *June 17*  
Committee\*; Report *June 23*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 24*  
Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxv]

Local Government (Highways) Provisional Orders (Gloucester and Hereford) Bill  
(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> *May 16* [Bill 185]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 27*  
Committee\*; Report *June 10*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 11*  
*l.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Lord President*) *June 13* (No. 112)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *June 17*  
Committee\*; Report *June 23*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 24*  
Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxxiv]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (Cashel, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)

*l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup>, and referred to the Examiners *Mar 10* (No. 22)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *Mar 28*  
Committee\*; Report *April 21*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *April 22*  
*c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Mr. James Lowther*) *April 20*  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 23* [Bill 141]  
Committee\*; Report *June 9*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *June 10*  
*l.* Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. lvii]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Clonmel, &c.) Bill [H.L.]  
(*The Viscount Cranbrook*)

*l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> *April 4* (No. 49)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *April 29*  
Committee\*; Report *May 6*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *May 8*  
*c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Mr. James Lowther*) *May 9*  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 26* [Bill 166]  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *May 26*  
Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. liv]

**Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Waterford, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland)*

d; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 28 [Bill 133]  
2<sup>o</sup> May 8  
Committee; Report May 21  
3<sup>o</sup> May 23  
4<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 23 (No. 91)  
5<sup>o</sup> May 30  
Committee; Report June 13  
6<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lx]

**Government (Poor Law) Provisional Orders Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

l; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 5 [Bill 155]  
2<sup>o</sup> May 13  
Committee; Report May 22  
3<sup>o</sup> May 23  
4<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 26 (No. 96)  
5<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report June 23  
6<sup>o</sup> July 1  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cxi]

**Government Provisional Orders (Wexhampton Union, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

l; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 28 [Bill 137]  
2<sup>o</sup> May 8  
Committee; Report May 26  
3<sup>o</sup> May 27  
4<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 27 (No. 103)  
5<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report June 20  
6<sup>o</sup> June 23  
7<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cxiii]

**Government Provisional Orders (Wexhampton and Labourers' Dwellings) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

l; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 7 [Bill 159]  
2<sup>o</sup> May 16  
Committee; Report May 26  
3<sup>o</sup> May 27  
4<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 27 (No. 102)  
5<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report July 4  
6<sup>o</sup> July 7  
Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cxviii]

**Government Provisional Orders (Wexhampton and Labourers' Dwellings) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

l; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 21 [Bill 127]  
2<sup>o</sup> May 16  
Committee; Report May 26  
3<sup>o</sup> May 27  
4<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 27 (No. 102)  
5<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report July 4  
6<sup>o</sup> July 7  
Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cxviii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Aspull, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 2 [Bill 151]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 20  
Committee; Report June 9  
Considered June 10  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 11  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) June 13 (No. 113)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17  
Committee; Report June 30  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 1  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cv]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Axminster Union, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 5 [Bill 154]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 14  
Committee; Report May 22  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 23  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 26 (No. 94)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report June 20  
Report June 23  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cix]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Aysgarth Union, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 30 [Bill 142]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 8  
Committee; Report May 26  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 27  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) May 27 (No. 104)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Committee; Report June 19  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 20  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxviii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Cartworth) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 7 [Bill 158]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 19  
Order for Committee discharged; Bill referred to the Committee of Selection May 26  
Report of Select Comm. June 13  
Reported (Order not Confirmed)

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Castleton by Rochdale, &c.) Bill**

*(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 7 [Bill 160]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 19  
Committee; Report May 27  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 10  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) June 13 (No. 114)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17  
Committee; Report June 23  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxvi]



**Local Government Provisional Orders**  
(Ireland) Confirmation (Downpatrick)  
Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)

- l. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup>, and referred to the  
Examiners *Mar 10* (No. 21)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* *Mar 28*  
Committee \*; Report *April 21*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \* *April 22*  
c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* (*Mr. James Lowther*) *April 29*  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* *May 23* [Bill 140]  
Committee \*; Report *June 9*  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \* *June 10*  
l. Royal Assent *July 3* [42 & 43 Vict. c. lvi]

**Local Government — Urban and Rural**  
**Sanitary Districts—County Maps**  
Question, Mr. Stanfeld; Answer, Mr. Solater-  
Booth *Feb 20*, [243] 1509

**Local Taxation Statistics**

Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Sir Henry  
Selwin-Ibbetson *August 5*, [249] 182

**LOCKE, Mr. J., Southwark**

Thames River (Prevention of Floods), Nomi-  
nation of Committee, [244] 812

**LONDON, Bishop of**

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R.  
Amend. [245] 1726  
Thames River (Prevention of Floods), 2R.  
[247] 132, 411

**London and North Western Railway (Ad-  
ditional Powers) Bill (by Order)**

- c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>nd</sup>"  
(*Sir Charles Forster*) *Mar 14*, [244] 893  
Amend. to leave out "now," and add "upon  
this day six months" (*Mr. Alderman Cotton*);  
Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;"  
after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a  
Select Committee of Five Members, Three  
to be nominated by the House, and Two  
by the Committee of Selection" (*Viscount*  
*Sandon*); Motion agreed to  
Moved the following Instruction to the Com-  
mittee:—"That they have power to inquire  
and report as to the expediency of authorizing  
the said Company from time to time to  
purchase by agreement or take on lease or  
otherwise provide, and to establish and hold  
booking and receiving offices and other pre-  
mises for the collection, reception, and book-  
ing and delivery of goods, parcels, and  
matters and things intended to be carried  
upon or over their Railway, and to receive,  
book, and invoice any such goods, parcels,  
and other matters and things, and to make  
and carry into effect all such contracts or  
agreements with any such Company or  
Companies with power to collect, reception,  
booking any goods, parcels, and other  
things intended to be carried upon the  
Railways of the contracting, or any other  
*count Sandon*); For

**London and North Western Railway (Additional  
Powers) Bill—cont.**

papers, and records; Three to be the quo-  
rum;" Motion agreed to  
And, on *Mar 21*, Committee nominated as fol-  
lows:—Mr. Maurice Brooks, Sir John Ken-  
naway, and Mr. Massey

**London Bridge Bill**

- l. Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read  
*June 19*, [247] 131; after short debate, Order  
postponed  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>rd</sup>"  
*June 26*, 671  
Amend. to leave out ("now," and add ("this  
day three months") (*The Earl of Carnarvon*);  
after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn  
Order for 3R. discharged; and Bill referred to  
a Select Committee  
And, on *June 30*, the Lords following were  
named of the Committee:—Ld. President,  
Ld. Privy Seal, M. Ripon, E. Jersey, E.  
Carnarvon, E. Morley, E. Somers, V. Card-  
well, L. De L'Isle and Dudley, L. Carlingford,  
L. Winmarleigh The Report—P.P. 139

**London—Representation of the City—The  
Livery Companies—See title Metro-  
polis**

**LONGFORD, Earl of**

Africa, South—Zulu War—Re-inforcements,  
[243] 1180;—Defeat at Isandlana, [244] 887  
Army—Desertions—Report of the Inspector  
General of Recruiting, 1878, [244] 225  
Army—Brigade Depôt System, Res. [246] 1217  
Army—Condition of the Army and Short Ser-  
vice System, Address for Papers, [246] 1425  
Army Discipline and Regulation, 2R. [248]  
840  
Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Rail-  
way Companies, 3R. [248] 733, 957  
Parliament—Business of the House—Hour of  
Meeting for Public Business, Res. [247] 297  
Railways (Ireland), Res. [245] 971  
Tenant Right (Ireland), 2R. [246] 802  
Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. [249] 378

**LOPES, Sir M., Devonshire, S.**

Navy Estimates—Scientific Branch, [248] 1797  
Navy Promotion, Res. [244] 595

**Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) Bill**

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

- c. Ordered: read 1<sup>st</sup> \* *May 26* [Bill 196]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* *July 3*  
Committee: Report *July 22*, [248] 1025  
Ordered \* *July 24*  
3<sup>rd</sup> \* *July 25*  
1<sup>st</sup> \* (*Lord Steward*) *July 28* (No. 101)  
2<sup>nd</sup> \* *August 1*  
Committee \*; Report *August 4*  
3<sup>rd</sup> \* *August 5*  
Assent *August 11* [43 Vict. c. 44]

Salary

LOT LOW { SESSION 1879 } LOW LOW

243—244—245—246—247—248—249.

**LOTHIAN, Marquess of**

Medical Act, 1858, Amendment, Comm. cl. 15,  
[244] 1301

**Lotteries, Illegal**

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland June 18, [246] 1810

**Lough Erne and River (Continuance) Bill**  
(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. James Lowther*)

a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 29 [Bill 267]

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee

And, on August 5, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Repton (Chairman), Mr. Callan, Viscount Crichton:—August 6, Mr. Kavanagh and Mr. M'Lagan added by the Committee of Selection

Report of Select Committee August 7 [No. 347];

Bill re-committed

Committee\* (on re-comm.); Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 8

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* (Lord President) Aug 11 (No. 190)

Read 2<sup>o</sup>\*, and committed forthwith; Report August 12

Committee\*; Report August 13

Read 3<sup>o</sup>\* August 14

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a. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" (Mr. Gorst) Mar 7, [244] 375

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (Mr. Isaac); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put: A. 146, N. 168; M. 22 (D. L. 38)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

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upon house and other property (upon which, at present, no rates or taxes of any kind whatever are levied), and not, inter alia, out of a tax upon wheat and other grain for food, and upon potatoes and other vegetables, which, as a matter of fact, actually takes more per head from the very poor who live in cellars than it takes per head from those who live in the best houses in the streets and squares; and the House is therefore further of opinion that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the abolition of the taxes on food in Malta on and from the 1st day of January 1881" (*Mr. Plimsoll*) v., [248] 1898; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put: A. 120, N. 62; M. 58 (D. L. 201)

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- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 11 [Bill 98]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 13
- Committee\*; Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 14
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Elphinstone) Mar 17
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>; Committee negatived Mar 18
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 20
- Royal Assent Mar 21 [42 Vict. c. 5]

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Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill

(*Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Morley, Dr. Cameron*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 30]
- 2R. [Dropped]

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill [B.L.] (*The Lord Houghton*)

- l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 4 (No. 51)
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" May 6, [245] 1789
- Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day six months") (*The Lord Bishop of London*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.; Cont. 81, Not-Cont. 101; M. 20
- Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 1804
- Resolved in the negative; and Bill to be read 2<sup>o</sup> on this day six months

Marriages Confirmation (Her Majesty's Ships) Bill

(*Mr. Algernon Egerton, Mr. William Henry Smith, Sir Massey Lopes, Mr. Staveley Hill*)

- c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. A. F. Egerton*) May 1, 245] 1571; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 149]
- 2R. deferred, after short debate May 2, 1673
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate May 5, 1778
- Committee\*; Report May 7
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" May 8, 2050
- Amendt. to leave out from "be," and add "re-committed" (*Mr. Courtney*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); after short debate, Question put; A. 22, N. 47; M. 25 (D. L. 82)
- Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Hopwood*); Question put; A. 19, N. 49; M. 30 (D. L. 83)
- Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned
- Debate resumed; Bill read 3<sup>o</sup> June 20
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) June 23 (No. 124)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 14
- Committee\*; Report July 15
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 17
- Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 29]

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Married Women's Property (Scotland) Bill (*Mr. Anderson, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. M'Larn, Mr. Lyon Playfair*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 1]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Mar 5, [244] 267
- Committee [Dropped]

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*Mauritius—Emigration of Coolies*  
Question, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 27, [244] 1850

Medical Act (1858) Amendment:  
(Dr. Lush, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Sir Joseph M'Keane)

c. Ordered: read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6  
Moved: That the Bill be now  
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Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill—*cont.*

Debate resumed May 16, [246] 648  
Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to the Select Committee on Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill [Lords]  
Reported without Amendment \* July 29

Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 2) Bill

(Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Childers, Mr. Goldney)  
c. Ordered: read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 26 [Bill 86]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to the Select Committee on Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill [Lords] May 16  
Bill reported without Amendment \* July 29

Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (The Lord President)

i. Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup>, after short debate Feb 24, [243] 1722 (No. 16)  
Read 2<sup>a</sup>, after debate Mar 11, [244] 625  
Committee, after short debate Mar 20, 1291  
Report Mar 28, 1986 (No. 31)  
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c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> April 7 [Bill 121]  
The Medical Council, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 5, [245] 1724  
The Select Committee—Witnesses, Question, Mr. Lyon Playfair; Answer, Lord George Hamilton May 15, [246] 400  
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2<sup>o</sup> To-morrow, at Two of the clock" May 15, 506; Question put: A. 39, N. 16; M. 23 (D. L. 96)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee May 16  
And, on June 9, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. William Edward Forster (Chairman), Dr. Cameron, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Errington, Mr. Goldney, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Heygate, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Dr. Lush, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. David Plunket, Mr. Serjeant Simon, and Mr. Wheelhouse; June 18, Mr. John Maitland and Mr. O'Leary added  
Special Report of Select Comm. \* July 29 [No. 320]  
Bill reported without Amendment \* July 29

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Medical Acts—The Medical Council

Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 14, [243] 1195

Medical Appointments Qualification Bill

(Mr. Errington, Mr. Blennerhassett)

c. Ordered: read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 12 [Bill 62]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to the Select Committee on Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill [Lords] May 16  
Bill reported without Amendment \* July 29

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Question, Mr. Mc'Lagan; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson August 12, [249] 819

**METROPOLIS**

**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

*Educational Endowments,* Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Lord George Hamilton July 18, [248] 752; Questions, Mr. E. Jenkins, Mr. A. Mills; Answers, Mr. Speaker, Lord George Hamilton July 31, 1703

*Parochial Charities of the City of London,* Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 17, [244] 1038;—*The Report of the Royal Commissioners,* Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 25, [244] 1702; Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross, Mr. Arthur Peel July 31, [248] 1706

[See title *Education—London School Board*]  
*Gas and Water Supply,* Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 20, [244] 1314

*Water Supply,* Question, Mr. Morley; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth August 7, [249] 413

[See title *Metropolitan Water Supply*]  
*Gravel in the Parks,* Question, Observations, The Duke of Rutland; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon May 12, [246] 120

*Metropolitan Fire Brigade—Legislation,* Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 20, [243] 1511

*Metropolitan Improvements Act—Artisans' Dwellings—Gray's Inn Road,* Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 18, [243] 1405

*Metropolitan Police Force, The—Report of the Departmental Committee,* Question, Sir Sydney Waterlow; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 21, [248] 854

Commissioner's Report, 1878 . [2418]  
*National Gallery—Injury to the Pictures,* Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Mar 10, [244] 525;—"Dogs of Venice" by Vandyke. Question, Mr. Blennerhassett; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel April 1, [245] 132  
*Open Spaces,* Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross May 16, [246]

[cont.]

**METROPOLIS—cont.**

*Representation of the City—The Livery Companies,* Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 4, [245] 366

*The Fanmakers Company,* Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 28, [243] 1973

[See title *Metropolis—The Franchise and the City Guilds*]

*Street Lighting—The New Gas Lamps,* Question, Sir Joseph McKenna; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel April 7, [245] 446

*Thames Traffic Regulation—The Official Committee,* Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers Viscount Sandon Dec 13, [243] 743; Feb 20, 1520

*The Main Drainage,* Question, Sir Andrew Lusk; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 3, [247] 1278

*The Metropolitan Toll Bridges,* Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Sir James McGarel Hogg May 12, [246] 135

*Victoria Embankment—The New Mint,* Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 3, [244] 12

**The Parks**

*Hampton Court Park—The Master of the Horse,* Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel June 23, [247] 436

*Parks Regulation Act—Kensington Gardens,* Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel August 5, [249] 180

*Richmond Park,* Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel August 7, [249] 398

**Metropolis—Street Accidents**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Tabular statement by months of the accidents which have occurred in the streets of the Metropolis and its suburbs referable to the passage of vehicles, bicycles, or horsemen from 1st January 1878 to 31st January 1879, showing the circumstances under which each accident has occurred, its issues, and results" (*Viscount Templeton*) Mar 7, [244] 367; after short debate, Motion agreed to Return, P.P. 54

**Metropolis—Dangers of the Streets**

Moved, "That in view of the enormous increase in the number of persons injured by the passage of vehicles in the streets during the year 1878 as compared notably with that of 1877 and the years preceeding it, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department be instructed to move the vestries of the several parishes of the Metropolis to erect central refuges in all such places as in the opinion of the superintendent of the police such shall be required for the protection of those passing on foot" (*Viscount Templeton*) July 22, [248] 960; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Metropolis—Kew Gardens**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 6, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the Royal Gardens at Kew should be opened to the public at 10 a.m. on week-days, with

[cont.]

**Metropolis—Kew Gardens—cont.**

such reservations as may be found expedient" (*Sir Trevor Lawrence*) v., [244] 284; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 196, N. 94; M. 102 (D. L. 36)

**Metropolis—Local Taxation**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply June 13, To leave out from "That," and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the powers of the Vestries of the Metropolis, and their administration of the funds at their disposal" (*Mr. Baillie Cochrane*) v., [246] 1813; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to

**Metropolis—The Franchise and the City Guilds**

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 13, To leave out from "That," and add "the sale of the Parliamentary Franchise by the City Guilds with the consent of the Court of Aldermen is an abuse and should be abolished" (*Mr. James*) v., [244] 823; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 153, N. 114; M. 39 (D. L. 43)

**Metropolis—Water Supply**

Moved, "That, in view of the fact that the Metropolitan Board of Works has been unable to pass any measure dealing with the water supply of London, this House is of opinion that it is a subject which ought, without further delay, to be dealt with by the Government" (*Mr. Fawcett*) August 12, [249] 909; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed August 13, 917; after debate, Motion withdrawn

**Metropolis (Little Coram Street, Bloomsbury, Wells Street, Poplar, and Great Peter Street, Westminster,) Improvement Provisional Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (*The Viscount Cranbrook*)**

l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 4 (No. 50)  
Read 2<sup>a</sup> April 28

Committee\*; Report May 6

Read 3<sup>a</sup> May 8

c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> May 12 [Bill 175]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 19

Committee; Report May 27, [246] 1400

Considered\* June 10

Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 11

l. Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxix]

**Metropolis (Whitechapel and Limehouse) Improvement Scheme Amendment Bill**

(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 15 [Bill 184]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 26

Committee\*; Report June 9

Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 10

**Metropolis (Whitechapel and Limehouse) Improvement Scheme Amendment Bill—cont.**

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Steward) June 13 (No. 115)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 17

Committee\*; Report June 23

Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 24

Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. lxxx]

**Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railways Companies Bill**

l. 3R. Postponed, after short debate July 18, [248] 732

Read 3<sup>a</sup> July 22, 957; after short debate, Bill passed

**Metropolitan Board of Works**

*State of Repair of Public Roads*, Questions, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg May 19, [246] 696

*The New Street from Charing Cross to Tottenham Court Road*, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg July 7, [247] 1718

Report, with Accounts, 1878 . P.P. 230

Returns of Loans, &c. . . . . 233

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill** (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

c. Motion for Leave (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

July 24, [248] 1276; after short debate, 1<sup>o</sup> deferred

Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 29 [Bill 268]

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate August 4, [249] 176

Committee; Report August 7, 479

Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 8

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) August 11 (No. 188)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 12

Committee\*; Report August 13

Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14

Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 69]

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses) Bill**

(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Rodwell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 10 [Bill 204]

247] Question, Observations, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Monk; Replies, Mr. Raikes,

Sir James M'Garel-Hogg June 24, 538;

Notice of Resolution on Second Reading,

Mr. Monk June 26, 685

248] Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"

July 10, 122

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add

"in the opinion of this House, no justification is shown in this Bill for the large expenses incurred by the Metropolitan Board of Works in the preparation and in the abortive promotion of the two Bills for which they ask an indemnity from Parliament" (*Mr. Monk*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 37, N. 12; M. 25 (D. L. 158)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

249] Committee—*n.r.* August 7, 489

Committee; Report August 8, 589

Considered August 9, 650; after short debate,

Bill read 3<sup>o</sup>

[cont.]

[cont.]

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Water Expenses)**  
*Bill—cont.*

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Lord President) Aug 11 (No. 184)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> August 12  
Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report August 13  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> August 14  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 68]

**Metropolitan Public Carriage Act Amendment Bill [H.L.] (The Lord Steward)**

1. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> May 29 (No. 105)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> June 19  
Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report June 24  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> June 26  
c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> August 1 [Bill 276]  
Bill withdrawn<sup>\*</sup> August 8

**Metropolitan Water Supply and Fire Brigade—Report of the Select Committee**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Correspondence between the Society of Arts and the Secretary of State for the Home Department respecting the Water Supply of the Metropolis" (*Earl Granville*) May 23, [246] 1113; after short debate, Motion agreed to  
The Return, P.P. 116

**Midland Railway Bill (by Order)**

- c. Bill read 2<sup>nd</sup> and committed to the Select Committee on the London and North Western Railway (Additional Powers) Bill, with Instruction to the same effect Mar 14, [244] 904

**MIDLETON, Viscount**

- Criminal Lunatics, [249] 20
- Fairs and Markets (Ireland), [243] 1826
- India—Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations), Res. [243] 475
- Parliament—Business of the House—Hour of Meeting for Public Business, Res. [247] 294
- Railways (Ireland), Res. [245] 971

**MILBANK, Mr. F. A., Yorkshire, N.R.**

- Africa, South—Papers and Despatches, [244] 1861
- Zulu War—Captain Carey, [249] 66
- Army Discipline and Regulation—Flogging, [247] 1724
- Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 44, [247] 74; cl. 147, 1763, 1767; Consid. cl. 46, [248] 792

**MILLS, Sir C., Kent, W.**

- India (Finance, &c.)—Four-and-a-half per cent Loan Allotment, [246] 694
- Five per cent Loan, [247] 1719

**MILLS, Mr. A., Exeter**

- Africa, South—Administration of Native Affairs, [248] 1893
- Zulu War—Marines, [244] 527
- Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere, Res. [245] 65

[cont.]

**MILLS, Mr. A.—cont.**

- America, South—Chili and Peru—Hostilities, [246] 695
- Criminal Law—Case of Edmund Galley, Motion for an Address, [248] 1341
- Education Department—Education Code, [243] 1519;—School Inspectors, 1615
- Educational Endowments (Metropolis, [248] 1703
- India—Afghanistan—Amendments on Address, [243] 193
- Russia and the Ameer—General Kauffmann, [243] 196
- Indian Finance—The Government of India Act, 1858, Motion for a Select Committee, [243] 1985
- Infant Life Protection Act, 1872—Infant Mortality, Exeter, [247] 948
- Kew Gardens, Res. [244] 295
- Medical Act, 1858—Legislation, [243] 854
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
- Easter Recess, [244] 1507
- Orders of the Day, [243] 1331
- Public Business, Arrangement of, [246] 405
- State of Public Business—The Budget, [244] 1437
- Railway Commission—Continuance, [243] 639; [247] 1420
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. [247] 2005
- Supply—Public Education, England and Wales, [244] 1337
- University Education (Ireland), [246] 1035
- Victoria—The Constitutional Question, [245] 987, 1959; [246] 1914; [247] 182
- Victoria and New South Wales—The Tariffs, [245] 866

**Mines**

**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

**Mines Regulation Act, 1872**

- Abercarne Colliery Explosion*, Question, Mr. Maedonald; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross Mar 10, [244] 520
- Correspondence . . . P.P. 82
- Report and Evidence . . . 102
- Accident at Wakefield, The*, Question, Mr. Maedonald; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross Mar 11, [244] 629
- Blantyre Colliery Explosion*, Question, Mr. Maedonald; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross August 7, [249] 391
- Dinas Mine*, Question, Mr. Maedonald, Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross Feb 18, [243] 1403
- Report on the Explosion . . . P.P. [2370]
- Correspondence . . . 81
- Inspection of Coal Mines*, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross June 13, [246] 1808
- Inspectors of Mines Reports*, 1878, Question, Mr. Maedonald; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross Mar 7, [244] 402; Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Sir Matthew White Ridley Mar 13, 820; Question, Mr. Maedonald; Answer, Mr. Asaheton Cross May 23, [246] 1137
- P.P. [2321]

[cont.]

**Mines—cont.**

**Mine Accidents**—*The Royal Commission—Exclusion of the Press and Constitution of the Commission*, Questions, Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross May 23, [246] 1137;—*Legislation*, Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross June 30, [247] 948  
**Mining Explosions—Supervision of Managers**, Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 27, [244] 1859

**Minister of Commerce and Agriculture**

Moved, "That it is desirable that those functions of the Executive Government which especially relate to Commerce and Agriculture should be administered by a distinct Department, under the direction of a Principal Secretary of State, who shall be a Member of the Cabinet" (*Mr. Sampson Lloyd*) July 8, [247] 1919  
After debate, Amendt. to leave out "under the direction of a Principal Secretary of State, who shall be a Member of the Cabinet" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, Question put; A. 71, N. 65; M. 6 (D. L. 154)  
**Main Question** put; A. 76, N. 56; M. 20 (D. L. 155)  
Resolved, "That it is desirable that those functions of the Executive Government which especially relate to Commerce and Agriculture should be administered by a distinct Department, under the direction of a Principal Secretary of State, who shall be a Member of the Cabinet"  
Question, Mr. W. Holms; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 31, [248] 1703

**MONCK, Viscount**

**Cattle Disease (Ireland)**—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, [247] 1707  
**Volunteer Corps (Ireland)**, 2R. [249] 367

**Money Laws (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Delahunty, Mr. Richard Power*)

a. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 12]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" June 18, [247] 110  
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Sir Joseph McKenna*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 30, N. 146; M. 116 (D. L. 123)  
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for three months

**MONK, Mr. C. J., Gloucester City**

**Ancient Monuments**, Comm. [243] 1275  
**Anti-Rent Agitation (Ireland)**—Tenant Right Meeting at Milltown, [247] 716  
**Army Discipline and Regulation**, Comm. cl. 44, [247] 70; cl. 181, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886; Postponed, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 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**Mungret Agricultural School, &c. Bill**

(*Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Synan, Mr. Gabbett*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 19 [Bill 218]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 28  
 Committee; Report August 1  
 Considered August 2  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 4  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord Emly*) August 5 (No. 174)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 7  
 Committee; Report August 8  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 11  
 Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. cxxx]

**Municipal Corporations Bill [H.L.]**

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

- l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> August 12, [249] 812  
 (No. 193)  
 Waiting for 2R. August 13

**Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition) Bill**

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Burt, Mr. Sullivan*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 9]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
 April 2, [245] 193  
 After debate, Amendt. to leave out "now,"  
 and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Wheelhouse*); Question proposed, "That  
 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Question  
 put; A. 167, N. 173; M. 6 (D. L. 57)  
 Words added; main Question, as amended,  
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 months

**Municipal Corporations, Unreformed—  
 Report of the Royal Commission**

Question, *Mr. Hanbury-Tracy*; Answer, *Mr. Stephen Cave* Feb 24, [243] 1655; Question,  
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**Municipal Elections (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for  
 Ireland*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 23 [Bill 256]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 28  
 Committee; Report July 29, [248] 1627  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 30  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) July 31 (No. 169)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 7  
 Committee; Report August 9  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 11  
 Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 53]

**Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill**

(*Major O'Gorman, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr.  
 Richard Power, Mr. Blennerhassett*)

- a. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 74]  
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 . cl. 8, 1557, 1558, 1561; cl. 10, 1969, 1971,  
 . 1978, 1984; cl. 11, 1992; cl. 16, 2001,  
 . 2004; cl. 17, 2009; cl. 19, 2019, 2022, 2025;  
 . cl. 21, 2038  
 246] cl. 30, Amendt. 407, 423; cl. 32, 436, 446,  
 . 477; cl. 33, 572; cl. 40, 592; cl. 42, 612,  
 . 855; cl. 44, 864  
 247] 73; cl. 45, 323, 324, 326; cl. 74, 586;  
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Bill (*Mr. Secretary Stanley, The Judge  
Advocate, Colonel Loyd Lindsay*)

c. Resolution [4th March] read; Bill ordered;  
read 1<sup>o</sup> *Mar* 11 [Bill 99]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *Mar* 12  
Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> *Mar* 13  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Ashford*) *Mar* 14  
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*National Expenditure, The*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 24,  
To leave out from "That," and add "this  
House views with regret the great increase  
in the National Expenditure" (*Mr. Rylands*),  
v., [245] 987; Question proposed, "That the  
words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved,  
"That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr.  
Goschen*); Motion agreed to; Debate ad-  
journd

Debate resumed *April* 28, 1949; after long  
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National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for  
Ireland*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *July* 15 [Bill 246]  
248] Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
*July* 22, 1090; Moved, "That the Debate be  
now adjourned" (*Mr. Courtney*); after short  
debate, Question put; A. 4, N. 43; M. 39  
(D. L. 191)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
249] Moved, "That the Committee be deferred  
till Monday next" *August* 8, 580; after  
short debate, Motion agreed to

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That  
Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"  
*August* 12, 885

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"this House will, upon this day three months,  
resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr.  
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words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. with-  
drawn

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and agreed to; Committee; Report, 899

Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now  
considered;" Motion agreed to; Bill, as  
amended, considered; read 3<sup>o</sup>

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Viscount Cranbrook*) *August* 13

Read 2<sup>o</sup>; Committee negatived; read 3<sup>o</sup>  
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c. Considered in Committee *July* 28, [248] 1517;  
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*Recent Promotions*, Observations, Mr. Anderson; Reply, Mr. W. H. Smith August 13, [249] 961

*Sergeants' Pensions*, Questions, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith June 12, [246] 1706; July 29, [248] 1524

*The Royal Marine Corps—The Order in Council, 1878*, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith August 11, [249] 661

*Sentence on a Seaman at Sheerness*, Questions, Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith July 22, [248] 968; July 31, 1704

*Ship Carpenters*, Observations, Mr. Samuda; short debate thereon Mar 10, [244] 530

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- The Whampoa Dock Company*, Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith July 21, [248] 847
- Training Ships—Case of Michael Reardon*, Questions, Mr. Finigan, Mr. Blake; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith August 8, [249] 502; Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith August 11, 671

## Navy and Army Expenditure, 1877-8

Resolved, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon the Grants for Navy and Army Services in the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year

Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 25th day of February last, and upon the 6th day of March last, be referred to the Committee (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) August 4

Considered in Committee August 6, [249] 364

- (1.) Resolved, That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account, for the year ended 31st March 1878, that the balances unexpended in respect of certain Votes for Navy Services for the said year amounted to the sum of £114,783 4s. 11d. [The respective Votes are then set out]
- (2.) Resolved, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the said sum of £114,783 4s. 11d. to provide in part for the following amounts of expenditure incurred in excess of certain other Votes for Navy Services for the said year [The respective Votes are then set out]
- (3.) Resolved, That the said application be sanctioned
- (4.) Resolved, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account, for the year ended the 31st March 1878, that the balances unexpended in respect of certain Votes for

## Navy and Army Expenditure, 1878-9—cont.

Army Services for the said year were as follows, amounting to the sum of £184,943 1s. 0d. [The respective Votes are then set out]

- (5.) Resolved, That it further appears from the said Account that the sum of £73,831 7s. 4d. was realised in the said year in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid
  - (6.) Resolved, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the said sums, amounting together to the total sum of £258,774 8s. 4d., to provide in part for the following amounts of expenditure incurred in excess of certain other Votes for Army Services for the said year [The respective Votes are then set out]
  - (7.) Resolved, That the said application be sanctioned
- Resolutions reported August 7

## Navy—Naval and Military Forces—Corporal Punishment

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the number of persons in Her Majesty's Naval and Military forces who have been punished by flogging during the five years ending the 31st of December, 1878; the Return to state the number of lashes in each case and the crime for which the punishment was inflicted" (*The Duke of Buccleuch*) July 29, [248] 1523; Motion amended, by substituting "ten" years for "five;" Motion, as amended, agreed to

## Navy Promotion

Amend. on Committee of Supply Mar 10, To leave out from "That," and add "the present and progressively increasing stagnation of promotion in the Royal Navy is injurious to the public service, and that the present system of retirement has failed to secure a sufficient amount of promotion, and ought to be extended" (*Mr. Vans Agnew*) v., [244] 533; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

## Neglected Lunatics (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord O'Hagan*)

1. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> August 12 (No. 194)

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*

Africa, South—Civil and Military Commands, Explanation, [246] 1253

Zulu War—Alleged Cruelty of the British Soldiers, [246] 1714

Agricultural Distress, Motion for an Address, [247] 1538;—The Commissioners, [248] 630, 1178

Agricultural Holdings Act, 1875, Motion for a Select Committee, [244] 1732, 1735

Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 44, [247] 40, 71, 208, 235; cl. 147, 1747, 1806, 1820; Consid. cl. 45, [248] 783

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education), Comm. cl. 3, [245] 591

Civil Service Estimates, Motion for a Select Committee, [243] 1436

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     Order—Withdrawal of Motion, "That this House do now adjourn," [247] 840, 841  
     Orders of the Day, [243] 1324; [245] 705  
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**New Forest Act (1877) Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Selwin-Booth, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 18 [Bill 210]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> June 30  
 Order for Committee discharged; Bill committed to a Select Committee July 1  
 And, on July 3, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Selwin-Booth, Lord Henry Scott;—Mr. Dillwyn and Mr. Abel Smith added by the Committee of Selection  
 Report of Select Comm. July 10  
 Committee\* (on re-comm.); Report July 11  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 14  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) July 15 (No. 149)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 24  
 Report\* July 29  
 Committee\*; Report July 31  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 1  
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*Italian Colonists*, Question, Sir William Fraser; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 24, [244] 1505  
*Protectorate*, Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach April 8, [245] 262

**New Northern (Victoria) University—Issue of a Charter**

246] Question, Mr. Courtney; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 19, 698;  
 247] Question, Lord Winmarleigh; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon June 30, 930; Question, Mr. Birley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 947; Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross July 3, 1287;—*Power to Confer Degrees on Females*, Question, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 11, 670

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Question, Mr. P. J. Smyth; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach August 7, [249] 396

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(Mr. Selater-Booth, Viscount Sandon, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Salt)

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**Outlawries Bill**

*c.* Read 1<sup>o</sup> • Dec 5

**Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Order (Blackwater, Essex) Bill**

(*Mr. J. G. Talbot, Viscount Sandon*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> • Feb 17 [Bill 76]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> • Mar 3  
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**Parliament**

**LORDS**

**MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT Dec 5**

The Session of Parliament was opened by Commission

**Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech**  
[243] delivered by The LORD CHANCELLOR Dec 5, 3

**ROLL OF THE LORDS**—Garter King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Sixth Session of the Twenty-first Parliament of the United Kingdom Dec 5

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table (*P.P.* No. 1) Dec 9

The Queen's Speech having been reported by The LORD CHANCELLOR; An ADDRESS to HER MAJESTY thereon moved by The Earl of RAVENSWORTH (the Motion being seconded by Lord INCHQUIN) Dec 5, 5

Amendt. moved, to insert after the first paragraph ("We beg humbly to express to your Majesty our sorrow that the great calamity should have occurred of a war with the Amir of Afghanistan, and we feel it to be our duty very respectfully to express to your Majesty our regret that as soon as your Majesty's servants were satisfied that war had become so probable as to impose upon them the necessity of ordering costly preparations for it to be commenced, they did not advise your Majesty to summon Parliament to meet with the least possible delay, in order that due provision might be made for the expense to be incurred, and that an opportunity might be offered to Parliament, before the war was begun, of considering the grounds

[*cont.*]

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*cont.*

on which it was to be undertaken, and of forming a judgment as to its justice and necessity" (*The Earl Grey*), 47; after long debate, Question put. Whether the said words shall be there inserted? resolved in the negative

Then the original Motion was agreed to

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS reported Dec 9, 218

*Chairman of Committees*—The Earl of Redesdale appointed, *Nemine Dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session Dec 5

*Committee for Privileges*—appointed Dec 5

*Sub-Committee for the Journals*—appointed Dec 5

*Appeal Committee*—appointed Dec 5

*Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod*—Select Committee on, appointed Feb 27: The Lords following were named of the Committee:—*Ld. Chancellor, Ld. President, Ld. Privy Seal, D. Saint Albans, Ld. Chamberlain, M. Lansdowne, M. Salisbury, M. Bath, Ld. Steward, E. Devon, E. Doncaster, E. Tankerville, E. Carnarvon, E. Bradford, E. Granville, E. Kimberley, E. Sydney, E. Redesdale, V. Hawarden, V. Hardinge, V. Eversley, L. Colville of Culross, L. Ponsonby, L. Colchester, L. Skelmersdale, and L. Aveland*

*Private Bills*

Orders in relation thereto Feb 21

*Private Bills*—Standing Orders Committee on, appointed Feb 27: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—*D. Somerset, Ld. Chamberlain, M. Winchester, M. Lansdowne, M. Bath, E. Devon, E. Airlie, E. Carnarvon, E. Cadogan, E. Belmore, E. Chichester, E. Powis, E. Verulam, E. Morley, E. Stradbroke, E. Amherst, E. Sydney, V. Hawarden, V. Hutchinson, V. Hardinge, V. Eversley, V. Halifax, L. Camoys, L. Saye and Sele, L. Balfour of Burley, L. Colville of Culross, L. Boyle, L. Monson, L. Ponsonby, L. Digby, L. Colchester, L. Silchester, L. De Tabley, L. Skelmersdale, L. Belper, L. Ebury, L. Egerton, L. Hartismere, L. Penrhyn, and L. Wolverton*

*Opposed Private Bills*—The Lords following, viz.:—*M. Lansdowne, L. Colville of Culross, L. Boyle, and L. Skelmersdale*, were appointed, with the Chairman of Committees, a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill Feb 27

*Private Bills*

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Tuesday the 10th of June next: [and other Orders] Mar 4, [244] 117

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*Private Bill Legislation*, Orders in relation to Petitions April 4, [245] 348

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*Private Bills*, Time for the Second Reading of Private Bills brought from the House of Commons extended to the 17th day of June next May 27

*Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills*, Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the Whitsun recess May 27

*The Easter Recess*, Observation, The Earl of Beaconsfield Mar 31, [245] 1  
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*The Whitsuntide Recess*, Question, Earl Granville; Answer, The Earl of Beaconsfield May 15, [246] 381

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*Business of Parliament*, Ministerial Statement, The Earl of Beaconsfield; debate thereon Feb 13, [243] 1041: Personal Explanation, Earl Cadogan; Observations, Earl Granville Feb 14, 1183

*Arrangement of Public Business*, Question, Earl Granville; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Feb 18, [243] 1393

*Public Business—Notice of Question—Orders of the Day and Notices*, Observations, The Earl of Redesdale June 23, [247] 412

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*Parliamentary Papers*, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield July 3, [247] 1262

PARLIAMENT—Hour of Meeting for Public Business

Moved to resolve, That, in the opinion of this House, the sittings for Public Business should commence at 4 p.m. instead of 5 p.m. (*The Earl of Dunraven*) June 20, [247] 291; after debate, on Question? Cont. 64, Not-Cont. 101; M. 37; resolved in the negative

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COMMONS

The QUEEN'S SPEECH having been reported by Mr. SPEAKER; An humble Address thereon moved by Viscount CASTLEREAGH (the Motion being seconded by Mr. HALL) Dec 5, 85; after long debate, Amendt. proposed, in paragraph 3, line 1, to leave out "To express our regret," and insert "Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us" (*Mr. Edward Stanhope*) v.; Question, "That the words, &c.," put, and negatived

Words inserted; main Question, as amended, proposed; after further debate, main Question put, and agreed to

Committee appointed to draw up the said Address:—Viscount Castlereagh (Chairman), The Attorney General, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Hall, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Viscount Sandon, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Secretary Stanley, and Mr. Winn Report of Address brought up, and read Dec 6, 205

Moved, "That the said Address be now read a second time;" Moved, "That the Debate be adjourned till Monday next" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Motion agreed to

Debate resumed Dec 9, 310

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House disapproves the conduct of Her Majesty's Government which has resulted in the War with Afghanistan" (*Mr. Whitbread*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.," after long debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Dec 10, 530; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed Dec 12, 639; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Explanations (*Cyprus—Afghanistan*), Mr. Bourke, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 13, 744

Debate resumed Dec 13, 745; after long debate, Question put; A. 328, N. 227; M. 101 Div. List, A. and N., 847

Main Question put, and agreed to Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported Dec 17, 1018

*Afghanistan (Expenses of Military Operations)*, Notice of Resolution, Mr. E. Stanhope Dec 5, 84

*Afghanistan—Amendments on the Address (on Report)*, Notice of Amendments, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Chamberlain; Observations, Question, Mr. Whitbread; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 6, 176

*Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons)*

Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House Dec 16: And the said Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Adam (Chairman), Mr. Dick, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Goldney, Sir Arthur Ilbert, Lord Kensington, Mr. Monk, Mr. Muntz, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Stacpoole, Lord Henry Thynne, and Sir Henry Wolff

[cont.]

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—cont.

*Privileges*—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed Dec 5

*Printing*—Select Committee appointed and nominated Dec 9, as follows:—Mr. Dodson, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. Massey, The O'Connor Don, Mr. Selater-Booth, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Rowland Winn

*Public Petitions*, Select Committee appointed and nominated Feb 18, as follows:—Sir Charles Forster (Chairman), Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. H. Corry, Earl de Grey, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Viscount Macduff, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mulholland, Viscount Newport, Mr. O'Connor, The O'Donoghue, Lord Arthur Russell, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Simonds, and Mr. Reginald Yorke

*Selection*, Committee nominated Feb 14, as follows:—Mr. Mowbray (Chairman), Mr. Floyer, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Sir Graham Montgomery, The O'Connor Don, and Mr. Whitbread

*Standing Orders*, Select Committee nominated Feb 14, as follows:—Mr. Mowbray (Chairman), Mr. Bruen, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Floyer, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Sir Graham Montgomery, The O'Connor Don, Mr. Rodwell, and Mr. Whitbread; April 11, Mr. Howard died; April 29, Lord Arthur Russell added

*Rules and Orders*

*Customs and Practice of the House*—"Making a House," Observations, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Reply, Mr. Speaker May 1, [245] 1499

*Questions—Standing Orders*, Question, Colonel Beresford; short debate thereon Dec 17, [243] 954

*Questions—Alteration of Questions*, Observations, Major O'Gorman; Reply, Mr. Speaker Feb 20, [243] 1515; Observations, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Speaker April 30, [245] 1430; Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 1, 1502

*Questions to a Private Member—The Hon. Member for Meath*, Notice of Question, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Questions, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison, Mr. Speaker Mar 21, [244] 1437

*Rule as to Decided Questions*, Observations, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Reply, Mr. Speaker May 1, [245] 1501

*Rule 153—Questions—The "Home Rule Party,"* Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid May 22, [245] 1040

*The Cross Benches and the Gallery*, Observations, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Reply, Mr. Speaker May 27, [246] 1362

*Withdrawal of Motion*, "That this House do now Adjourn," Question, Observations, Mr. Newdegate; Reply, Mr. Speaker June 27, [247] 840

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PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

*Parliamentary Representation*

*The Vacant Seats—Dissolution of Parliament.* Question, Mr. Hibbert; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 18*, [244] 1150; Question, Mr. Pemberton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April 7*, [245] 444; Questions, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Hibbert; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 8*, 1964

*Representation of Scotland.* Question, Mr. McLaren; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 31*, [248] 1702

*Separate Occupiers.* Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *August 4*, [249] 53

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*Question of Procedure.* Observations, Mr. Rylands *Feb 27*, [243] 1878

*Privileges*

*Private Bills—Canvassing of Members.* Observations, Mr. Raikes; Reply, Mr. Speaker *Mar 14*, [244] 932

*Colonial Agents-General.* Question, Sir Joseph McKenna; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 8*, [245] 1962

*Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery.* Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 7*, [247] 1727; Personal Explanation, Mr. O'Donnell *July 14*, [248] 313

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243] *Committee on Public Business.* Questions, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec 6*, 204; Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec 9*, 303; Question, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Feb 19*, 1499; Question, Observations, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 21*, 1606; *Counts Out.* Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 3*, 14; *County Courts Bill.* Question, Mr. Clare Rind; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth *Mar 4*, 135; *Army Discipline and Regulation Bill.* Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 4*, 136; *Intoxicating Liquors (Licences)—The Adjourned Debate.* Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Serjeant Simon *Mar 17*, 1039; Questions, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. E. Jenkins, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answers, Mr. Selater-Booth, The Attorney General, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. J. R.

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245] *Yorke Mar 31*, 18; *East India Loan Bill.* Question, Mr. Goschen; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope *April 3*, 270; *Arrangement of Business after Easter.* Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *April 4*, 368; Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 2*, 1595; Observations, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May 7*, 1898; Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 8*, 1967; Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, General Sir George Ballour, Mr. Rylands; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Assheton Cross *May 9*, 19; Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The O'Connor Don *May 19*, 699; *Debate on the Indian Budget.* Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 20*, 839; Questions, Mr. Monk, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Dillwyn; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 23*, 1141; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 26*, 1240; *Dogs Regulation (Ireland) Act (1868) Amendment Bill.* Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *May 27*, 1364; Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *June 9*, 1433; Question, Sir David Wedderburn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June 10*, 1551; *Morning Sitting.* Questions, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Childers, Mr. Rylands; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June 12*, 1722; Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June 13*, 1813; Questions, Sir Joseph McKenna, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Goschen, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. H. Smith *July 10*, 27; *Orders of the Day—Tuesdays and Wednesdays.* Observations, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 11*, 163; Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 17*, 634; Statement, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Observations, Mr. Callan *July 18*, 759; Questions, Mr. Hankey, Mr. Fawcett; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 21*, 859; Questions, Mr. Heygate, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Anderson, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Beresford Hope, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *July 24*, 1180; Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 25*, 1298; Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Childers; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July 28*, 1415; Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. W. E. Forster, The O'Donoghue, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Price; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. H. Smith *July 29*, 1535; Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. M. Brooks, Sir Joseph

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stion, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel  
April 21, [245] 701

*Parliament—Business of Parliament—  
Ministerial Statement*

Order for Committee (of Supply) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Feb 13, [243] 1076

After long debate, Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "the omission of all reference to legislation on the questions of Reform in the Land Laws and of the University Education of Ireland, both in the Queen's Speech and in the Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this evening, is calculated to produce great discontent in Ireland, and is an ill return for the increased burthens which the warlike policy of the Government is calculated to entail on the Irish as well as on the British people" (*Major Nolan*) v. 1143; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further debate, Question put; A. 72, N. 25; M. 47 (D. L. 3)

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" Motion withdrawn

*Parliament—Business of the House—  
Resolutions*

243] Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to the Business of the House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Feb 17, 1318

After short debate, Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will forthwith resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Resolutions of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Business of the House" (*Mr. Rylands*) v., 1331; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, Question put; A. 192, N. 75; M. 117 (D. L. 8)

Main Question put; A. 185, N. 53; M. 132 (D. L. 9)

*First Resolution*

Moved, "That, whenever the Committee of Supply or the Committee of Ways and Means stands as the first Order of the Day on a Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any question" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Feb 17, 1337

After short debate, Amendt. to leave out "or the Committee of Ways and Means" (*Mr. Dillwyn*), 1351; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, Question put, and negatived

Amendt. after "Supply" to insert "appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates" (*The Marquess of Hartington*), 1361; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Amendt. to insert, at the end of the last Amendt., the words "excepting Votes on Account" (*Mr. Edward Jenkins*), 1375; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Henry Samuelson*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put; A. 69, N. 143; M. 74 (D. L. 10)

[cont.]

*Parliament—Business of the House—cont.*

Amendt. after the word "Monday," to insert "and the Motion being made, That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Beresford Hope*) Feb 17, 1381; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Jacob Bright*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 20, 1524; after long debate, Amendt. (*Mr. Beresford Hope*) withdrawn  
Amendt. after the word "Monday" to insert "in the months of June, July, and August" (*Major Nolan*), 1573; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 68, N. 161; M. 93 (D. L. 17)

Amendt. after the word "Monday" to insert "provided there be not on the Paper any Amendment relevant to the class of Estimates about to be discussed" (*Mr. Anderson*), 1574; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir George Bowyer*); after short debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 143; M. 86 (D. L. 18)

Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Rylands*); after short debate, Question put; A. 43, N. 121; M. 78 (D. L. 19)

Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 24, 1658

After short debate, Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to insert, after "Amendment," "or Notice" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); Question proposed, "That the words 'or Notice' be there inserted;" after further short debate, Amendt. to the proposed Amendt. and original Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. after "shall," in line 3, of the First Resolution, to insert "except on first going into Committee on the ordinary Army, Navy, or Civil Service Estimates respectively" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*), 1666; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. at the end of the First Resolution, to add "except an Amendment relative to the Class of Estimates which has been set down for consideration on that day be moved, in which case Mr. Speaker shall be bound to propose the question in respect of such Amendment: Provided always, That the Member of the Government who proposes to move the Estimates upon that day may make his statement with Mr. Speaker in the Chair" (*Mr. Beresford Hope*), 1689; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Question put; A. 79, N. 191; M. 112 (D. L. 20)

Amendt. at the end of the First Resolution, to add "unless on going into Committee an Amendment be moved or Question asked relevant to the Votes to be considered on that day" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*), 1674;

[cont.]

*Parliament—Business of the House—cont.*

Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. at the end of the First Resolution, to add "unless an Amendment be moved relating to the Class of Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively" (*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*), 1676; Question proposed, "That those words be there added"

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. after "moved," to insert "or Question raised" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" Question put, and agreed to

Question again proposed, "That the words 'unless an Amendment be moved or Question raised relating to the Class of Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively,' be there added," 1677

Amendt. to leave out "Class of" (*Mr. Whitwell*); Question, "That the words 'Class of' stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and negatived

Question again proposed, "That the words 'unless an Amendment be moved or Question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively,' be there added"

Amendt. after "Navy, and" to insert "the several Classes of the" (*Mr. Mitchell Henry*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 49, N. 88; M. 39 (D. L. 21)

Question again proposed, "That the words 'unless an Amendment be moved or Question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively,' be there added," 1684

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. after "Services," to insert "and the Classes relating to Law, Justice, Education, and Public Works in Ireland" (*Mr. O'Donnell*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 31, N. 131; M. 100 (D. L. 22)

Question, "That the words 'unless an Amendment be moved relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively,' be added to the First Resolution," put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, proposed, "That, whenever the Committee of Supply appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates stands as the first Order of the Day on a Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any Question, unless an Amendment be moved or Question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively," 1693

Amendt. at the end of the Question, to add "unless Notice has been given of an Amendment to be offered to the Question calling

*Parliament—Business of the House—cont.*

attention to any grievance arising out of the conduct of the Government or the administration of the Laws" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Question put; A. 47, N. 139; M. 92 (D. L. 23)

Main Question, as amended, again proposed

Amendt. at the end of the Question, to add "and on Fridays Notices of Motion shall have precedence of Orders of the Day" (*Mr. O'Connor Power*), 1697; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Question put; A. 50, N. 139; M. 89 (D. L. 24)

Main Question, as amended, again proposed

Amendt. at the end of the Question, to add "Provided always, That when Notice of a Motion has been given which, but for this Rule, would have been moved on a Monday, the next succeeding Committee of Ways and Means shall be a first Order of the Day, and Notices applicable on going into Committee of Supply on Monday shall be transferred to going into Committee on Ways and Means" (*Mr. Biggar*), 1700; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question, as amended, put; A. 130, N. 50; M. 80 (D. L. 25)

After short debate, further Consideration of Resolutions relating to the Business of the House deferred till Thursday 6th March

*Parliament—Public Business—Half-past Twelve Rule*

Moved, "That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half-past Twelve of the clock at night, with respect to which Order or Notice of Motion a Notice of Opposition or Amendment shall have been printed on the Notice Paper, or if such Notice of Motion shall only have been given the next previous day of sitting, and objection shall be taken when such Notice is called" (*Mr. Mowbray*) Feb 18, [243] 1435

Amendt. in line 1, after "Bill," to insert "or a Bill which has passed through Committee of the whole House" (*Sir John Lubbock*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 81; M. 24 (D. L. 15)

Main Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That the said Resolution be a Standing Order of the House" (*Mr. Mowbray*); after short debate, Question put; A. 79, N. 36; M. 43 (D. L. 16)

*Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day—Tuesdays and Wednesdays*

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions upon Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority upon Wednesdays" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) July 14, [248] 314

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*Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day—Tuesdays and Wednesdays—cont.*

After short debate, Amendt. at end to add "except in the case of Bills which stand for Consideration, as amended, or 'Third Reading' (Mr. Vans Agnew); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after further debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Original Question put, and agreed to

*Parliament—Public Business—Wednesday Sittings*

Moved, "That the Standing Orders respecting the Sittings of the House on Wednesday be suspended this day" (Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer) August 13, [249] 914

Amendt. after "be," to insert "not" (Sir Charles W. Dilke); after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; Question put, and agreed to

*Parliament—Select Committees on Public Bills, &c.*

Moved, "That a Committee be appointed, to consist of Seven Members, to be called the Committee of Nomination for Select Committees on Public Bills and other matters:

"That such Committee shall, unless otherwise ordered by the House, nominate Members to serve on all Select Committees to which Public Bills, or other matters may be referred" (Mr. Isaac) April 22, [245] 839; after debate, Question put, and negatived

*Parliament—Clare County Writ*

Ordered, That a Select Committee be re-appointed to inquire whether Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, Member for the County of Clare, has, since his election, accepted an office or place of profit under or from the Crown, and that they be directed to report their opinion whether he has vacated his seat by the acceptance of the said office Mar 10

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Secretary Cross (Chairman), Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Sir William Dyke, Mr. William Edward Forster, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Francis Hervey, Mr. James Lowther, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Spencer Walpole, and Mr. Whitbread

Moved, "That Mr. Butt be another Member of the Committee" (Mr. Asheton Cross); after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Adam nominated other Members of the said Committee

Report of Select Committee April 3, [245] 258; Report to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed [No. 130]

Observations, Mr. Asheton Cross April 7, 437; Observations, Question, Lord Robert Montagu; Reply, Mr. Speaker April 17, 516

Report from Select Committee on the Clare County Writ considered April 28, 1104

Moved, "That the office of Attorney General of the Colony of Victoria is an office or place of profit under the Crown within the meaning of the Statutes in that behalf" (Mr. Secretary Cross)

*Parliament—Clare County Writ—cont.*

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "considering it is undesirable to decide by Resolution a doubtful question of grave importance involving the status of Members of this House, it is expedient that a Bill should be brought in to settle the Law relating to the disqualifications caused by accepting Colonial offices" (Sir Julian Goldsmid), v; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 180, N. 11; M. 169

Div. List, A. and N., 1185

Main Question put

1. Resolved, That the office of Attorney General of the Colony of Victoria is an office or place of profit under the Crown within the meaning of the Statutes in that behalf

2. Resolved, That Sir Bryan O'Loughlen has since his Election for the County of Clare accepted the said office, and has thereby vacated his seat

Moved, "That a new Writ be ordered to be issued for the election of a Member for the County of Clare in the room of Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, who since his election for that County has accepted the office of Attorney General for the Colony of Victoria" (Major Nolan); Motion agreed to

Report of Select Comm. P.P. 130

*Parliament—Glasgow Municipal Extension, &c. Bill—Breach of Privilege*

c. Leave given to the Committee on the Glasgow Municipal Extension, &c. Bill to make a Special Report May 2

Special Report brought up, and read, [245] 1581; Special Report to be taken into Consideration upon Monday next, and to be printed

Special Report read, and considered May 5, 1724

Moved, "That, having heard the Special Report of the Committee, the House is of opinion that a breach of privilege has been committed, and that the parties by whom the Petition in question was prepared are liable to be dealt with by the House in respect thereof, but that under the circumstances it is not necessary to proceed further in the matter" (Admiral Egerton); after short debate, Resolution agreed to

*Parliament—New Writ for Cockermouth*

Moved, "That the Clerk of the Crown do make out a new Writ for the Borough of Cockermouth" (Mr. Adam) April 7, [245] 454; Question, Colonel Arbuthnot; Answer, Mr. Adam; Motion agreed to

*Parliament—Parliamentary Reporting*

**LODDS**

*The House of Lords*, Observations, Lord Sudeley; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield; Observations, Earl Granville August 4, [249] 21

Message to the Commons for the Reports from the Select Committee of that House (of this Session and last Session), together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c. July 22

[cont.]

[cont.]

*Parliament—Parliamentary Reporting—cont.*

Reports from the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons in the present and the last Sessions of Parliament, together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c.: Communicated (pursuant to message of Tuesday last), and ordered to lie on the Table *July 24*, [248] 1168

**COMMONS**

*Message from The Lords*, That they do request, that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships, Copies of the Reports from the Select Committee appointed by this House in the present Session and in the last Session on Parliamentary Reporting, together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c. *July 23*

Lords Message considered; Printed Copy to be communicated *July 24*, 1277

*Re-appointment of the Select Committee*

Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith *Dec 16*, [243] 857

Ordered, That the Select Committee of last Session on Parliamentary Reporting be re-appointed *Feb 19*

Mr. William Henry Smith (Chairman), Lieut. Colonel Arbuthnot, Mr. James Barclay, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Viscount Crichton, Mr. William Edward Forster, Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Hall, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Lord Francis Hervey, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Mills, Mr. Lyon Playfair, and Mr. Walter

Ordered, That the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting, of Session 1878, be referred to the Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting (*Mr. William Henry Smith*)

Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith *Mar 4*, [244] 136; Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith *Mar 10*, 520

*The Report*, Questions, Mr. Chamberlain; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May 20*, [246] 836; *May 26*, 1239 P.P. 203

*The Reporters' Gallery*, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *August 4*, [249] 60

*Parliament—Prerogative of the Crown*

246] Notice of Motion, Mr. Dillwyn *May 13*, 121; Alteration of Motion, 132; Observations, Question, Mr. Fawcett; Reply, Mr. Dillwyn *May 13*, 240

Moved, "That to prevent the growing abuse by Her Majesty's Ministers of the prerogative and influence of the Crown, and consequent augmentation of the power of the Government in enabling them, under cover of the supposed personal interposition of the Sovereign, to withdraw from the cognizance and control of this House matters relating to policy and expenditure properly within the scope of its powers and privileges, it is necessary that the mode and limits of the action of the prerogative should be more strictly observed" (*Mr. Dillwyn*) *May 13*, 242

[cont.]

*Parliament—Prerogative of the Crown—cont.*

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "by the Constitution and Laws of this Realm, it is the right and duty of the Sovereign, with the advice of the Council, and only by that advice, or by the advice of Parliament, to direct the foreign policy of the Country, to negotiate and enter into Treaties, and to declare war or conclude a peace" (*Lord Robert Montagu*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Robert Peel*); Question put; A. 46, N. 347; M. 301 (D. L. 91)

Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Major Nolan*); after short debate, Question put; A. 43, N. 307; M. 264 (D. L. 92)

Question again proposed, "That the words &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. O'Sullivan*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Moved, "That the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Amendment on Motion [13th May] be read, and discharged" (*Mr. Dillwyn*) *June 24*, 541; Motion agreed to

*Parliament.—Private Bills—Standing Orders*

Moved to add, at the end of Standing Order No. 13

(Notice to Owners and Lessees of Railways, Tramways, or Canals crossed, affected, or interfered with by proposed Tramway.)

"On or before the 15th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited" (*Mr. J. G. Talbot*) *August 7*, [249] 388; Motion agreed to

Moved, in Standing Order 24, at the end of the Order, to add "In cases of Bills whereby it is proposed to alter or extend the Municipal Boundary of any City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, a Map on a scale of not less than three inches to a mile, and also a Duplicate thereof, showing as well the present Boundaries of the City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District as the Boundaries of the proposed Extension, shall be deposited with the Town Clerk of such City, Borough, or Urban Sanitary District, who shall at all seasonable hours of the day permit any person to view and examine such Map, and to make copies thereof" (*Mr. Raikes*) *August 8*, [249] 408; after short debate, Motion agreed to

[cont.]

**Parliament—Private Bills—Standing Orders—cont.**

Moved, in Standing Order 33, line 9, to leave out the words "or Turnpike Roads;" and in line 18, after "relate," insert "and of every Bill relating to Turnpike Roads or Trusts, Highways, or Bridges" (*Mr. Raikes*); Motion agreed to

Moved to repeal Standing Order 202, and substitute the following new Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 201:—"All Rates, Tolls, Charges, Duties, or Penalties of every description, the amount of Capital to be raised, and of Borrowing Powers, the names of Directors, the Period for Completion of Works or for Purchase of Lands, the quantity of Land to be taken for extraordinary purposes, the amount of Personal Luggage to be carried free of Charge, and all charges in any way affecting the Public Revenue, which occur in the Clauses of any Private Bill, shall be printed in Italics in such Bill when presented to the House" (*Mr. Raikes*); Motion agreed to

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House

On the Motion of the Chairman of Committees—Standing Orders 141, 142, 144, and 145 considered, and amended; and to be printed, as amended August 11

Then it was moved to resolve, That on or before the 15th day of December immediately preceding the application for any Bill for laying down a Tramway crossing any Railway or Tramway on the level, or crossing any Railway, Tramway, or Canal by means of a Bridge, or otherwise affecting or interfering with such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, Notice in writing of such application shall be served upon the Owner or reputed Owner, and upon the Lessee or reputed Lessee of such Railway, Tramway, or Canal, and such Notice shall state the place or places at which the plans of the Tramway to be authorised by such Bill have been or will be deposited; Motion agreed to

Ordered, That the said Resolution be declared a Standing Order, and that it be entered on the Roll of Standing Orders, and be printed (No. 191)

**Parliament—Privilege—Proceedings of the House—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery**

House in Committee

248] Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, in order that, with Mr. Speaker in the Chair, a question may be raised as to notes being taken by a person, in the Members' Side Gallery of the House, not being a Member of the House" (*Mr. Sullivan*) July 10, 47; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Observations, Mr. Sullivan; short debate thereon

Moved, "That any Report or Record of the Proceedings of this House, or of a Committee of the whole House, made, taken, or kept by officials of this House as an official act or otherwise without the previous order

**Parliament—Privilege—Proceedings of the House—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery—cont.**

or sanction or knowledge of the House, and for purposes not revealed to the House, other than the Notes or Minutes of the Orders and Proceedings of the House, or of the Committee of the whole House, taken at the Table by the Clerk or the Clerk Assistant, is without precedent in the customs and usages of Parliament" (*Mr. Parnell*) July 11, 248] 164

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "Notice having been taken, while the House was in Committee, of the presence in one of the side Galleries of a gentleman engaged in taking notes of the proceedings of the Committee; and Mr. Speaker having informed the House that the gentleman was an officer of the House, and was so employed under his direction, and that the notes taken by him were for the confidential information of the Speaker, this House is of opinion that Mr. Speaker was justified in the directions given by him, and is entitled to the support and confidence of this House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 29, N. 421; M. 392 (D. L. 159)

Further Proceeding adjourned till this day  
Proceedings of the House further resumed;  
Question again proposed, 228

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to leave out from "this House," in line 7, and add "declares that the practice of this House prescribes that the Clerk Assistant do not take any notes here without the precedent directions and commands of the House, but only of the Orders and Reports made in the House, and that the entry of the Clerk of particular men's speeches was without warrant at all times" (*Mr. Gray*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 292, N. 24; M. 268 (D. L. 160)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Personal Explanation, Mr. O'Donnell July 14, 313

Observations, Mr. Callan; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 14, 986.

**Parliament—Privilege—The Press**

Article in the Times Newspaper, Feb 25, Observations, Mr. Mitchell Henry Feb 27, [243] 1841

Moved, "That the said article contains libellous reflections upon certain Members of this House in breach of the Privileges of this House" (*Mr. Mitchell Henry*). 1847; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)**

247] Report of Select Committee, Special Report of the Select Committee brought up (*Lord Henry Lennox*) July 7, 1711

Moved, "That the Report be taken into consideration To-morrow at Two o'clock;" Motion agreed to



*Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)—cont.*

Moved, "That the Special Report of the Committee be now considered" (*Lord Henry 247*) *Lennox* July 8, 1866; after short debate, Moved, "That Mr. Charles Grissell do attend this House to-morrow, at Twelve of the clock" (*Mr. Callan*)

Amendd. to leave out from "That," and add "the Special Report from the Committee on Group A of Private Bills be referred to a Select Committee" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) v.; after further short debate, Question, "That the words, &c.," put, and negatived; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

*Nomination of the Select Committee*, Moved, "That Mr. Walpole be a Member of the Committee" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) July 9, 1866; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Mr. Dodson, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Pemberton nominated other Members of the Committee

Moved, "That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the said Committee that it be an open Committee" (*Sir Patrick O'Brien*); [Not put]

248] Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read July 16, 603

Moved, "That the Report do lie on the Table, and that it be ordered to be printed" (*Mr. Spencer Walpole*); Motion agreed to; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 294]

Moved, "That the Report from the Select Committee on Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee), be taken into consideration upon Tuesday next, at Two of the clock" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) July 17, 633; Motion agreed to

Report from Select Committee considered July 22, 971

Moved, "That Mr. Charles Edmund Grissell and Mr. John Sandilands Ward do attend this House To-morrow, at Twelve of the clock" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

Order for attendance of Mr. Charles Edmund Grissell and Mr. John Sandilands Ward, read July 23, 1100

*The Sergeant at Arms*, being called upon by Mr. Speaker, stated that Mr. Grissell is not in attendance; that Mr. Ward is in attendance

Moved, "That Charles Edmund Grissell having been ordered to attend the House this day, and having neglected to attend, be taken into the custody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Then John Sandilands Ward was called in, and was addressed by Mr. Speaker, who said—"I have now to state on behalf of the House that the House is willing to hear what you have to say upon the matter"

[cont.]

*Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)—cont.*

John Sandilands Ward thereupon tendered an explanation of his conduct; and was then directed to withdraw

Moved, "That John Sandilands Ward having been cognizant of, and having assisted Charles Edmund Grissell in, the matter of his offer to control the decision of the Committee on the Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Bill, was guilty of a breach of the Privileges of this House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That John Sandilands Ward be, for his said offence, committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms attending this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

The Entry in the Votes, 1103

*Arrest of John Sandilands Ward—The Sergeant at Arms* reported to the House, that he had taken into custody John Sandilands Ward, pursuant to the Order of the House this day

248] July 23, 1122

*The Sergeant at Arms* on being called upon by Mr. Speaker to inform the House what course he had taken in order to serve Mr. Speaker's Warrant upon Charles Edmund Grissell, reported as follows:—That, on receiving Mr. Speaker's Warrant to take into my custody Charles Edmund Grissell, I sent a Messenger of the House to Boulogne-sur-Mer to obtain information respecting him. The Messenger has returned and reported to me that he has seen Mr. Grissell, who is still at Boulogne-sur-Mer, beyond the jurisdiction of this House, and residing at the Hotel Bordeaux under the name of Graham July 28

*Petition from Mr. John Sandilands Ward*, Moved, "That the Petition be printed and taken into consideration to-morrow, immediately after the assembling of the House"

(*Mr. Spencer Walpole*) July 29, 1536; Motion agreed to; Petition to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [App. 1]; Petition to be taken into consideration To-morrow

Petition considered July 30, 1632

Moved, "That John Sandilands Ward, having entirely submitted himself to this House, and expressed his sorrow and regret for his offence, and having already suffered in his health, be discharged out of the custody of the Sergeant at Arms, on payment of his fees" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

*Report of Sergeant at Arms—The Sergeant at Arms* reported to the House that in pursuance of the orders of the House, and in obedience to Mr. Speaker's Warrant, he had this day taken Charles Edmund Grissell into custody August 13, [249] 954

Ordered, That the said Report be taken into Consideration To-morrow

Report of the Sergeant at Arms considered August 14, 969

[cont.]

*Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)—cont.*

Moved, "That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded, until the close of the Session, the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant for taking him into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Motion agreed to  
Report of the Select Committee P.P. 294

*Parliament—Public Accounts*

*Nomination of Select Committee.* Sir Walter Barttelot, Lord Frederick Cavendish (Chairman), Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Goldney, nominated Members of the Committee of Public Accounts; Moved, "That Mr. Hankey be one other Member of the said Committee" (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) Feb 18, [243] 1445; after short debate [House counted out]!

*Instruction to the Committee.* Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee of Public Accounts, That they have power to consider whether any alteration in the Law is desirable, providing that a statement in each case in which the Naval and Military Departments have obtained the sanction of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to any expenditure not provided for in the sums appropriated to such services in the Votes contained in the Appropriation Act, setting forth the representation made to them by the respective Department, shall be laid upon the Table of the House within a limited period after such sanction shall have been given" (*Mr. Monk*) Feb 20, 1895; after short debate [House counted out]

And, on Feb 25, the following Members were nominated:—Mr. Hankey, Sir Henry Holland, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Charles Mills, Mr. Seely:—  
Mar 28, Mr. O'Reilly vacated his seat:—  
Mar 31, Mr. Shaw added

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Second Report . . . . . „ 186

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

1878

Dec 6—Hugh MacCalmont Lord Cairns, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, created a Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, by the style and title of Viscount Garmoye in the County of Antrim, and Earl Cairns

*Sat First*

1878

Dec 9—The Lord Windsor

1879

May 5—The Lord Dinevor, after the death of his Father

*Took the Oath*

1879

July 3—The Lord Bishop of Durham, for the first time

*Representative Peer for Scotland (Certificate)*

Mar 13—Earl of Dundonald, v. Earl of Lauderdale, deceased

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

*New Writs Issued*

*During Recess*

For Truro City, v. Sir Frederick Martin Williams, baronet, deceased

For Peterborough Borough, v. George Hammond Whalley, esquire, deceased

1878  
Dec 5—For Maldon, v. George Montagu Warren Sandford, esquire, Manor of Northstead

For Bristol, v. Kirkman Daniel Hodgson, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

Dec 9—For Londonderry County, v. Richard Smyth, esquire, deceased

For Borough of New Ross, v. John Dunbar, esquire, deceased

1879  
Feb 13—For Norfolk County (Northern Division), v. Colonel James Duff, deceased

For Cambridge County, v. Hon. Eliot Constantine Yorke, deceased

For Cork County, v. Timothy M'Carthy Downing, esquire, deceased

For South Warwickshire, v. Earl of Yarmouth, Controllor of Her Majesty's Household

For Haddington District of Burghs, v. Lord William Hay, now Marquess of Tweeddale

Mar 10—For East Somerset, v. Major Ralph Shuttleworth Allen, Manor of Northstead

Mar 28—For Longford County, v. Myles William O'Reilly, esquire, Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education in Ireland

April 7—For Cockermonth, v. Isaac Fletcher, esquire, deceased

April 17—For Cumberland County (Eastern Division), v. the Hon. Charles Wentworth George Howard, deceased

April 25—For Clare County, v. Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, Attorney General of the Colony of Victoria

May 1—For Canterbury, v. Lewis Ashurst Majendie, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

May 13—For Limerick City, v. Isaac Butt esquire, deceased

July 9—For Glasgow, v. Alexander Whitelaw, esquire, deceased

July 18—For Ennis, v. William Staapool, esquire, deceased

*New Members Sworn*

1878

Dec 5—Hon. William John Wentworth Fitz-William, *Peterborough*  
Lord Colin Campbell, *County of Argyll*

Samuel Rathbone Edge, esquire, *Newcastle-under-Lyme*

Arthur Tremayne, esquire, *Truro*

Dec 12—George Courtauld, esquire, *Maldon*

Dec 16—Lewis Fry, esquire, *Bristol*

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PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Members Sworn—*  
cont.

- 1879  
Feb 13—Edward Birkbeck, esquire, *Norfolk County* (Northern Division)  
Edward Hicks, esquire, *Cambridge County*  
Feb 14—Lieutenant Colonel Charles George Tottenham, *New Ross Borough*  
Sir Thomas M'Clure, baronet, *Londonderry County*  
Feb 21—Earl of Yarmouth, *Warwick County* (Southern Division)  
Colonel Daniel La Zouche Colthurst, *Cork County*  
Feb 27—Sir David Wedderburn, baronet, *Had-dington District of Burghs*  
Mar 20—Lord Brooke, *Somerset County* (East-ern Division)  
April 7—Justin McCarthy, esquire, *Longford County*  
April 25—George James Howard, esquire, *Cumberland* (Eastern Division)  
April 28—William Fletcher, esquire, *Cocker-mouth*  
May 9—Robert Peter Lawrie, esquire, *Can-terbury*  
June 9—The O'Gorman Mahon, *Clare County*  
Daniel FitzGerald Gabbett, esquire, *Limerick City*  
July 17—Charles Tennant, esquire, *Glasgow*  
July 29—James L. yaught Finigan, esquire, *Ennis Borough*

Parliamentary Burghs (Scotland) Bill

(*Mr. James Cowan, Mr. M' Laren, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. John Holmes*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 7 [Bill 97]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 26  
Committee \*—*a.p.* April 30  
Committee \*—*a.p.* May 1  
Committee \*; Report May 16  
Considered \* May 19  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 20  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Earl Camperdown*) May 23 (No. 90)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* May 27  
Committee \*; Report May 29  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* June 23  
c. Lords Amendt. June 27 [Bill 223]  
l. Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 47]

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General*)

- c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General*) Feb 17, 243] 1391; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 78]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" 244] Mar 20, 1363  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "no Bill to amend the Acts relating to Election Petitions and to the prevention of Cor-rupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections will be satisfactory to the House which leaves the Law with regard to payments for the conveyance of Voters to the poll in its present condition" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) v., 1371; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 138, N. 89; M. 49 (D. L. 49)

[cont.]

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill—cont.

- Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>;" after debate, Question put; A. 118, N. 6; M. 112 (D. L. 50); Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Legislation, Questions, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 248] July 15, 446  
249] Committee deferred August 5, 232  
Committee; Report August 7, 483  
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed for Saturday;" after short debate, Motion agreed to  
Committee \*—*a.p.* August 9 [Bill 288]  
Committee (on re-comm.): Report August 11, 804  
Considered \* August 12, 881; read 3<sup>o</sup>, after short debate  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Viscount Cranbrook*) August 13  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \*; Committee negatived; Considered; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14 (No. 200)  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 75]

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices [Expenses]

- c. Considered in Committee August 9, [249] 655  
Resolution reported August 11, 800  
Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;"  
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Monk*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; Resolution agreed to

Parliamentary Franchise Bill

(*Mr. Elliot, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Serjeant Spinks*)

- c. Ordered \* Feb 25  
Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 26 [Bill 84]  
Bill withdrawn July 23, [248] 1145

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Meath*

- Africa, South—Miscellaneous Questions  
Civil and Military Commands, Explanation, [246] 1265  
Instructions of Sir Garnet Wolseley, [246] 1562, 1721  
Africa, South—Zulu War, [246] 1385;—Al-leged Cruelties of the British Troops, 1716, 1717  
Irregulars, The, [247] 31, 32  
Agricultural Distress, Motion for an Address, [247] 1541  
Army—Army Organization—Departmental Committee, [246] 1560, 1562  
Army Discipline and Regulation—Cat-o'-Nine-Tails, [247] 1549, 1725  
Navy Cat, [247] 1723  
243] Army Discipline and Regulation, Leave, 1929, 1930  
244] 881  
246] Comm. cl. 34, Amendt. 463; cl. 36, 471; cl. 38, Amendt. 571, 574; cl. 40, 591; cl. 41, Amendt. 598, 599, 600, 603; cl. 42, 606, 609, 614, 849, 854; cl. 43, Amendt. 856; cl. 44, Amendt. id., 860, 861, 862, 863, 879, 884, 1576, 1578, 1582, 1591

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**Partnership Bill**

(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd,*

- Mr. Herschell, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Whitwell*)
- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 27 [Bill 225]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Passenger Vessels Licensing (Scotland)**

- Bill (*Dr. Cameron, Lord Colin Campbell, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. James Stewart, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Grant*)
- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 16 [Bill 247]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Patents for Inventions Bill**

- (*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Alexander Brown*)
- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 10 [Bill 55]
- 2R. [Dropped]

**Patents for Inventions (No. 2) Bill**

- (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Solicitor General*)
- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 17 [Bill 77]
- Questions, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answers, The Attorney General Mar 18, [244] 1150; May 22, [246] 1006
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# Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill

(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Richard, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Dalway, Mr. Downing, Mr. Charles Lewis*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 6]
- Bill withdrawn \* Mar 10

## Persia

*Organization of the Persian Army—Reported Employment of Russian Officers, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 13, [243] 738; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 24, 1849*

*Retirement of the British Minister, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 19, [246] 685*

*Peru and Chili—See title America, South*

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## Petroleum Act (1871) Amendment Bill

(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 19 [Bill 214]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 18
- Committee \*; Report July 21
- Considered \*; read 3<sup>o</sup> July 22
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (The Lord Steward) July 23 (No. 161)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 31
- Committee; Report August 1, [248] 1841
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 5
- c. Lords Amends. August 6 [Bill 286]
- l. Royal Assent Aug 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 47]

## Petty Customs (Scotland) Abolition Act Amendment Bill

(*Mr. James Barclay, Mr. Cowan*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 28 [Bill 91]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 12
- Committee \*; Report Mar 19
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 25
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Earl of Airlie) Mar 27 (No. 33)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 1
- Committee \*; Report May 3
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 5
- Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. 13]

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## Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill

(*Mr. John G. Talbot, Mr. Selater-Booth*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 3 [Bill 115]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 25
- Ordered, That the Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill and the Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill be committed to the same Committee
- Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to consolidate the two Bills into one Bill (*Mr. John G. Talbot*) May 8
- Committee \*; Report [Bills consolidated into one Bill] May 5
- Considered \* May 6 [Bill 153]
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 7
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Henniker) May 8 (No. 73)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 15
- Committee \*; Report May 16
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 23
- Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 1v]

## Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill

(*Mr. John G. Talbot, Viscount Sandon*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 17 [Bill 125]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 25
- [Consolidated with *Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill*]

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*Liverpool—Alleged Misconduct of Poor Law Officers*, Question, Mr. Stansfeld; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Dec 13, [243] 742  
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*Pauper Nurses*, Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth July 24, [248] 1172  
*Religious Education of Children in Unions*, Question, Sir Matthew Wilson; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth May 1, [245] 1496  
*Separation of Old Married Paupers*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth April 28, [245] 1249  
*Spiritual Ministrations in Walsall Workhouse—Catholic Paupers*, Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Solater-Booth May 5, [245] 1710; July 17, [248] 626  
*The Truck System—Dudley, &c.*, Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth May 27, [246] 1356

**Poor Law Amendment Act (1876) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Mellor, Mr. Merewether, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Torrens*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 44]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 26  
 Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. 244 Solater-Booth Mar 7, 404; Question, Mr. Mellor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 21, 1436  
 Committee—*a. p.* Mar 21  
 Committee; Report Mar 24, 1600  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 25

[*cont.*]



*Poor Law Amendment Act (1876) Amendment Bill—cont.*

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (The Lord Norton) Mar 27 (No. 34) 245] Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate April 24, 1876  
Committee; Report May 2, 1876  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> May 6  
c. Lords Amends May 8 [Bill 164]  
l. Royal Assent May 23 [42 Vict. c. 12]

**Poor Law Amendment (No. 2) Bill**

(Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth)

- c. Motion for Leave (Mr. Salt) June 19, [247] 289; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup>  
2R., Debate adjourned July 1, 1141  
Debate resumed July 23, [248] 1120; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>nd</sup> [Bill 212]  
Committee\*; Report August 5  
Committee (on re-comm.); Report August 7, [249] 482 [Bill 282]  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> August 8  
1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Lord President) August 11 (No. 185)  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> August 12, 813  
On Question, That the Bill be committed?  
Cont. 3, Not-Cont. 13; M. 10  
Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 813  
Resolved in the negative  
Read 3<sup>rd</sup> August 13  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 54]

*Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Bill*

Question, Mr. Grant; Answer, The Lord Advocate July 21, [248] 855

**Poor Law Guardians (Election by Ballot) (Ireland) Bill**

(Mr. Errington, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. O'Reilly)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 35]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Poor Law (Scotland) Bill**

(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> April 7 [Bill 122]  
Bill withdrawn July 17

**Poor Law (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill**

(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> July 18 [Bill 262]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> July 24  
Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Anderson; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross August 12, [249] 824  
Bill withdrawn August 12

*Poor Removal*

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the operation of the existing Laws in the United Kingdom relating to the settlement and irremovability of Paupers, with special reference to the case of removals to Ireland, and with power to make any proposals for the alteration, repeal, or assimilation of such Laws;" Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum (Mr. Salt) Mar 7, [244] 511

[cont.]

*Poor Removal—cont.*

And, on June 9, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Salt (Chairman), Captain Corry, Viscount Emlyn, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. French, Mr. Giles, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Martin, Sir Arthur Middleton, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Synan, and Mr. Torr

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**POST OFFICE**

**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

- Twenty-fourth Report . . . P.P. [2193]  
Twenty-fifth Report . . . " [2405]  
Universal Postal Union, Treaty of Paris, June 1878 . . . " [2309]  
*Australian Colonies—Conveyance of Mails.* Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Lord John Manners May 15, [246] 397  
*The Australian Mails.* Question, Mr. Sampson Lloyd; Answer, Lord John Manners July 18, [248] 753  
*Victoria—Mail Service via Galle or Colombo to Melbourne.* Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach June 26, [247] 689

*Book Post—Transmission of Large Letters and Book Packets.* Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Lord John Manners Mar 6, [244] 276

*Book-Post Rates—Transmission of Circulars.* Questions, Mr. Lyon Playfair; Answers, Lord John Manners Mar 31, [245] 6; April 17, 515

*Express Letter Service.* Question, Mr. Ryder; Answer, Lord John Manners June 26, [247] 723

*Illegal Lottery Tickets.* Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord John Manners July 3, [247] 1293

*Late Arrival of the Irish Mails.* Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Lord John Manners August 11, [249] 877

*The Lowestoft District.* Question, Lord Rendlesham; Answer, Lord John Manners Mar 31, [245] 8

*Post Cards to Foreign Countries.* Question, Mr. Seely; Answer, Lord John Manners Mar 31, [245] 16

*The New International Post Card.* Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Lord John Manners May 19, [246] 692

*Post Office Order Department—Unpaid Orders.* Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Lord John Manners June 30, [247] 952

*Post Office Savings Banks.* Questions, Mr. Wait; Answers, Lord John Manners Feb 14, [243] 1193; June 23, [247] 416

*Post Office Statistics—India and China Mails.* Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Lord John Manners June 23, [247] 432

*Soldiers' Letters from South Africa.* Questions, Mr. Oliver Walker, General Shute; Answers, Lord John Manners June 12, [246] 1707

*Mail Contracts*

Cape and Dr. C the 1

Contract, Question, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer [247] 947

[cont.]

**Post Office—Mail Contracts—cont.**

*China Mails, The—Stoppage of 48 Hours at Hong Kong*, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Lord John Manners *May 22*, [246] 1007

*Contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company*, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Lord John Manners *Mar 24*, [244] 1504; Question, Mr. Goschen; Answer, Lord John Manners *April 1*, [245] 136; Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *June 12*, [246] 1720; Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Lord John Manners *June 23*, 423; Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *July 3*, [247] 1280; Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Lord John Manners *July 10*, [248] 21; Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *July 17*, 621; Questions, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Isaac; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *July 18*, 752; Question, Mr. Isaac; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *July 21*, 857; Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *August 6*, [249] 290

[See title *Post Office—Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company—The Contracts*]

*Eastern Mail Contract*, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Lord John Manners *June 12*, [246] 1702

*The Pacific Mail Contracts*, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord John Manners *Mar 17*, [244] 1034

[See title *Post Office (West India Mail Contract)*]

**Telegraphic Department**

*Continental Telegraph Charges*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Lord John Manners *Feb 20*, [243] 1507

*Female Clerks*, Questions, Mr. Chamberlain; Answers, Lord John Manners *May 26*, [246] 1230; *July 17*, [248] 628

*Telegraph Clerks (Dublin)*, Question, Mr. M. Brooks; Answer, Lord John Manners *July 31*, [248] 1710; — *Edinburgh*, Question, Mr. McLaren; Answer, Lord John Manners *May 15*, [246] 401

**Post Office—Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company—The Contracts**

Moved, "That the Contract dated the 7th day of February 1879, entered into with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, for the conveyance of the Mails between this Country and India and China, be approved" (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) *August 7*, [249] 490; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *August 8*, 507

Amend. at end of Question to add "Provided, That the period of the continuance of the Contract be reduced from eight years to three years" (*Mr. J. Holms*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Question put; A. 54, N. 142; M. 88 (D. L. 217)

Main Question put, and agreed to

**Post Office—Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company—The Contracts—cont.**

**Parl. Papers—**

The Contract . . . . . 30  
Correspondence . . . . . 103  
Return of Cost (India, &c.) . . . 318

**Post Office (West India Mail Contract)**

Moved, "That the Contract entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of Mails to and from the West Indies be approved" (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) *Mar 18*, [244] 1191; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Personal Explanation, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 25*, 1704

**Parl. Papers—**

Correspondence . . . . . 17  
The Contract . . . . . 18

**POTTER, Mr. T. B., Rochdale**

Ceylon—Food Scarcity, [246] 1700

Food Taxes, [245] 260

Cyprus—Island of—Import Duties on Grain, [245] 1957

**POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mayo**

Africa, South—Civil and Military Commands, [246] 1260, 1262

Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere, Res. [245] 69

Agricultural Distress, Motion for an Address, Motion for Adjournment, [247] 1542

Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 2, 245] 1544; cl. 4, 1548; cl. 5, 1552

246] cl. 30, 426; cl. 32, Amendt. 459; cl. 36, 469; Motion for Adjournment, 473, 474; cl. 44, 1599

247] 44, 62; cl. 48, 476, 487, 488; cl. 49, Amendt.

490, 493; cl. 51, Amendt. 495, 498, 499;

cl. 60, 545; cl. 70, 550, 551; cl. 72, 569,

576; cl. 73, 579; cl. 74, 587; cl. 77, 757,

759, 763, 770; cl. 79, 784; cl. 80, Amendt.

792, 793; cl. 81, 847; cl. 82, 851; cl. 83,

Amendt. 855, 856, 858, 861, 863, 865; cl. 87,

881, 962; cl. 89, 971, 981; cl. 96, Amendt.

1005, 1008, 1012, 1013, 1014; cl. 97, Amendt.

1015; cl. 124, 1301; cl. 131, 1348, 1378,

1386; cl. 147, 1813

248] cl. 166, 41, 42, 49; Motion for reporting

Progress, 56, 65, 69, 72, 88; cl. 173, 116,

117; Postponed cl. 87, 380; add. cl. 489;

Consid. cl. 128, 811

Army Estimates—Medical Establishments, &c.

[246] 1986, 1989

Military Law, Administration of, [246]

1935, 1943

Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. cl. 23,

[246] 1880

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Agricultural Depression, [246] 1393

Anti-Rent Agitation—Tenant Right Meeting

at Milltown, [247] 694, 695, 697, 701;

Motion for Adjournment, 704, 718, 719

Carrick-on-Suir Bridge, [246] 1874

Departmental Administration, [244] 306

Grand Juries, [249] 434

Law and Justice—Coronership of Limerick,

[247] 418

National Education—Assistant Teachers,

[247] 415

[cont.]

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**POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor—cont.**

- Poor Law Guardians, [244] 278
- Post Office—Post Offices in Mayo, [247] 950
- Reproductive Loan Fund Act—Loans to Irish Fisheries, [247] 20
- University Education, [246] 1030
- Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [243] 1248
- Irish Land Act, 1870, Res. [245] 1660
- Mixed Colleges, Instruction in, [244] 867
- Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, [248] 1782
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
- Ministerial Statement, [243] 1144
- Orders of the Day, [243] 1333
- Public Business—Tuesdays and Wednesdays, [248] 318
- Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [243] 164
- Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [243] 1658, 1674, 1686, 1695; Amendt. 1697
- Parliament—Privilege—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery, [248] 55, 56; Res. 171
- Penal Servitude Acts—Report of Royal Commission, [244] 13;—Flogging in Prisons, [249] 427
- Poor Law—Cardiff Board of Guardians, [249] 971
- Poor Law Amendment (No. 2), Leave, [247] 289
- Prerogative of the Crown, Res. [246] 320, 323
- Prince Imperial, The Late—Proposed Monument to, [249] 548
- Public Accounts, Nomination of Committee, [243] 1445
- Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, Motion for Adjournment, [246] 1324, 1325
- Constabulary Force in Ireland, [248] 859, 905, 919
- Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. [246] 205
- Prison Commissioners for Scotland, &c. [246] 1497
- Prisons in England and Wales, Motion for reporting Progress, [246] 1319, 1322
- Queen's University in Ireland, [248] 1418
- Report, [249] 552
- Secret Services, [246] 155
- Superintendence of Prisons, &c. in Ireland, [248] 944, 946, 949, 1602

**POWER, Mr. R., Waterford**

- Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 140, [247] 1626; cl. 141, 1632; Motion for reporting Progress, 1639
- Hares (Ireland), 2R. [246] 506

**POWERS-COURT, Viscount**

- London Bridge, 3R. [247] 681
- Sunday (Opening of Museums, &c.), Res. [245] 1693
- Tenant Right (Ireland), 2R. [246] 804
- University Education (Ireland), 2R. [247] 1848

**POWIS, Earl of**

- Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 1 Comm. cl. 4, Amendt. 790; 2
- Cathedral Statutes, 2R. [246]
- London Bridge, 3R. [247] 676

**Prague, Treaty of (Austria and Germany) Article 5**

Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 24, [243] 1649

**Prayer Book Amendment Bill [u.l.]**

(The Lord Ebury)

1. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 30 (No. 133)

**Prenuptial Contracts Bill**

(Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Joseph Cowen)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 11 [Bill 60]  
2R. Feb 24, [243] 1721 [House counted out]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Prevention of Crime Bill**

(Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Matthew Ridley)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> August 4 [Bill 281]  
2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned August 8, [249] 529  
Debate resumed August 8; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>  
Committee; Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> August 9  
1. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Ld. Chancellor) August 11 (No. 187)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>; Committee negatived August 12  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 13  
Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 55]

**PRICE, Captain G. E., Devonport**

- Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 147, [247] 1751, 1752, 1754
- Egypt—Cabinet—Dismissal of Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières—Action of the Controllers, [245] 1709
- Merchant Shipping Act—"Calais-Douvres," The, [245] 450
- Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, [248] 1771
- Dockyards, &c. [248] 1797
- Pensions to Widows and Orphans of Seamen and Marines, [248] 1755
- Ordnance Select Committee, [245] 637

**PRICE, Mr. W. E., Tewkesbury**

- Army—Miscellaneous Questions
- Auxiliary Forces—North Gloucester Militia, [247] 921
- 60th Rifles—Colour Sergeant Dickaty, [248] 616, 755
- 61st and 28th Regiments, [248] 22
- Canal Boats Act, 1877, [244] 134; [248] 22
- Prince Imperial, The late—Monument in Westminster Abbey, [248] 1175

**"Princess Alice" Calamity—The Inquest**

Questions, Captain Pim; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross Dec 13, [243] 737; May 27, [246] 1353 (Return of Proceedings—P.P. 399)

**Prince Imperial, The Late**

Quona, Mr. Benett-Stanford, Mr. Paleston; 247] —  
was, Colonel Stanley June 19, 283;  
ations, Major Dickson, Sir Robert Peel;  
Stanley June 20, 310;  
The ke of Cambridge; Obser-  
the Earl of Beaconsfield, Earl  
23, 401; Notices of Quee-  
Fraser, Sir Henry Have-

[cont.]

*Prince Imperial, The Late*—cont.

- 247] lock June 23, 414; Postponement of Question, Observations, Sir Henry Havelock.
- June 24, 535; Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir William Fraser, Sir Henry Havelock, Mr. P. J. Smyth; Answers, Colonel Stanley.
- June 26, 686; Question, Observations, Lord Campbell; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield.
- June 30, 945; Question, Sir William Fraser; Answer, Colonel Stanley June 30, 949; Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Viscount Bury July 1, 1069; Question, Sir William Fraser; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 7, 1718; Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, 248] Mr. Assheton Cross July 10, 26; Question, Sir Frederick Perkins; Answer, Colonel Loyd Lindsay July 25, 1297.
- Lieutenant Carey*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 5, [247] 1548; —*Court Martial on*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 21, [248] 858; Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, Viscount Bury July 22, 961; Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Colonel Stanley July 24, 1177; Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 11, [249] 675.
- Monument in Westminster Abbey*, Questions, Mr. Price, Mr. E. Jenkins, Mr. Callan; Answers, Colonel Stanley, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 24, [248] 1175; Observations, Sir William Lawson; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; debate thereon August 8, [249] 631.
- The Funeral Expenses*, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 11, [248] 160.
- The Slain Troopers*, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Colonel Stanley August 9, [249] 600.

*Prince Imperial, The Late*

Moved for, Copies of the Orders or Instructions under which the late Prince Imperial was acting on the 1st of June; and for Copies of the Orders which detailed Lieutenant Carey for duty on the same day; and for Copies of the Charge or Charges upon which Lieutenant Carey was arraigned (*The Earl of Dunraven*) August 1, [248] 1821; after short debate, Motion withdrawn.

*Prisons Act, 1877*

- Brecon Gaol*, Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross April 7, [245] 453.
- Expenses of Prisoners*, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 31, [245] 17.
- Correspondence respecting Working P.P. 59.
- Photographing Prisoners*, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross August 4, [249] 64.
- Prison Labour—Competition with Trades and Industries*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 27, [244] 1854; Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross July 10, [248] 13.
- Transfer of Prisoners*, Questions, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross August 7, [249] 394.

*Prisons Acts (Rules)*

- Female Prisoners*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 24, [243] 1652.
- Reporters of the Press*, Question, Mr. W. M'Arthur; Answer, Sir Matthew White Ridley Mar 13, [244] 816.
- Kirkdale Gaol*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 17, [243] 1302.
- Perth Prison*, Questions, Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross May 9, [246] 16.
- Salford Gaol*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 24, [243] 1647.

*Prisons (Ireland) Act*

- Medical Officers*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 24, [243] 1654.
- Sec. 27—*The Prisons Board—Medical Officers*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther May 19, [246] 685.
- [See title *Criminal Law*]

*Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties*

- Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that in lieu of Probate and Administration Duty, which is now payable according to unequal rates, upon the personal estate of deceased persons, and in lieu of Legacy Duty, which is now payable at various rates and various times in respect of each separate gift by will, and each separate share of an intestate's estate, one Duty only should be levied, at a uniform rate, upon the value of the personal estate of every deceased person" (*Mr. Dodds*) May 20, [246] 887.
- Amendt. to leave out from "expedient" and add "to reconsider and revise the progressive rates of Probate and Administration Duty, and to afford greater facilities for the assessment and settlement of Legacy and Succession Duties upon future or contingent events, and for the relief of executors, administrators, and trustees in respect of the same" (*Mr. Gregory*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 69, N. 131; M. 72 (D. L. 105).
- Words added; main Question, as amended, put; A. 131, N. 24; M. 107 (D. L. 106).

*Prosecution of Offences Bill*

- (*Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Matthew Ridley*)
- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 68].
- Read 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb 20.
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 244] Mar 14, 966.
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will, upon this day six months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr. Benjamin Williams*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Mitchell Henry*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Amendt. withdrawn.

[cont.]

**Public Works Loans (No. 2) Bill—cont.**

- Moved, "That the Preamble be postponed;"  
 Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Chamberlain*); after short debate, Question put; A. 22, N. 67; M. 45 (D. L. 226)  
 Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Gray*); after short debate, Question put; A. 21, N. 66; M. 45 (D. L. 227)  
 Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. G. Palmer*); Question put; A. 19, N. 66; M. 47 (D. L. 228)  
 Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Sir Henry Havelock*); after short debate, Question put, and negative  
 Question again put; A. 16, N. 66; M. 50 (D. L. 229)  
 Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Stevenson*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn  
 Question, "That the Preamble be postponed," put, and agreed to; Bill reported  
 Considered August 12  
 Read 3<sup>d</sup> August 13  
 l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Viscount Cranbrook*) August 13  
 Read 2<sup>d</sup>; Committee negative; Considered; read 3<sup>d</sup> August 14 (No. 202)  
 Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 77]  
 c. Explanation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre August 15, [249] 1033

**Public Works Loans Commissioners**

- Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 3, [244] 14; Question, Mr. James Stewart; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 4, [249] 64  
 The Report for 1878, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson May 15, [246] 402  
 Parl. Papers  
 Return respecting . . . . . No. 129  
 Transactions—Return of . . . . . 273  
 Fourth Report . . . . . 339

**PULESTON, Mr. J. H., Devonport**

- Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 141, [247] 1631, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643  
 Canada, Dominion of—Canadian Pacific Railway, [249] 820  
 Education (Wales), Res. [247] 1152  
 Egypt—Finance, [244] 523  
 Post Office—Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's Contract, Res. [249] 521  
 Prince Imperial, Death of, [247] 288  
 Russia, Plague in—Sanitary Precautions, [243] 1834

**Quarantine Act — Cargo of Rags from Russia**

- Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 18, [244] 1157

**Racecourses (Metropolis) Bill**

(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Thomas Chambers, Sir James Lawrence*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 48]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>d</sup>" 243] Feb 14, 1265  
 Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Onslow*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 102, N. 53; M. 49 (D. L. 5)  
 Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>d</sup>  
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Feb 17, 1387  
 Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add, "this House will, upon this day six months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr. Onslow*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 64, N. 30; M. 34 (D. L. 11)  
 Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Stacpoole*); Question put; A. 24, N. 61; M. 37 (D. L. 12)  
 Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Major O'Gorman*); Question put; A. 18, N. 64; M. 46 (D. L. 13)  
 Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—s.r.  
 244] Committee Mar 3, 108 [House counted out]  
 Committee; Report Mar 6, 364  
 Considered Mar 21, 1490  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>d</sup>" Mar 26, 1821; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Alfred Gathorne-Hardy*); after short debate, Debate adjourned  
 Debate resumed; read 3<sup>d</sup> April 1  
 l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Viscount Enfield*) April 3 (No. 45)  
 246] Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>d</sup>" May 12, 100  
 Amendt. to leave out ("now," and add ("this day six months") (*The Lord St. Leonards*); after debate, on Question, that ("now," &c.) Cont. 84, Not-Cont. 57; M. 27  
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**Railway Passenger Duty**, Question, Sir Joseph McKenna; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April 18*, [245] 604; Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *July 10*, [248] 21;—**Wantage Tramway Company**, Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar 4*, [244] 130 Return—*P.P.* 135

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# **Railways and Canals—Through Rates**

Question, Mr. Arthur Peel; Answer, Viscount Sandon *June 23*, [247] 429

# **Railways and Telegraphs in India Bill**

[H.L.] (*The Viscount Cranbrook*)

*l.* Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> *April 28* (No. 63)

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> *May 5*

Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report *May 8*

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *May 9*

*c.* Read 1<sup>st</sup> (*Mr. E. Stanhope*) *May 19* [Bill 192]

Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate *July 4*, [247] 1544

Committee<sup>\*</sup>; Report *July 7* [Bill 231]

Committee<sup>\*</sup> (on re-comm.)—*a.p.* *July 14*

Committee<sup>\*</sup> (on re-comm.); Report *July 17*

Considered<sup>\*</sup> *July 18*

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> *July 21*

*l.* Returned from Commons *July 22* (No. 158)

Royal Assent *August 11* [42 & 43 Vict. c. 41]

# **Railways and Tramways**

Resolution, Mr. Delahunt *April 29*, [245] 1426 [House counted out]

# **Railways (Ireland)**

Question, Viscount Lifford; Answer, Lord Henniker *Mar 7*, [244] 374

Then—Copy of Letter respecting narrow gauge railways in Ireland from the Board of Trade to the Chairman of Committees: Ordered to be laid before the House

# **Railways (Ireland)—The Letterkenny Railway and the West Donegal Railway Bills**

Moved to resolve, That it is desirable before the Letterkenny Railway and the West Donegal Railway Bills be further proceeded with that the Board of Trade should report to Parliament whether the character of the country through or of the traffic for which these lines are to be made renders it necessary or expedient that either or both of them should be constructed on a three feet gauge, with the reasons on which their Report is founded (*The Chairman of Committees*) *Mar 17*, [244] 936; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 28, Not-Cont. 36; M. 8

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 999

Resolved in the negative

# **Railways (Ireland)**

Moved to resolve, That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that facilities should be given for the construction of railways in Ireland on a gauge narrower than five feet three inches in mountainous or thinly populated districts where the construction of railways on the standard gauge would be difficult or unremunerative (*The Viscount Lifford*) *April 24*, [245] 966

Previous Question moved (*The Earl of Redesdale*); after short debate, Motion and original Motion withdrawn

Moved, That in the opinion of this House the construction of railways in Ireland on a gauge narrower than five feet three inches, where the construction of railways on the standard gauge would be difficult or unremunerative, is desirable; on Question? resolved in the affirmative

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**Rating of Towns (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Butt, Sir Joseph  
McKenna*)

*Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6* [Bill 14]  
*Bill withdrawn 6 June 19*



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**—The Reports**

Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth May 5, [245] 1717

**Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Army) Bill.**

(Colonel Loyd Lindsay, Mr. Secretary Stanley, Lord Eustace Cecil)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 4 [Bill 95]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Mar 10  
 Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report Mar 11  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 12  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Ashford) Mar 13 (No. 27)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 4  
 Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report April 22  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> April 24  
 Royal Assent May 33 [42 Vict. c. 8]

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 23 [Bill 195]  
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**Registry Courts (Ireland) (Practice) Bill**

(Mr. Callan, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Fay)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 24 [Bill 259]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 28  
 Committee—*a.r.* after short debate August 2, [248] 2026  
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 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 7  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) August 8 (No. 178)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 11  
 Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report August 12  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 13  
 Royal Assent August 15 [43 & 43 Vict. c. 71]

**Regulation of Railways Acts Continuance Bill**

(*Viscount Sandon, Mr. J. G. Talbot*)

- c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 30 [Bill 270]  
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*l.* Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Henniker) August 7 (No. 176)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 11  
 Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report August 12  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 13  
 Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 56]

**Relief of Insane Poor Bill** (*Mr. Rodwell, Sir Baldwin Leighton, Mr. Bristowe*)

- c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 27]  
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Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 17, 1306

**Rivers Conservancy Bill [H.L.]**

(The Lord President)

1. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup>, after short debate Mar 7, [244] 368 (No. 30)

Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate Mar 17, 1018

[245] Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" April 22, 821

Amendt. to leave out after ("That,") and insert "If A having ten years ago purchased a property in the uplands of a river conservancy district in the valuation of which the liability to a charge for a conservancy rate could not have been included, and B having in the same year purchased a property in the flood lands of the same district in the valuation of which the damage from floods must have been necessarily estimated, it will be

[cont.]

*Rivers Conservancy Bill—cont.*

unreasonable and unjust that A's property should be taxed for the improvement of B's property, when his lands cannot receive any benefit from the outlay to which under the Rivers Conservancy Bill he is to be compelled to contribute" (*The Earl of Redesdale*); after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Original Motion agreed to; Committee

Moved, "That the Report be now received" May 1, 1483

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add ("1. The conservancy of rivers and water-courses and the prevention and mitigation of floods are duties properly incumbent upon owners of lands;

"2. Conservancy boards ought to consist of owners of lands only, by which class also all rates for the above purposes ought to be defrayed") (*The Earl of Camperdown*); after short debate, on Question, That the words, &c. ? Cont. 57, Not-Cont. 36; M. 21

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Resolved in the affirmative; original Motion agreed to; Report (No. 59)

Read 3<sup>a</sup> May 5 (No. 67)

c. Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Feb 20, [243] 1520

Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Mr. Solater-Booth) May 13 [Bill 179]

248] Question, Mr. Garfit; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth July 14, 302

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. A *Royal Commission*, Question, Mr. Arthur Peel; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 17, 627

. *Legislation*, Question, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer July 21, 854

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**Saint Giles Cathedral (Edinburgh) Bill**

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> July 8 [Bill 238]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 4  
Committee; Report August 8, [249] 530  
Considered; read 3<sup>o</sup>, after short debate August 9, 648  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Steward) August 11 (No. 189)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 12  
Committee; Report August 13  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14  
Royal Assent Aug 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. ccxxi]

**ST. LEONARDS, Lord**

Racecourses (Metropolis), 2R. Amendt. [246] 105

**Sale of Food and Drugs Act (1875) Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Whitwell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 10 [BNl 56]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee, after short debate Feb 14, [243] 1273  
And, on Mar 24, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Solater-Booth (Chairman), Mr. Anderson, Viscount Barrington, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Isaac, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. P. A. Taylor, Sir William Welby-Gregory, and Mr. Whitwell  
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Considered June 20 [Bill 139]  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 23  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Strafford) June 24 (No. 127)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 10  
Committee; Report July 14  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 17  
Royal Assent July 21 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 30]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday**

Bill (*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Birley, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. William M Arthur, Mr. James*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 20]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" July 9, [247] 1970  
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Wheelhouse*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Monk*); Question put; A. 165, N. 162; M. 3 (D. L. 156); Debate adjourned  
Bill withdrawn July 28

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*Salmon Fishery Act, 1873*  
Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *April* 3, [245] 208  
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*Salmon Fishery Law Amendment Bill*  
(*Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Edward Ridley, Sir Arthur Middleton, Mr. Hamond*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *May* 7 [Bill 162]  
2R. [Dropped]

*Salmon Fishery Law Amendment (No. 2) Bill* (*Colonel Kingscote, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Stafford Howard*)

c. Ordered \* *May* 14  
Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *May* 16 [Bill 188]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *June* 16, [246] 2030  
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 (Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Pell, Mr. Reginald Yorke)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> June 25 [Bill 219]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" July 23, [248] 1146  
 Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (Mr. Chamberlain); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Dillwyn); after further short debate, Debate adjourned  
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**Science and Art Department, South Kensington—Agricultural Science,** Question, Mr. Phipps; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 28, [244] 1988; Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon: Observations, The Marquess of Huntly July 3, [247] 1272  
 Then, on the Motion of the Earl Granville, Memorandum of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, as to instruction in Agriculture, presented (No. 137)  
**Natural History Museum—South Kensington,** Question, Lord Arthur Russell; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Mar 6, [244] 280; Observations, Mr. E. Jenkins; short debate thereon July 30, [248] 1655  
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**Science and Art Department, South Kensington—The Indian Museum**

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Amendt. on Committee of Ways and Means July 31, To leave out from "That," and add "having regard alike to the traditions of our rule in India and to the expediency of establishing, at an early period, by the joint action of the Mother Country, its Colonies, and Dependencies, an institution in which the productions of all those Colonies and Dependencies should be adequately represented, it is undesirable that the Indian Museum, collected at great cost by the East India Company, and taken over by the Crown, should now be broken up and distributed" (Mr. Grant Duff) v., 1722; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

[See title *South Kensington—The Indian Museum*]

**Science and Art Department, South Kensington—United Westminster School of Art—Suspension of Mr. Goffin's Certificate**

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*Suspension of Mr. Goffin's Certificate*—cont.

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Lowe  
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Errington, Lord George Hamilton, Lord  
Francis Hervey, Mr. Pell, Mr. Rodwell, and  
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(Mr. Bourke, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)

- c. Ordered: read 1<sup>o</sup> July 4 [Bill 232]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 7  
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 Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 11  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Marquess of Salisbury) July 14  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> July 24 (No. 147)  
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Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply,  
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 1405; Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer,  
 Mr. Bourke April 7, [245] 446  
 Moved, That there be laid before the House,  
 "Copies of all despatches and papers con-  
 taining any communications on that subject  
 which have passed between Her Majesty's  
 Government or Her Majesty's Minister at  
 Madrid and the Spanish Government, and  
 which have not already been laid before Par-  
 liament" (*The Lord Selborne*) July 21, [248]  
 818; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

**SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. H. B. W.  
 BRAND), *Cambridgeshire***

**VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS**

Supply—Civil Service Estimates—Sir Henry  
 Selwin-Ibbetson having moved to report Pro-  
 gress, but his name being omitted from the  
 printed Votes—attention being called to the  
 omission—Mr. Speaker said, the omission  
 was, he was assured, a pure accident, and he  
 had, therefore, given directions that the sheet  
 of the Votes containing the error should be  
 cancelled, and that the proper entry be made  
 in the Votes, [248] 1631

**ORDERS OF THE DAY**

Adjourned Debates—Mr. Speaker said, that in  
 the event of no day being fixed for the ad-  
 journed debate (on *Intoxicating Liquors (Ire-  
 land) Bill*) it became a dropped Order, [246]  
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 Discharge of Order of the Day—It is unusual  
 to move to discharge an Order without No-  
 tice, except upon the Motion of a Member in  
 charge of the Bill, [247] 1403  
 Precedence of Government Orders on Tues-  
 days—The Chancellor of the Exchequer  
 having put down for a Tuesday a Bill as an  
 Order of the Day to have precedence over  
 Notices of Motion, and notice being taken,  
 Mr. Speaker said, that the course taken by  
 the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a course  
 not unusually taken, especially with refer-  
 ence to Bills of an urgent character, and  
 which had met with no opposition at their  
 several stages.—*Consolidated Fund (No. 2)*  
*Bill*, [244] 1705

**NOTICES OF MOTION**

Notice to move "a Resolution"—Mr. J. R.  
 Yorke had given Notice to call attention to  
 the removal of the North Gloucester Militia  
 from Cirencester to Holford "and to move  
 a Resolution." At the conclusion of the  
 hon. Gentleman's observations Mr. Speaker  
 said, As the hon. Member has not given No-  
 tice of the terms of his Resolution he is pre-  
 cluded by the Rules of the House from  
 moving it.—*Army—The Auxiliary Forces*,  
 [247] 921

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[cont.]

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

## MOTIONS AND QUESTIONS

Moving the Adjournment of the House—As the House is aware, every Member of the House has the privilege of moving the adjournment of the House at the time of Questions; but I am bound to say that if the privilege of moving the adjournment of the House when a Member is not satisfied with the answer which he receives should become a practice, that privilege will have to be restrained by the House.—*Anti-Rent Agitation (Ireland)*, [247] 697; [244] 911; [248] 782

## PUBLIC BILLS

Bills affecting the interests of the Crown—Sir Alexander Gordon having moved for leave to bring in a Bill to make further provisions in regard to the Church of Scotland &c., Mr. McLaren asked Mr. Speaker if it was competent for a private Member to introduce a Bill which affected the Church of Scotland?—Mr. Speaker said, there was no objection to the introduction of the Bill; but it could not be passed through the subsequent stages if it touched the interests of the Crown without the consent of the Crown being first given, [243] 211

Stages of Bills—Unusual Expedition—On occasions of urgency two stages of a Bill are sometimes taken at the same sitting; but, except in such cases, it is not usual to take two stages of a Bill at the same time.—*Racecourses (Metropolis) Bill*, [244] 1491, 1492

Moved that the [*Parliamentary Elections*] Bill be now read the second time—A Resolution moved by way of Amendment.—In reply to an hon. Member, Mr. Speaker said, the carrying of the Amendment would have the effect of setting aside the second reading of the Bill for the moment, but a Motion for its second reading could again, at some future time, be proposed, [244] 1384

Motions not Seconded—Mr. Speaker: As no one has seconded the Motion, it cannot be put.—*Russia—State Prosecutions*, [245] 1589

Withdrawal of a Question—When a Question has been once put from the Chair it cannot be withdrawn from the judgment of the House, except with the general consent of the House, [247] 841; [245] 859

Nor any portion of a Question, [248] 1365

Rule as to Decided Questions—By the Rules of the House, no Motion which has been submitted and debated and the issue determined can a second time be submitted to the House in the same Session of Parliament. But Mr. Speaker said that although the Motion of the hon. Member for Burnley had given occasion for a very full discussion of the foreign policy of the Government, yet as the Motion did not, in its terms, specifically refer to that policy it was, he thought, open to the hon. Member for Carlisle to challenge the foreign and colonial policy of the Government, the judgment of the House not having been specifically taken on that question, [245] 1502

{*cont.*}SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

## OPPOSED BUSINESS

The Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule—The half-past Twelve Rule held to apply to a Motion for the nomination of the Select Committee on the Sugar Industries under the circumstances stated, [245] 2056

The Half-past Twelve Rule absolutely precludes a Bill being taken where an Amendment to the Motion stands on the Order Book, notwithstanding that the Member who has given Notice of such Amendment proposes to withdraw it, [246] 226

Order for Third Reading of the *Public Health Act Amendment Bill* read.—Mr. Dillwyn complained that the Bill was only unopposed because there had been no time to put down Notice of opposition. Mr. Speaker said that the third reading of the Bill had been fixed for that day, and no Notice of Amendment having been given he was bound to rule that the regulation in question did not apply, and that the Bill could be then taken. But it was open to the hon. Member to move the adjournment of the debate.—*Indian Marine Mutiny Bill*, [247] 284, 286; [244] 1962

## AMENDMENTS TO QUESTIONS

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"—An Amendment moved; Question, "That the words, &c.," put, and agreed to. Afterwards, Mr. Chamberlain proposed to move a Resolution of which he had given Notice. Mr. Speaker pointed out that the hon. Member could not now move his Resolution as an Amendment, [248] 1872

The Motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" having been agreed to, it is not competent to an hon. Member to move a Resolution thereupon, [243] 1622

Bills—Amendments on Clauses—Mr. Parnell said he had an Amendment to move on Clause 3. Mr. Speaker said he had already put the Question on Clause 4, "That those words be there inserted," and it is impossible, as the hon. Member knew, for the House to go back on former clauses.—*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—Consideration*, [248] 720

On *Army Discipline and Regulation Bill Considered—Clause 4*—Mr. Parnell rose to move the omission of sub-section 7 from the Clause. Mr. Speaker thereupon pointed out to the hon. Member that he could not do so. The House had already dealt with the portion of the section to which the hon. Member referred, so far as to authorize the insertion of the words "in such manner as to show cowardice." The sub-section must, therefore, stand and could not be left out, [248] 761

The House having agreed to the first part of the Resolution down to the word "House," an Amendment to leave out after the word "That," with a view to inserting other words, is out of Order.—*East India—Duties on Cotton Goods*, [245] 243

Amendment on Amendment—Resolution proposed (Mr. Ritchie); Amendment proposed (Mr. Secretary Cross); Mr. W. E. Forster

{*cont.*}

**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

suggesting the introduction of certain words into the Amendment, Mr. Speaker said the Original Question must be first put, and in the event of that being negatived the Amendment of the Government would be proposed, and it would then be open to the right hon. Member to propose his Amendment, [245] 908

An hon. Member would not be in Order in moving an Amendment, there being already an Amendment before the House which has not been disposed of, [243] 1356, 962; [249] 740

When Amendment withdrawn, the Original Question will be put from the Chair and the Debate will proceed, [246] 1092

If the Amendment be carried, no other Amendment can be moved except in the form of an addition to those words, [244] 750

Motion and Amendment—An Amendment being before the House, the Original Motion cannot be withdrawn unless the Amendment be first withdrawn.—*Consecration of Churchyards Bill*, [243] 1822

Money Clauses—An Amendment involving a charge can only be inserted in a Committee of the Whole House.—*Summary Jurisdiction Bill*, [246] 1099

Mr. O'Donnell giving Notice of his intention to move an Amendment to the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Adjournment of the House for the Holidays, Mr. Speaker pointed out that no Amendment to that Motion could be moved except with reference to the time of the Adjournment, [246] 1266

Amendment—Relevancy of Amendment to Question, [246] 1266

Amendments—Mr. Speaker explains the course he should deem it his duty to pursue when several Amendments are about to be proposed—that is to say, so to put the Question that those Amendments should be open to discussion.—*Parliament—Orders of the Day*, [243] 1336; [244] 746; [246] 1092

**RULES OF DEBATE**

Introduction of the name of the Sovereign—Referring to a recent publication Sir Henry James said—"In her Diary Her Majesty refers to a letter which she wrote in February 1852. In that letter she says—"Mr. Sullivan rose to Order, and asked whether it is in order to quote the language of the Sovereign on the floor of this House, in order to weigh down and overawe the arguments of Members? Mr. Speaker said—"It is irregular to introduce the name of the Sovereign for the purpose of influencing the judgment of the House; but in this case I understand the hon. and learned Member is merely quoting from a book published with the sanction of Her Majesty, and therefore he is not out of Order, [244] 492

Reference to proceedings of a Committee—Any reference to the proceedings of the Committee yesterday is clearly out of Order.—*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill*, [247] 1424

[cont.]

**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

Reference to a debate during the present Session of Parliament is out of Order, [243] 911; [246] 1020, 1717

Reference to a Bill not now before the House not in Order, [248] 199, 325

Speaking a second time—Moved that the House do now adjourn (*Mr. Gourley*). Mr. Parnell addressed the House on that Question. Mr. Gourley proposed to withdraw his Motion. Mr. Parnell rose to address the House. Mr. Speaker: The hon. Gentleman has already exhausted his right to speak. Is it the pleasure of the House that the Motion be withdrawn? [246] 1562; [248] 1366

Right of Reply—Amendments—A Member who has moved an Amendment has no right of reply, [248] 1818

It is usual to accept the Statement of an hon. Member when he declares that he has not used language imputed to him, [245] 1474

Precedence in addressing the House—There is no Rule that gives precedence to a Member who has given Notice of an Amendment. When several hon. Members rise to address the Chair the first who catches the eye of the Speaker is called upon, [246] 264

Production of Official Documents—The practice of the House is that if an official document is quoted by a Minister it shall be laid before the House. At the same time, if the public interest be opposed to that proceeding, that would be accepted by the House as a reason for withholding the document, [243] 940

Newspapers—It is out of Order to read a newspaper comment upon the proceedings of the House, [245] 1673

Every Member speaking to address himself to Mr. Speaker, [246] 286; [247] 700; [248] 812

**QUESTIONS**

Argumentative Questions—A Question being of a controversial character, involving matter of argument, cannot be put.—*Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—Flogging*, [248] 26

Questions put to Ministers should be on matters of fact, and not involving matters of argument and debate, [245] 1432

Questions to Private Members—The Rule of the House in regard to putting Questions to hon. Members not being Ministers of the Crown is this—No Question can be put, except such as relates to some Bill or Motion before the House, [244] 1438; [246] 1040; [247] 1549

Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works—But it has for some years past been the practice to make an exception in enforcing those rules in the case of Questions addressed to the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, in consideration of the magnitude of the interests which he represents. Such Questions, however, should be confined to matters of public importance, [243] 955

Questions—Limitation of Explanatory Statement, [245] 1586; [246] 1242

Limitation of Questions—A Question asking for the opinion of the Government goes beyond the limit of a Question, [247] 430; [243] 198

[cont.]



**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

Questions—Limitation of Answer—An Answer which might lead to an argument and which might be controverted would be beyond the limits allowed in replying to a Question, [247] 1550

Limitation of Answer—Questions Answered not to be repeated—The hon. Gentleman having already had a full Answer, it is not competent for him now to renew the Question, [246] 1230

Questions relating to Criminal Proceedings—There is no positive Order on this matter; but Questions are not usually put in this House on matters which are the subject of criminal proceedings, [246] 686

Questions—Alteration of Notice of Questions—Mr. Anderson having complained that a paragraph had been left out from his Notice of Question, "Whether these Counts have been generally arranged, and were brought about by Members being induced to remain away?" Mr. Speaker said, by my direction those words were struck out of the Questions of the hon. Member, on the ground that they were not consistent with the Rules of the House.—*Business of the House—Counts-Out*, [244] 18; [243] 1515; [245] 1432, 1433

Relevancy of Observations—Exception—The established rule of debate is that the observations of hon. Members should be relevant to the Question put from the Chair. There is one exception to that rule, and that is when a Motion is made that this House do resolve itself into Committee of Supply. Upon that occasion irrelevance of debate is allowed, [243] 1549

Relevancy of Amendments and Observations on Votes in Supply, [243] 1676

Relevancy of Observations, [244] 2021; [245] 1302

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Premature discussion of a subject—Mr. Speaker said that there being an Order on the Paper for a Motion dealing with the subject (of the *Rhodesia Commission*), which was to be discussed at a later period of the evening, the observations of the hon. Member for Burnley were irregular at that time, [243] 953; [244] 917

Premature discussion of a subject when Notice of Motion given for a subsequent day, [244] 917

Premature discussion of a Bill, [246] 1024; [248] 722

Premature discussion of a clause—Mr. Speaker: The Question before the House is that the Bill shall be considered, and the hon. Member is out of Order in discussing at this stage a clause in the Bill, [244] 1490; [247] 906, 1201

Premature discussion of details of Bill—In the debate upon the second reading of the *Bankruptcy Law Amendment Bill* Mr. Anderson referred to the trades or manufactures which were included in or omitted from the Schedule of Traders. Mr. Speaker said that the hon. Member's remarks referred to rather minute details, which might be reserved for Committee, [248] 590

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**SPEAKER, The—cont.**

Interruption of a Member speaking—All interruptions interfering with the hon. Member in possession of the House are out of Order.—*South Africa—The Zulu War*, [244] 913, 914; [248] 217

Explanation—It is not in Order for an hon. Member to interrupt a Member addressing the House, for the purpose of interposing an Explanation, [248] 660. But he would, with the indulgence of the House, have an opportunity at the end of the speech, [244] 2007, 1564

Speaking to Order—The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to a point of Order: thereon Mr. Mitchell Henry rose to Order. After some confusion, Mr. Speaker said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in possession of the House, and these interruptions are altogether disorderly. The right hon. Gentleman has risen, as I understand, to a point of Order, [247] 699

A Member rising to address the House from one of the cross-seats close to the Bar—Mr. Speaker said, if the hon. Member desires to address the House he should present himself within the Bar, [246] 1034

Question being asked on a subsequent day, Mr. Speaker said, I am unable to give any reason for the practice to which I referred the other day; but it has been the practice, so far as I am informed, that Members without the Bar—that is to say, on the other side of the Bar that passes across the House from one side to the other—cannot address the House from the seats referred to, [246] 1363

**DIVISIONS**

Un-Parliamentary Language—The Officers of this House.—Mr. Callan—I hold it to be a most improper and dishonourable proceeding to allow a clerk of this House, sitting in the place of a Member—Mr. Speaker: I hope the hon. Member does not apply the epithet "dishonourable" to any officer of this House. Afterward Mr. Speaker said—In my judgment the hon. Member for Dundalk is bound to withdraw such words used towards an officer of this House.—*Parliament—Privilege—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery*, [248] 53

Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. Mundella, referring to an alleged argument of Lord Sandon that as our troops went to barbarous countries it was necessary for the maintenance of discipline to retain the power of inflicting corporal punishment on our soldiers, said—Was there ever such a hypocritical pretence as that?—Mr. Speaker—the expression which the hon. Gentleman has just used is not Parliamentary, [248] 666

Un-Parliamentary Language—An hon. Member imputing treasonable intentions to hon. Members for what they had said in that House would be out of Order; but the hon. Member (Mr. R. E. Plunkett) appeared to be referring to speeches which had been delivered outside that House.—*Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill*, [245] 1929

[cont.]

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

Un-Parliamentary Language—An hon. Member saying "he must say that he did not believe there was one word of truth in the Chief Secretary's assertion of impartiality." Mr. Speaker said, he trusted the hon. Member did not intend to impute a want of truth to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and that he would see the necessity of withdrawing the observation, [243] 1259

Un-Parliamentary Language—Language of Menace—Mr. E. Jenkins—Sir, I beg to tell the House at once that if I have to stand here all night I will say what I mean to say [Order!] Mr. Speaker—The hon. Member is not entitled to use language menacing to the House, [244] 909

Mr. O'Connor Power: Until the highest authority in this House commands me to be silent I shall not be silent until I have made my speech. Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not entitled to use language of menace to this House; and, if he will allow me, I must caution him against abusing further the privilege afforded by this House by moving the adjournment of the House; and I trust he will be more measured in his language, [247] 701

Un-Parliamentary Language—Major O'Gorman having compared the conduct of Her Majesty's Government to that of the young nobles of Rome when in their cups, and used other injurious comparisons—Mr. Speaker said—The hon. and gallant Gentleman is not entitled to apply language of that kind to any body of Members in this House; and I must therefore call upon him to withdraw the terms in which he speaks of Her Majesty's Government, [245] 1587

## DIVISIONS

Divisions—The number of the hon. Members who pass them is counted by the Tellers, and they make a report to the House. The numbers having been reported to the House by the Tellers, and not challenged before the report was made, those numbers must be accepted, [245] 919

## SELECT COMMITTEES

Power of Exclusion—Every Select Committee is at liberty to exclude strangers if it think proper; but it cannot exclude Members of this House without first obtaining the Order of the House to that effect, [247] 1957

Instructions—The proper time for giving Instructions to the Committee would come more opportunely when the House has disposed of the preliminary points before it.—*Privilege—Tower High Level Bridge*, [247] 1960

Committees on Hybrid Bills—When a Committee of this character (on a Hybrid Bill) is appointed, it is usual to state how many are to be appointed by the House and how many by the Committee of Selection.—*Thames River (Prevention of Floods) Bill*, [243] 1971

{*cont.*}SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

## PETITIONS

When a Petition is referred to the Select Committee on Petitions, it rests with them to determine whether it should be printed, [246] 1728

Irregularity—A Petition having been presented, as to which there were suggestions of irregularity, if the Question, "That the Petition do lie upon the Table" be agreed to, it may be followed by an Instruction to the Committee on Public Petitions, [245] 1429

A Substantive Motion may be accompanied by the presentation of Petitions; but Petitions cannot be presented with a Motion which is an Amendment on Motion, "That Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair." The Mover may, however, refer to the substance of the Petitions in his speech, [244] 405

## PRIVILEGE

Privilege—The Clare Election—The Question of the noble Lord raises this point—Whether the consideration of the Report of the Committee with reference to the issue of the Writ for Clare is to be treated as a matter of Privilege or not? Upon the best consideration I can give to the matter, it appears to me it ought to be so treated, and, as such, it will necessarily take the first place on the Orders of the Day.—*Clare Writ*, [245] 518

Privilege—Note-taking in the Members' Side Gallery—Mr. Speaker explains his motives and action in having authorised Minutes of the proceedings in Committee on the *Army Discipline and Regulation Bill* of a fuller character than the minutes taken day by day and published in the Votes to be taken by an Officer of this House, [248] 47, 164

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## SUPPLY, AND WAYS AND MEANS

Votes on Account—The Marquess of Hartington having moved to insert, in the First Resolution relating to *Business of the House*, after "Supply," the words "appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates," which Motion was agreed to—Mr. Speaker stated his opinion that these words would cover Votes on Account applying to the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, [243] 1380

Amendments on Report—Mr. Speaker: I have already informed the hon. Member for Carlisle that the Amendment [Proposed Monument to Prince Louis Napoleon] could not be moved on the Report of Supply; but, at the same time, the House is aware that general observations are allowed on the Report, [249] 581; [243] 1549, 1676

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SPEAKER, The.—*cont.*

## MISCELLANEOUS

The Indian Financial Statement—It being proposed that the Under Secretary for India should make his Financial Statement on going into Committee on the Indian Loans Bill;—and this being objected to—Mr. Speaker said, the more usual course, no doubt, is for the Indian Budget to be proposed either in Committee or on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. At the same time, I cannot say that the course proposed to be taken by the Government is out of Order, although it is unusual, [246] 130

Customs and Practice of the House—"Making a House"—Mr. Speaker explains the practice in respect of "making a House."—Message by Serjeant at Arms to Members of Committees, [245] 1500

Private Bills—Canvassing of Members—The practice of canvassing Members to support or oppose Private Bills has often been the subject of complaint in this House. In the present case, the Chairman of Ways and Means has brought under the notice of the House the fact that the parties have gone further, and commented, in connection with the proposed constitution of the Committee, on the names of particular Members selected to serve upon it. Such a practice is, undoubtedly, very objectionable, and should be discountenanced by the general reprehension of the House. But, except in cases where false or misleading statements are made, or expressions are used which are injurious to Members, the House will scarcely think it necessary to take any measures against the parties referred to, [244] 933

Mr. Speaker repeatedly interferes to enforce Order in a debate raised by moving the adjournment of the House on a Question respecting *Anti-Rent Agitation (Ireland)*, [247] 694

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*Specie and Paper Currency*

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, a free circulation of specie currency, together with a full and adequate circulation of paper currency, convertible into specie on demand, is essential and necessary for the promotion and development of manufactures, commerce, and trade" (*Mr. Delahunty*) *Mir* 18, [244] 1155; after short debate, Motion agreed to

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## Spirits Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Acts read; considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> June 9 [Bill 203]  
Bill withdrawn \* July 11

## Spirits in Bond Bill

(*Mr. O'Sullivan,*

*Major Nolan, Mr. Blennerhassett, Captain Pim, Mr. Stacpoole*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 19]  
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(Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. James Louther)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 23 [Bill 132]  
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*Straits Settlements—The Sultan of Johor*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for, Copy of the Treaty of 1855 between the Sultan of Johor and his Tumonggong, and for the correspondence respecting Muar since the death of the late Sultan of Johor" (*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) May 27, [246] 1341; after short debate, Motion agreed to

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*Sugar Industries*

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the injurious effect upon the Home and Colonial Sugar industries of the system prevailing in various countries of giving bounties on the export of Sugar, and to report whether, in their opinion, any remedial measures can be devised by Parliament" 245] (*Mr. Ritchie*) April 22, 860  
After debate, Amendt. to leave out from "to," in line 1, and add "inquire into the effects produced upon the Home and Colonial Sugar industries of this Country by the systems of taxation, drawbacks, and bounties on the exportation of Sugar now in force in various Foreign Countries; and to report what steps, if any, it is desirable to take in order to obtain redress for any evils that may be found to exist" (*Mr. Secretary Cross*) v., 902; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further debate, Question put, and negatived  
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Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to insert, after "if any," the words "other than the imposition of compensatory duties" (*Mr. William Edward Forster*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 43, N. 70; M. 27 (D. L. 71)  
After short debate, Question, "That the words 'inquire, &c.' put, and agreed to  
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Nomination of Select Committee May 8, [245] 2055; after short debate, Nomination postponed  
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Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of 17 Members" (*Mr. Ritchie*) May 20, 925; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to  
Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Ritchie (Chairman), Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bell, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Alexander Brown, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Mr. Collins, Mr. James Corry, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Sir James M'Garel Hogg, Mr. Morley, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Onslow, Mr. James Stewart, and Mr. Thornhill

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     Public Education Scotland, [248] 1978  
     Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain, [244] 1328  
     Science and Art Department, [248] 1958  
     Stationery, &c. [246] 143  
     Superintendence of Prisons, &c. in Ireland, [248] 940, 943, 948, 949, 950  
     War in South Africa—Vote of Credit, [243] 1900  
 University Education (Ireland)—Alleged Proposal of the Government, [248] 631  
 University Education (Ireland), Leave, [246] 504, 1025  
 University Education (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. [248] 1209, 1211, 1258, 1271; Comm. add. cl. [249] 353

**Summary Jurisdiction Bill**

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Matthew Ridley*)

e. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 69]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee, after short debate Feb 27, [243] 1939  
 And, on Mar 18, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Secretary Cross (Chairman), Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Floyer, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Paget, Sir Colman Rashleigh, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Walter, Mr. Watkin Williams, and Mr. Woodd  
 Report of Select Comm.\* April 29 [No. 164]  
 Committee (*on re-comm.*)—*n.r.* May 8, [245] 2048  
 246] Committee (*on re-comm.*)—*n.r.* May 9, 88  
     Committee; Report May 12, 214 [Bill 138]  
     Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" May 22, 1093  
     Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, compensation should be made to clerks of the peace, now paid by fees, for the diminution of their incomes which will be caused by the provisions of this Bill" (*Mr. Morgan Lloyd*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

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## Summary Jurisdiction Bill—cont.

Main Question, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration?" put, and agreed to. Bill so amended, considered [Bill 149]

Reas. 24<sup>th</sup> May 21

1. Reas. 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Chancellor May 24, No. 27, 247; Reas. 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate July 7, 1899

Committee<sup>o</sup> June 24 No. 142

248, Report July 31, 1899

Reas. 24<sup>th</sup> August 1

6. Lords Answered August 1 [B.L. 276]

Lords' Answered, considered and agreed to 249, August 4, 1899

1. Royal Assent August 13 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 49]

## Sunday Opening of Museums, &c.

Moved to resolve, That this House having observed the exertions that have been made upon the opening of museums, &c. on Sunday afternoons in Dublin, Birmingham, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Hampton Court, &c., is of opinion that it is highly desirable that the prayer of the petition of the Council of the National Sunday League, presented to this House on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March last, praying "for the opening of the British Museum, the South Kensington and Bethnal Green Museums, and the National Gallery to the people on Sunday afternoons," should be granted, even if only in part and as a tentative measure, in order to provide the working classes of London with an alternative to the public-house on the many inclement Sunday afternoons when places of out-of-door recreation, such as the public parks, are of no avail for the purposes of health and recreation (The Lord Thurlow) May 3, 1893; after debate, on Question? Cont. 56, Not-Cont. 67; M. 8

Resolved in the negative

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 1704

## SUPPLY

### MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Army Estimates—Contagious Diseases Acts, Question, Mr. Hopwood: Answer, Colonel Stanley May 17, [244] 1039

Army Estimates, 1879-80—Regimental Establishments at Home and Abroad, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon: Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 3, [244] 9

Civil Service Estimates, Class IV.—The Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University, (Ireland), Question, Mr. O'Donnell: Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson June 23, [247] 422 Committee, Observations, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson July 28, [248] 1372

Finance—Exchequer Bonds, Questions, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Childers: Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 24, [243] 1657 Naval Expenditure—The Vote of Credit, 1878, Question, Mr. Shaw Levee: Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 4, [244] 133

Supplementary Vote of Credit—The Queen's Colleges in Ireland, Question, Major Nolan: Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 27, [243] 1437

The Scotch and Irish Universities Votes, Question, Mr. A. Moore: Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer: short debate thereon August 2, [248] 1945

## SUPPLY—cont.

The Supplementary Estimates, 1878—The Exchequer Question, Mr. Whitwell: Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 27, [243] 1657

The Vote of Credit—The Loan for the Chamber of Commerce, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 27, [243] 1654

## Supply—Civil Service Estimates

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report upon the Civil Service Estimates in the order in which they appear" Mr. Evelyn Feb 18, [243] 1491; after debate, Question put: A. 45, N. 156; M. 63 D. L. 141

## SUPPLY

Resolved, "That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty" Dec. 3

[See Parliament—Business of Parliament—Ministerial Statement]

Considered in Committee Feb 27

(1.) £2,750,000, Exchequer Bonds: after short 243 debate, Vote agreed to, 1881

(2.) £1,500,000, War in South Africa (Vote of Credit): Vote agreed to, 1888

Resolutions reported Feb 28, 1894: after short debate, Resolutions agreed to

244] Considered in Committee Mar 3, 27—ARMY ESTIMATES—Resolutions reported Mar 4

Considered in Committee Mar 6, 317—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1878-9 —CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS —CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—Committee—R.P.

Resolutions reported Mar 7, 507

Resolutions 1 to 12 agreed to Resolution 13: after short debate, Resolution agreed to

Resolutions 14 to 16 agreed to

Considered in Committee Mar 10, 557—NAVY ESTIMATES—DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT OF THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY—Resolutions reported Mar 11

Considered in Committee Mar 17, 1639—ARMY ESTIMATES—Resolutions reported Mar 19

Considered in Committee Mar 20, 1331—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1878-9 —CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND ART—CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES—CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES—CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, SPECIAL, AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS—REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—Resolutions reported Mar 21

Considered in Committee Mar 21, 1491—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1878-9 CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—Resolution reported Mar 22

Considered in Committee Mar 24, 1593—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—£4,100,067 on ACCOUNT—CIVIL SERVICES—CLASSES I. to VII. and the REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—Resolution reported Mar 25

[cont.]

[cont.]

SUPPLY—cont.

- 245] Considered in Committee *April 17*, 586—  
CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC  
WORKS AND BUILDINGS—Committee—R.P.
- . Considered in Committee *April 18*, 617—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC  
WORKS AND BUILDINGS—CLASS II.—SALARIES  
AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS
  - . Resolutions reported *April 21*, 816  
Resolutions 1 to 16, inclusive, agreed to  
Resolution 17; after short debate, agreed to  
Resolutions 18 to 24, inclusive, agreed to  
Resolution 25; after short debate, agreed to  
Remaining Resolutions agreed to
  - . Considered in Committee *April 21*, 707—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES  
AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—  
Committee—R.P.
  - . Resolutions reported *April 22*, 922  
Resolutions 1 to 8, inclusive, agreed to  
Resolution 9; after short debate, agreed to  
Remaining Resolution agreed to
- 246] Considered in Committee *May 12*, 136—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES  
AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS
- . Resolutions reported *May 13*, 327; after short  
debate, Resolutions agreed to
  - . Considered in Committee *May 19*, 700—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND  
JUSTICE—Resolutions reported *May 22*
  - . Considered in Committee *May 26*, 1268—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND  
JUSTICE—Resolutions reported *May 27*
  - . Considered in Committee *June 9*, 1434—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND  
JUSTICE—CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND  
RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR  
CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES—Resolu-  
tions reported *June 12*
  - . Considered in Committee *June 16*, 1919—ARMY  
ESTIMATES—Resolutions reported *June 17*
- 247] Considered in Committee *June 19*, £500,000,  
Exchequer Bonds—Resolution reported  
*June 20*
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That  
Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"  
(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *June 27*, 888; after  
short debate, Question put, and agreed to
- . Considered in Committee *June 27*, 889—NAVY  
ESTIMATES
  - . Resolutions reported *June 30*, 1046  
Moved, "That the said Resolutions be now  
read a second time;" after short debate,  
Moved, "That the Debate be now ad-  
journd" (*Mr. Biggar*); after further short  
debate, Motion withdrawn  
Original Question put, and agreed to  
Resolutions read a second time, and agreed to
- 248] Order for Committee read; Moved, "That  
Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"  
*July 18*, 774; after short debate, Motion  
withdrawn; Committee deferred till Monday  
next

SUPPLY—cont.

- 248] Considered in Committee *July 21*, 859—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND  
JUSTICE—Resolutions reported *July 22*
- . Considered in Committee *July 25*, 1376—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS VI.—SUPERAN-  
NUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND  
GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER  
PURPOSES—Resolutions reported *July 28*
  - . Considered in Committee *July 28*, 1416—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION,  
SCIENCE, AND ART—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS  
AND BUILDINGS—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND  
EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—CLASS  
III.—LAW AND JUSTICE  
Resolutions reported *July 29*  
First Resolution agreed to  
Second Resolution postponed  
Six following Resolutions agreed to  
Ninth Resolution postponed  
Postponed Resolutions to be taken into con-  
sideration upon Thursday
- . Considered in Committee *July 29*, 1584—  
£2,500,000, EXCHEQUER BONDS—CIVIL SER-  
VICE ESTIMATES—CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CON-  
SULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES—CLASS  
VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOW-  
ANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND  
OTHER PURPOSES—CLASS VII.—MISCEL-  
LANEOUS, SPECIAL, AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS—  
REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—CIVIL SERVICES—  
CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART  
—Resolutions reported *July 30*
- . Considered in Committee *July 30*, 1672—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION,  
SCIENCE, AND ART—Resolution reported  
*August 1*
  - . Considered in Committee *July 31*, 1769—NAVY  
ESTIMATES—Resolutions reported *August 1*
  - . Considered in Committee *August 1*, 1894—NAVY  
ESTIMATES  
Resolutions reported *August 2*  
First Four Resolutions agreed to  
Fifth Resolution postponed
  - . Considered in Committee *August 1*, 1918—NAVY  
ESTIMATES—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—  
CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART  
—Resolutions reported *August 4*
  - . Considered in Committee *August 2*, 1949—CIVIL  
SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION,  
SCIENCE, AND ART—ARMY ESTIMATES
- 249] Considered in Committee *August 4*, 122—  
£3,000,000, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (VOTE OF  
CREDIT)—ARMY ESTIMATES  
Resolutions reported *August 5*  
Resolutions [2nd August] reported *August 4*,  
175  
First Eleven Resolutions agreed to  
Twelfth Resolution read a second time  
Amendt. to leave out "£392,400," and insert  
"£391,000" (*Colonel Arbuthnot*); Ques-  
tion proposed, "That '£392,400' do;"  
after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; Re-  
solution agreed to  
Postponed Resolutions [28th July] further con-  
sidered *August 5*, 285; after short debate,  
Resolution agreed to  
Second Resolution further postponed

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SUPPLY—*cont.*

249] Considered in Committee August 7, 452—  
CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—  
EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART—ARMY ESTI-  
MATES—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.  
—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS—CLASS II.  
—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DE-  
PARTMENTS—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE,  
AND ART—CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR,  
AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES  
Postponed Resolution [28th July] further con-  
sidered, and agreed to August 7, 490  
Postponed Resolution [1st August] considered,  
and agreed to August 7, 490  
Postponed Resolution [1st August] considered  
August 8, 528; after short debate, Resolu-  
tion agreed to  
Resolutions [7th August] reported August 8,  
549  
First and Second Resolutions agreed to  
Third Resolution read a second time  
Moved, "That this House doth agree with  
the Committee in the said Resolution;"  
after short debate, Question put; A. 180,  
N. 27; M. 103 (D. L. 218)

[*cont.*

SUPPLY—*cont.*

249] Fourth Resolution read a second time  
Amendt. to leave out "£1,330,000," and in-  
sert "£1,325,000" (*Colonel Arbuthnot*) v.;  
Question proposed, "That '£1,330,000'  
&c.;" Amendt. withdrawn; Resolution  
agreed to  
Fifth Resolution read a second time  
Amendt. to leave out "£853,300," and insert  
"£849,440" (*Captain Home*) v.; Question  
proposed, "That '£853,300' &c.;" Amendt.  
withdrawn; Resolution agreed to  
Sixth Resolution read a second time  
Amendt. to leave out "£165,800," and insert  
"£165,300" (*Sir Arthur Hayter*) v.; Ques-  
tion proposed, "That '£165,800' &c.;"  
after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn;  
Resolution agreed to  
Seven subsequent Resolutions agreed to  
Fourteenth Resolution read a second time  
Moved, "That this House doth agree with  
the Committee in the said Resolution," 560;  
after debate, Question put; A. 85, N. 39;  
M. 46 (D. L. 219)

SUMMARY.

| APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS.                               |                    | £        | s.       | d. |
|--|--------------------|----------|----------|----|
| Deficiencies, 1877-8 ... ..                            | 17,899             | 1        | 2        |    |
| Supplementary, 1878-9 ... ..                           | 354,539            | 0        | 0        |    |
| Exchequer Bonds, 1878-9 ... ..                         | 2,750,000          | 0        | 0        |    |
| War in South Africa, Vote of<br>Credit, 1878-9 ... ..  | 1,500,000          | 0        | 0        |    |
|  | <u>£4,622,438</u>  | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |    |
| 1879-80.   |                    |          |          |    |
| NAVY SERVICES ... ..                                   | 10,586,894         | 0        | 0        |    |
| ARMY SERVICES ... ..                                   | 15,645,700         | 0        | 0        |    |
| ARMY (INDIAN HOME CHARGES) ... ..                      | 1,100,000          | 0        | 0        |    |
| CIVIL SERVICES—viz.:                                   |                    |          |          |    |
| I. Public Works and<br>Buildings ... ..                | 1,348,620          |          |          |    |
| II. Salaries, &c. Pub-<br>lic Departments ... ..       | 2,179,009          |          |          |    |
| III. Law and Justice ... ..                            | 5,678,949          |          |          |    |
| IV. Education, Sci-<br>ence, and Art ... ..            | 4,158,921          |          |          |    |
| V. Colonial and Con-<br>sular Services ... ..          | 549,122            |          |          |    |
| VI. Superannuation,<br>&c. ... ..                      | 1,199,014          |          |          |    |
| VII. Miscellaneous ... ..                              | 34,462             |          |          |    |
|  | <u>15,148,097</u>  | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |    |
| REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c. ... ..                        | 8,116,128          | 0        | 0        |    |
| ADVANCES FOR GREENWICH Hos-<br>PITAL AND SCHOOL ... .. | 145,836            | 0        | 0        |    |
| EXCHEQUER BONDS ... ..                                 | 3,000,000          | 0        | 0        |    |
| WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA, VOTE OF<br>CREDIT, 1879-80 ... .. | 3,000,000          | 0        | 0        |    |
| Total ... ..   | <u>£61,365,093</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |    |

SUMMARY.

| WAYS AND MEANS.   |                    |          |          |
|---|--------------------|----------|----------|
| GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.  |                    |          |          |
| For the service of<br>the years ending<br>31st March 1878<br>and 1879; ... .. | £                  | s.       | d.       |
| Under Act 42 Vic.<br>cap. 2 ... ..  | 4,250,000          | 0        | 0        |
| Under Act 42 Vic.<br>cap. 7 ... ..  | 373,438            | 1        | 2        |
| For the service of<br>the year ending<br>31st March<br>1880; viz. ... ..      |                    |          |          |
| Under Act 42 Vic.<br>cap. 7 ... ..  | 8,494,195          | 0        | 0        |
| Under Act 42 Vic.<br>cap. 14 ... ..   | 6,694,816          | 0        | 0        |
| Under Act 42 &<br>43 Viet. c. 20 ... ..                                       | 6,567,023          | 0        | 0        |
| Under this Act ... ..   | 34,986,621         | 0        | 0        |
|   | <u>56,742,655</u>  | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total ... ..  | <u>£61,365,093</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |

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| DEFICIENCIES 1877-8.   |     |             | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ s. d.  | Supply—cont.  | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|--|-----|-------------|---|---|------------------------|
| COMMITTEE Mar 20—REPORT Mar 21                               |     |             |   | Household of Lord Lieutenant of Ire-<br>land  |                        |
| CIVIL SERVICES, viz.,  |     |             |   | Moved, "That a Supplementary sum,<br>not exceeding £206, be granted, &c."   |                        |
| CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EX-<br>PENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.  |     |             |   | Moved "That a Supplementary sum,<br>not exceeding £15, &c." ( <i>Mr. Parn-<br/>nell</i> ); after short debate Motion<br>withdrawn; Vote agreed to |                        |
| House of Commons Offices                                     | ... | 1 19 3      |   | [244] 354   | 206                    |
| CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.                                  |     |             |   | Chief Secretary for Ireland Offices   | 390                    |
| Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Ex-<br>penses, &c.          | ... | 450 14 4    | After short debate, Vote agreed to  |   |                        |
| County Courts  | ... | 16,733 13 0 |   | [244] 357   |                        |
| Land Registry Office   | ... | 22 3 5      | Public Works Offices, Ireland   | ...   | 560                    |
| Convict Establishments, England<br>and the Colonies          | ... | 77 12 4     | After short debate, Vote agreed to  | [244] 357   |                        |
| Registry of Judgments, Ireland                               | ... | 51 2 5      | CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.   |   |                        |
| CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR,<br>AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.  |     |             |   | Law Charges, England  |                        |
| Treasury Chest   | ... | 4 4 11      | Moved, "That a Supplementary sum,<br>not exceeding £6,200," be granted,<br>&c." |   |                        |
| CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS,<br>SPECIAL, AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS. |     |             |   | Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr.<br/>Dilwyn</i> ); Motion agreed to  | [244] 362              |
| Temporary Commissions  | ... | 557 11 6    | COMMITTEE Mar 21—REPORT Mar 22  |   |                        |
| Total of Vote  | ... | £17,899 1 2 | Vote again proposed, and agreed to  |   | 6,200                  |

SUPPLEMENTARY 1878-9.

| COMMITTEE Mar 6—REPORT Mar 7  |       |       | £      | COMMITTEE Mar 20—REPORT Mar 21   |       |       | £       |
|---|-------|-------|--------|--|-------|-------|---------|
| CIVIL SERVICES, viz. :  |       |       |        | CIVIL SERVICES, viz. :   |       |       |         |
| CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.  |       |       |        | CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.   |       |       |         |
| Houses of Parliament  | [244] | 317   | 3,771  | Wreck Commission   | ...   |       | 350     |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | County Courts  | ...   |       | 19,723  |
| Public Buildings  | ...   |       | 8,417  | Metropolitan Police  | ...   |       | 426     |
| Furniture of Public Offices   | ...   |       | 400    | County Prisons, &c. Great Britain  | ...   |       | 3,600   |
| New Home and Colonial Offices, &c.  |       |       |        | After short debate, Vote agreed to   | [244] | 1321  |         |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain  | ...   | [244] | 1322    |
| British Museum Buildings  | [244] | 319   | 724    | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       | 8,004   |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | Magistrates and Miscellaneous Legal Charges, Ireland   | [244] | 1332  | 10,000  |
| Natural History Museum  | [244] | 320   | 12,800 | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       |         |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.   |       |       |         |
| Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade  |       |       | 1,900  | Public Education, England and Wales  |       |       | 106,000 |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | After short debate, Vote agreed to   | [244] | 1335  |         |
|   | [244] | 320   |        | London University  | ...   |       | 210     |
|   |       |       |        | Paris International Exhibition   | ...   |       | 16,984  |
|   |       |       |        | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       |         |
|   |       |       |        | Public Education, Ireland  | [244] | 1339  | 8,746   |
|   |       |       |        | CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.   |       |       |         |
| CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.  |       |       |        | Diplomatic Services  | [244] | 1346  | 22,810  |
| Treasury  | ...   | [244] | 321    | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       |         |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | Consular Services  | [244] | 1350  | 3,000   |
| Home Office   | ...   | [244] | 327    | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       |         |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  |       |       |        | Treasury Chest   | ...   | [244] | 1359    |
| Foreign Office  | ...   | [244] | 334    | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |       |       |         |
| Colonial Office   | ...   |       | 925    | CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATIONS, RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES. |       |       |         |
| Lunacy Commission, England  | ...   |       | 327    | Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad   | ...   |       | 1,750   |
| Stationery Office and Printing  |       |       |        | Pauper Lunatics, Scotland  | ...   |       | 534     |
| Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £33,000, be granted, &c."   | [244] | 334   |        |  |       |       |         |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £23,000, &c." ( <i>Mr. Biggar</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to | ...   |       | 33,000 |  |       |       |         |

[cont.]

[cont.]

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| <i>Supply—cont.</i>   | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ | <i>Supply—cont.</i>   | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| (6.) Yeomanry Cavalry, Pay and Allowances   |                        | COMMITTEE Aug 7—REPORT Aug 8  |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £47,900, be granted, &c."   |                        | (12.) Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores ...   | 1,330,000              |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £42,000, &c." ( <i>Major O'Beirne</i> ); after short debate, Motion negatived; Vote agreed to [246] 2000                                    | 47,900                 | IV.—WORKS AND BUILDINGS.  |                        |
| (7.) Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances [246] 2008  |                        | (13.) Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad ...   | 853,300                |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £512,400, be granted, &c."  |                        | V.—VARIOUS SERVICES.  |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  | 512,400                | (14.) Establishments for Military Education   |                        |
| COMMITTEE Aug 2—REPORT Aug 4  |                        | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £165,800, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| (8.) Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances (including Enrolled Pensioners)  |                        | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £156,840, &c." ( <i>Major O'Beirne</i> ); after short debate, A. 17, N. 114; M. 97 ... [249] 452  | 165,800                |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £203,000, be granted, &c."  |                        | Aug 8—Res. reported   |                        |
| Moved to report Progress ( <i>Major O'Beirne</i> ); after short debate, A. 8, N. 85; M. 77 [248] 1999   |                        | Fourth Res. £1,330,000, Warlike Stores  |                        |
| Moved, "That the Chairman, &c." ( <i>Mr. Parnell</i> ); after short debate, Motion negatived [248] 2000   |                        | Amendt. to leave out "£1,330,000," and insert "£1,325,000" ( <i>Colonel Arbuthnot</i> ) v.; Amendt. withdrawn; Res. agreed to [249] 549   |                        |
| Moved to report Progress ( <i>Major O'Beirne</i> ); Motion negatived [248] 2003   |                        | Fifth Res. £853,300, Works, Buildings, and Repairs  |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £197,000, &c." ( <i>Sir P. O'Brien</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn [248] 2013   |                        | Amendt. to leave out "£853,300," and insert "£849,440" ( <i>Captain Milne-Holme</i> ) v.; Amendt. withdrawn; Res. agreed to   |                        |
| Moved, "That sub-head B be reduced by £25,000" ( <i>Mr. Parnell</i> ); A. 4, N. 64; M. 60 [248] 2017  |                        | Sixth Res. £165,800, Military Education   |                        |
| Vote agreed to ...  | 203,000                | Amendt. to leave out "£165,800," and insert "£165,800" ( <i>Sir A. Hayter</i> ) v.; after short debate, Question, "That this House doth agree, &c.," put; A. 85, N. 39; M. 46; Res. agreed to [249] 560                             |                        |
| III.—COMMISSARIAT AND ORDNANCE STORE ESTABLISHMENTS, &c.  |                        | COMMITTEE Aug 4—REPORT Aug 5  |                        |
| (9.) Commissariat Transport and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c.   |                        | (15.) Miscellaneous Effective Services  | 34,400                 |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £392,400, be granted, &c."  |                        | After short debate, Vote agreed to [249] 171  |                        |
| Moved to report Progress, ( <i>Mr. O'Donnell</i> ); Motion negatived  |                        | (16.) Administration of the Army  |                        |
| Original Question again proposed; Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Callan</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Vote agreed to [248] 2022 | 392,400                | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £232,700, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| COMMITTEE Aug 4—REPORT Aug 5  |                        | After short debate, Vote postponed! [249] 171   |                        |
| (10.) Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services   |                        | Comm. Aug 7   |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,007,000, be granted, &c."  |                        | Motion again proposed; Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £228,700, &c." ( <i>Mr. E. Jenkins</i> ); after short debate, Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Chamberlain</i> ); Motion withdrawn; Amendt. withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... | 232,700                |
| Moved to report Progress ( <i>Major O'Beirne</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn [249] 168.   |                        | Report Aug 8  |                        |
| Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Parnell</i> ); Motion negatived [249] 170   |                        | Total Effective Services  | £13,019,900            |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  | 3,007,000              | VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES.   | £                      |
| (11.) Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies ...   | 801,600                | COMMITTEE Mar 17—REPORT Mar 18  |                        |
| [cont.]   |                        | (17.) Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. ... [244] 1125  | 33,100                 |
|   |                        | After short debate, Vote agreed to  |                        |
|   |                        | [cont.]   |                        |

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Supply—cont.

|   | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|---|------------------------|
| (18.) Pay of General Officers ...<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[244] 1127   | 98,000                 |
| (19.) Retired Full Pay, Half-pay, Pen-<br>sions, and Gratuities, including<br>Payments allowed by Army Pur-<br>chase Commissioners [244] 1127   | 918,100                |
| (20.) Widows' Pensions, &c. ...   | 121,500                |
| (21.) Pensions for Wounds ...   | 16,800                 |
| (22.) Chelsea and Kilmainham Hos-<br>pitals (In-Pensions)<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£35,900, be granted, &c."<br>Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Par-<br/>nell</i> ); after short debate, A. 14,<br>N. 96; M. 82 [244] 1128<br>Original Question again proposed;<br>Moved, "That the Chairman, &c."<br>( <i>Major Nolan</i> ); after short de-<br>bate, Motion withdrawn; Original<br>Motion withdrawn [244] 1130 |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 4</i>  |                        |
| Motion again proposed; Moved to<br>report Progress ( <i>Mr. Parnell</i> );<br>after short debate, A. 11, N. 88;<br>M. 77 [249] 171<br>Moved, "That the Chairman, &c."<br>( <i>Mr. Biggar</i> ); after short debate,<br>Motion withdrawn; original Mo-<br>tion withdrawn   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 7</i>  |                        |
| Motion again proposed; Moved,<br>"That £400, Salary of Chaplain of<br>Chelsea Hospital, be reduced by<br>£200" ( <i>Mr. Biggar</i> ); after short<br>debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote<br>agreed to [249] 461  | 35,900                 |
| <i>Report Aug 8</i>   |                        |
| <i>COMMITTEE Aug 4—REPORT Aug 5</i>   |                        |
| (23.) Out-Pensions ... ..   | 1,156,000              |
| (24.) Superannuation Allowances ...   | 178,600                |
| (25.) Militia, Yeomanry, Cavalry, and<br>Volunteer Corps ... ..   | 37,800                 |
| <i>Losses Written off as Irre-<br/>coverable</i> ... ..   | —                      |
| Total Non-Effective Services  | £2,625,800             |
| Total Effective and Non-Effective<br>Services ... ..  | £15,645,700            |
| <i>COMMITTEE Aug 4—REPORT Aug 5</i>   |                        |
| ARMY (INDIAN HOME CHARGES). For<br>the sum to be transferred in aid of<br>Army Grants to meet the charge<br>incurred in recruiting and training<br>officers and men, and in defraying<br>the non-effective expenditure for<br>the regular forces serving in India,<br>which will come in course of pay-<br>ment during the year ending on<br>the 31st day of March 1880 ...   |                        |
|   | 1,100,000              |

[cont.]

Supply—cont.

|   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1879-80.   |                        |
| * The Votes marked † are "to complete<br>sums" for the several Services named.  |                        |
| CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.  |                        |
| COMMITTEE April 17  |                        |
| GREAT BRITAIN :   |                        |
| (1.) † £29,540, Royal Palaces ...<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£29,540, be granted, &c."<br>Comm. a.r. [245] 586   | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
| COMMITTEE April 18—REPORT April 21  |                        |
| Vote again proposed, and, after short<br>debate, agreed to [245] 617  | 35,540                 |
| (2.) † £2,475, Marlborough House ...<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 623   | 2,975                  |
| (3.) † £94,261, Royal Parks and Plea-<br>sure Gardens<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£94,261, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£94,076, &c." ( <i>Mr. Dillwyn</i> );<br>after short debate, Motion with-<br>drawn<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£94,111, &c." ( <i>Mr. Dillwyn</i> );<br>after short debate, A. 33, N. 56;<br>M. 23; after further short debate,<br>Vote agreed to [245] 623 | 113,561                |
| (4.) † £26,930, Houses of Parliament<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£26,930, be granted, &c."<br>After short debate, Moved, "That a<br>sum, not exceeding £25,180, &c."<br>( <i>Mr. Mundella</i> ); A. 20, N. 48; M. 28;<br>after short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 631  | 32,930                 |
| (5.) † £97,255, Public Buildings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 635   | 117,255                |
| (6.) † £13,285, Furniture of Public<br>Offices ... ..   | 15,835                 |
| (7.) † £153,134, Revenue Department<br>Buildings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 637   | 184,334                |
| (8.) † £38,750, County Court Build-<br>ings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 637  | 46,750                 |
| (9.) † £18,018, Metropolitan Police<br>Courts<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 637  | 22,018                 |
| (10.) † £6,803, Sheriff Court Houses,<br>Scotland<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 639  | 8,203                  |
| (11.) † £99,300, New Courts of Ju-<br>stice, &c.<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 639   | 120,300                |
| (12.) † £111,100, Surveys of the United<br>Kingdom<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[245] 643   | 133,500                |

[cont.]



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| <i>Supply—cont.</i>  | Total of<br>Vote<br>£ | <i>Supply—cont.</i>  | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|--|-----------------------|--|------------------------|
| (13.) † £17,386, Science and Art Department Buildings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 646  | 20,786                | (2.) † £41,711, House of Commons Offices ... [245] 669<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 50,311                 |
| (14.) † £3,919, British Museum Buildings ...   | 4,719                 | (3.) † £49,815, Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel [245] 677<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to ...  | 59,815                 |
| (15.) † £39,476, Natural History Museum<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £39,476, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £34,476, &c." ( <i>Mr. E. Jenkins</i> ); after short debate, A. 10, N. 57; M. 47; after further short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 648 | 47,476                | (4.) † £74,302, Home Office and Subordinate Departments ... 89,502<br>(5.) † £59,890, Foreign Office ... 72,490<br>(6.) † £32,617, Colonial Office ... 39,217<br>(7.) † £25,304, Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments ... 30,604<br>(8.) † £2,270, Privy Seal Office<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,270, be granted, &c."; after short debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 25; M. 32 [245] 681          | 2,770                  |
| (16.) † £16,800, Edinburgh University Buildings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 652  | 20,000                | (9.) † £138,776, Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £138,776, be granted, &c."<br>Moved to report Progress, &c. ( <i>Mr. Dillwyn</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... [245] 687  | 166,776                |
| (17.) † £14,062, Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 655  | 17,062                | <b>COMMITTEE April 21—REPORT April 22</b>  |                        |
| (18.) † £153,866, Rates on Government Property (Great Britain and Ireland) ...   | 198,856               | (10.) † £24,699, Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department) [245] 707<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 29,699                 |
| (19.) † £7,500, Metropolitan Fire Brigade  | 10,000                | (11.) † £22,282, Civil Service Commission [245] 708<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £22,282, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,282, &c." ( <i>Mr. Mundella</i> ); after debate, A. 94, N. 110; M. 16; after further short debate, Vote agreed to  | 26,882                 |
| <b>IRELAND :</b>   |                       | (12.) † £13,907, Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission ...   | 16,907                 |
| (20.) † £122,644, Public Buildings ...<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £122,644, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Motion withdrawn [245] 660<br><i>Comm. July 28—Vote again proposed, and agreed to Report July 29</i>   | 146,644               | (13.) † £6,890, Inclosure and Drainage Acts Expenses ...   | 8,290                  |
| <b>ABROAD :</b>  |                       | (14.) † £45,450, Exchequer and Audit Department ... [245] 727<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to  | 54,850                 |
| <b>COMMITTEE April 18—REPORT April 21</b>  |                       | (15.) † £4,935, Friendly Societies Registry ... [245] 740<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to  | 6,135                  |
| (21.) † £10,110, Lighthouses Abroad<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 660  | 12,110                | (16.) † £317,128, Local Government Board<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £317,123, be granted, &c."<br>After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £315,123, &c." ( <i>Mr. Gourley</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn [245] 741<br>Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £177,123, &c." ( <i>Mr. M'Laren</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... | 381,123                |
| (22.) † £19,216, Diplomatic and Consular Buildings<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 662   | 23,216                | (17.) † £12,364, Lunacy Commission   | 15,064                 |
| Total of Estimate ...  | £1,333,620            | (18.) † £53,065, Mint<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,065, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £50,065, &c." ( <i>Mr. Chamberlain</i> ); after debate, A. 65, N. 111; M. 46<br>Vote agreed to [245] 766   | 63,665                 |
| <b>SUPPLEMENTARY 1879-80.</b>  |                       | <b>COMMITTEE Aug 7—REPORT Aug 8</b>  |                        |
| <b>COMMITTEE Aug 7—REPORT Aug 8</b>  |                       | (16A.) New National Gallery ( <i>Mr. E. M. Barry</i> ) ...   | 5,000                  |
| (16A.) New National Gallery ( <i>Mr. E. M. Barry</i> ) ...   | 5,000                 | (20A.) Science and Art Museum, Dublin (Preparatory Expenses) ...   | 10,000                 |
| (20A.) Science and Art Museum, Dublin (Preparatory Expenses) ...   | 10,000                | Total Civil Services, Class I ...  | £1,348,620             |
| Total Civil Services, Class I ...  | £1,348,620            | <b>CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.</b>  |                        |
| <b>ENGLAND :</b>   |                       | <b>COMMITTEE April 18—REPORT April 21</b>  |                        |
| (1.) † £36,244, House of Lords Offices<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [245] 667   | 43,244                | <b>COMMITTEE April 18—REPORT April 21</b>  |                        |

[cont.]

[cont.]

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**[cont.]**

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| <i>Supply—cont.</i>  | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ | <i>Supply—cont.</i>  | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|--|------------------------|--|------------------------|
| SUPPLEMENTARY, 1879-80.  |                        | COMMITTEE May 26—REPORT May 27   |                        |
| COMMITTEE Aug 7—REPORT Aug 8   |                        | (16.) † £339,680, Prisons, England   |                        |
| (18.) Mint, including Coinage  | 30,000                 | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (35.) Supplementary sum, Chief Secretary for Ireland (Offices); after short debate, Vote agreed to   | ...                    | £339,680, be granted, &c."   |                        |
| [249] 408  | 11,966                 | After debate, Moved to report Progress (Mr. Parnell); Motion withdrawn   |                        |
| Total Civil Services, Class II. ...  | <u>£2,179,009</u>      | Moved to reduce Vote by £75,000, Pay of Officers; after further short debate, A. 24, N. 120; M. 96   |                        |
|  |                        | Moved to report Progress (Mr. O'Connor Power); Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [246] 1266   | 472,680                |
| CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.  |                        | COMMITTEE June 9—REPORT June 12  |                        |
| COMMITTEE May 19—REPORT May 22   |                        | (17.) † £129,351, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain  |                        |
| ENGLAND :  | £                      | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (1.) † £56,706, Law Charges ...  | 68,706                 | £129,351, be granted, &c."   |                        |
| (2.) † £162,444, Criminal Prosecutions   | 195,744                | Moved to reduce Vote by £112,000, Industrial Schools, England (Mr. J. Stewart); after debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to                           | 259,351                |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | ...                    | [246] 1434   |                        |
| [246] 700  |                        | (18.) † £20,125, Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum   |                        |
| (3.) † £147,768, Chancery Division, High Court of Justice ...  | 177,768                | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (4.) † £52,809, Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, High Court of Justice ...  | 63,409                 | £20,125, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| (5.) † £78,228, Probate, &c. Registries, High Court of Justice ...   | 93,228                 | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (6.) † £9,375, Admiralty Registry, High Court of Justice ...   | 11,875                 | £18,125, &c." (Mr. Rylands); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to  | 27,125                 |
| (7.) † £10,110, Wreck Commission ...   | 12,110                 | [246] 1449   |                        |
| (8.) † £31,542, Bankruptcy Court (London) ...  | 37,842                 | SCOTLAND :   |                        |
| (9.) † £866,679, County Courts   | 440,079                | (19.) † £49,613, Lord Advocate, and Criminal Proceedings ...   | 66,513                 |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | ...                    | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |                        |
| [246] 701  |                        | [246] 1460   |                        |
| (10.) † £4,518, Land Registry  |                        | (20.) † £45,931, Courts of Law and Justice   | 61,331                 |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        | After short debate, Vote agreed to   |                        |
| £4,518, be granted, &c."   |                        | [246] 1446   |                        |
| After short debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,518, &c." (Mr. Rylands); after further short debate, A. 88, N. 140; M. 52; Vote agreed to | 5,418                  | (21.) † £27,268, Register House Departments  |                        |
| [246] 702  |                        | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (11.) Revising Barristers, England ...   | 18,690                 | £27,268, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| (12.) † £11,763, Police Courts (London and Sheerness)  |                        | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        | £26,268, &c." (Mr. Fraser Mackintosh); after debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to  | 36,368                 |
| £11,673, be granted, &c."  |                        | [246] 1471   |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        | (22.) † £63,433, Prisons, Scotland   |                        |
| £1,763, &c." (Mr. Chamberlain); after short debate, A. 38, N. 74; M. 36; Vote agreed to  | 14,163                 | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| [246] 716  |                        | £63,433, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| (13.) † £352,800, Metropolitan Police  |                        | Moved to omit Item £140, Scripture Reader, Perth Prison (Mr. Biggar); after debate, A. 4, N. 153; M. 148   |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        | Moved to reduce Vote £100, Salaries of Female Scripture Readers, Perth Prison (Mr. Biggar); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to | 84,433                 |
| £352,800, be granted, &c."   |                        | [246] 1484   |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        | IRELAND :  |                        |
| £252,800, &c." (Mr. Chamberlain); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to   | 452,800                | (23.) † £65,521, Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions   |                        |
| [246] 725  |                        | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |
| (14.) † £890,148, County and Borough Police, Great Britain (for inspection only) ...   | 890,948                | £65,521, be granted, &c."  |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | ...                    | Moved to report Progress (Mr. Parnell); after short debate, Motion withdrawn   |                        |
| [246] 729  |                        | [246] 1510   |                        |
| (15.) † £359,126, Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies   |                        | Original Motion withdrawn  |                        |
| Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding  |                        |  |                        |
| £359,126, be granted, &c."   |                        |  |                        |
| After short debate, Moved to report Progress (Mr. Parnell); Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to   | 481,126                |  |                        |
| [246] 743  |                        |  |                        |

[cont.]

[cont.]

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| Supply—cont.  | Total of<br>Vote. | Supply—cont.  | Total of<br>Vote. |
|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| <i>Comm. July 28.</i> —Vote again proposed, and, after short debate, agreed to ... [248] 1471<br><i>Report July 29</i>  | £<br>86,521       | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £772,192, &c." ( <i>Mr. O'Donnell</i> ); after short debate, A. 18, N. 127; M. 109 [248] 903<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £821,692, &c." ( <i>Mr. Gray</i> ); after debate, Motion withdrawn [248] 910  | £                 |
| <i>COMMITTEE June 9</i> — <i>REPORT June 12</i><br>(24.) † £28,888, Chancery Division, High Court of Justice ...  | 38,888            | Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £821,792, &c." ( <i>Major Nolan</i> ); after short debate, A. 27, N. 162; M. 135 [248] 920<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £796,842, &c." ( <i>Mr. Callan</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... [248] 921  | 1,097,192         |
| <i>COMMITTEE July 28</i> — <i>REPORT July 29</i><br>(25.) † £20,677, Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, ditto<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,677, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,457, &c." ( <i>Mr. O'Donnell</i> ); after debate, A. 26, N. 182; M. 156 : Vote agreed to [248] 1476  | 27,677            | (35.) † £111,661, Prisons, Ireland<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £111,661, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,461, &c." ( <i>Mr. Errington</i> )<br>Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Gray</i> ); after further short debate, A. 20, N. 99; M. 79; Motion ( <i>Mr. Errington</i> ) withdrawn<br>Moved, "That the Chairman, &c." ( <i>Major O'Gorman</i> ); after debate, Motion withdrawn<br>Original Motion withdrawn [248] 928<br><i>Comm. July 28.</i> —Vote again proposed, Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Parnell</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further debate, Vote agreed to [248] 1800 | 147,661           |
| <i>COMMITTEE July 21</i> — <i>REPORT July 22</i><br>(26.) † £8,441, Land Judges' Offices, ditto ...   | 11,441            | <i>Report August 7</i><br><i>COMMITTEE July 21</i> — <i>REPORT July 22</i><br>(36.) † £41,906, Reformatory and Industrial Schools ... [248] 951<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to 82,906<br>(37.) † £4,824, Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ... 6,524   |                   |
| <i>COMMITTEE June 9</i> — <i>REPORT June 12</i><br>(27.) † £3,387, Probate, &c., Registries, ditto ...  | 11,387            | Total Civil Services, Class III. ... <u>£5,678,949</u>  |                   |
| (28.) † £7,574, Court of Bankruptcy<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,574, be granted, &c."<br>Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Rylands</i> ); after debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [246] 1517   | 10,274            | CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.<br><i>Comm. July 30</i>  |                   |
| (29.) † £1,195, Admiralty Court Registry ...  | 1,695             | ENGLAND : £   |                   |
| <i>COMMITTEE July 21</i> — <i>REPORT July 22</i><br>(30.) † £14,444, Registry of Deeds<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [248] 952  | 19,444            | (1.) † £1,521,168, Public Education<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [248] 1672<br><i>Report Aug 1</i>   | 2,481,168         |
| (31.) † £2,070, Registry of Judgments   | 2,870             | <i>Comm. Aug 1</i>  |                   |
| (32.) † £56,245, County Court Officers, &c. ...   | 75,245            | (2.) † £222,409, Science and Art Department<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £222,409, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £221,909, &c." ( <i>Mr. Errington</i> ); Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr. Biggar</i> ); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn<br><i>Comm. Aug 2</i><br>Vote again proposed; Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £201,801, &c." ( <i>Mr. E. Jenkins</i> ); after debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... [248] 1949  | 322,409           |
| (33.) † £103,017, Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts) ...<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to [248] 953  | 138,017           | <i>Report Aug 4</i>   |                   |
| (34.) † £822,192, Constabulary<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £822,192, be granted, &c."<br>Moved to reduce Vote by £500, Salary of Inspector General ( <i>Mr. O'Shaughnessy</i> ); after debate, A. 16, N. 72; M. 56 [248] 859<br>Moved, "That the Item of £12,289 be reduced to £110" ( <i>Mr. Callan</i> ); after short debate, Motion withdrawn [248] 889<br>Moved to omit Item of £5,215, Pensions of Inspector General ( <i>Mr. Meldon</i> ); after short debate, A. 22, N. 88; M. 66 [248] 898 |                   |   |                   |

[cont.]

[cont.]

SUP SUP { GENERAL INDEX } SUP SUP  
243—244—245—246—247—248—249.

| <i>Supply—cont.</i>   | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|---|------------------------|
| <i>Comm. Aug 1</i>  |                        |
| (3.) † £82,949, British Museum ...  | 110,949                |
| <i>Report Aug 4</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 2</i>  |                        |
| (4.) † £12,771, National Gallery ...  | 17,271                 |
| (5.) † £1,710, National Portrait Gal-<br>lery ...   | 2,410                  |
| (6.) † £11,050, Learned Societies, &c.  | 17,050                 |
| (7.) † £8,076, London University ...  | 10,776                 |
| (8.) † £3,000, Deep Sea Exploring<br>Expedition (Report) [248] 1985   |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to  | 4,000                  |
| SCOTLAND :  |                        |
| (9.) † £266,766, Public Education<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£266,766, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That the Chairman, &c."<br>( <i>Mr. Grant Duff</i> ); after short de-<br>bate, Motion withdrawn; Vote<br>agreed to ... [248] 1970 | 469,766                |
| <i>Report Aug 4</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 7</i>  |                        |
| (10.) † £15,606, Universities, &c. ...  | 18,706                 |
| <i>Report Aug 8</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 2</i>  |                        |
| (11.) † £1,500, National Gallery ...  | 2,100                  |
| <i>Report Aug 4</i>   |                        |
| IRELAND :   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 2</i>  |                        |
| (12.) † £443,029, Public Education<br>After debate, Vote agreed to ...  | 673,029                |
| <i>Report Aug 4</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. July 29</i>  |                        |
| (13.) † £490, Endowed Schools Com-<br>missioners ...  | 640                    |
| (14.) † £1,739, National Gallery ...  | 2,339                  |
| <i>Report July 30</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. July 28</i>  |                        |
| (15.) Queen's University<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£5,034, be granted, &c.;" after<br>short debate, Motion withdrawn<br>[248] 1416  |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 7</i>  |                        |
| Vote again proposed and agreed to...  | 5,034                  |
| (16.) Queen's Colleges ...  | 12,994                 |
| <i>Report Aug 8</i>   |                        |
| <i>Comm. July 29</i>  |                        |
| (17.) † £1,500, Royal Irish Academy...  | 2,000                  |
| <i>Report July 30</i>   |                        |
| Total of Estimate ...   | £4,152,641             |
| SUPPLEMENTARY, 1879-80.   |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 7</i>  |                        |
| (8A.) Royal Commission, Sydney and<br>Melbourne International Exhibi-<br>tions ...  | 6,280                  |
| <i>Report Aug 8</i>   |                        |
| Total Civil Services, Class IV. ...   | £4,158,921             |

[cont.]

| <i>Supply—cont.</i>  | Total of<br>Vote.<br>£ |
|--|------------------------|
| CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER<br>FOREIGN SERVICES.  |                        |
| <i>Comm. July 29</i>   |                        |
| (1.) † £154,995, Diplomatic Services<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[248] 1584   | 206,935                |
| (2.) † £184,197, Consular Services<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[248] 1589   | 246,597                |
| (3.) † £32,401, Colonies, Grants-in-<br>Aid ... [248] 1592   |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 44,401                 |
| (4.) † £1,770, Orange River Territory<br>and St. Helena ...  | 2,470                  |
| (5.) † £1,120, Suez Canal (British Di-<br>rectors) ... [248] 1594  |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 1,620                  |
| (6.) † £5,492, Suppression of the Slave<br>Trade ... [248] 1601  |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 7,292                  |
| (7.) † £10,247, Tonnage Bounties, &c.<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£10,247, be granted, &c."<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£5,247, &c." ( <i>Mr. Gourley</i> ); after<br>short debate, Motion withdrawn;<br>Vote agreed to [248] 1602                                       | 13,747                 |
| <i>Report July 30</i>  |                        |
| <i>Comm. Aug 7</i>   |                        |
| (8.) Cyprus, Military Pioneer Force  | 26,000                 |
| <i>Report Aug 8</i>  |                        |
| Total Civil Services, Class V....  | £549,123               |
| CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED<br>ALLOWANCES AND GRATUITIES FOR CHA-<br>RITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.  |                        |
| <i>COMMITTEE June 9—REPORT June 12</i>   | £                      |
| (1.) † £289,772, Superannuation and<br>Retired Allowances<br>Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding<br>£289,772, be granted, &c."<br>Moved to report Progress ( <i>Mr.<br/>Whitwell</i> ); after short debate,<br>A. 30, N. 120; M. 90; after fur-<br>ther short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[246] 1517 | 439,772                |
| <i>COMMITTEE July 25—REPORT July 28</i>  |                        |
| (2.) † £22,150, Merchant Seamen's<br>Fund Pensions, &c. ...  | 29,650                 |
| (3.) † £23,100, Relief of Distressed<br>British Seamen Abroad ...  | 31,000                 |
| (4.) Pauper Lunatics, England<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[248] 1376  | 395,000                |
| (5.) Pauper Lunatics, Scotland<br>After short debate, Vote agreed to<br>[248] 1379   | 71,760                 |
| (6.) † £22,095, Pauper Lunatics, Ire-<br>land [248] 1379   |                        |
| After short debate, Vote agreed to   | 82,095                 |
| (7.) † £11,647, Hospitals and Infirma-<br>ries, Ireland  |                        |

[cont.]

SUP      SUP      { SESSION 1879 }      SUP      SUP

243—244—245—246—247—248—249.

*Supply—cont.*

Total of  
Vote.  
£

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £11,647, be granted, &c."

Moved to report Progress (*Mr. Biggar*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Motion withdrawn ... [248] 1380

*Comm. July 29*—Vote again proposed, and, after short debate, agreed to ... [248] 1605 17,647  
*Report July 30*

*COMMITTEE July 25*

(8.) Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £123,944, be granted, &c."

Moved to report Progress (*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*); after short debate, A. 6, N. 40; M. 34

After further short debate, Moved, "That the Chairman, &c." (*Major O'Gorman*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Motion withdrawn [248] 1380

*COMMITTEE July 29—REPORT July 30*

Vote again proposed, and, after short debate, agreed to [248] 1612 123,944

(9.) † £2,544, Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, &c., Great Britain [248] 1612

After short debate, Vote agreed to 4,144

(10.) † £2,802, Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland

After short debate, Vote agreed to 4,002 [248] 1614

Total Civil Services, Class VI. ... £1,199,014

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, SPECIAL, AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS. £

*COMMITTEE July 29—REPORT July 30*

(1.) † £19,076, Temporary Commissions ... 27,576

(2.) † £5,086, Miscellaneous Expenses 6,886

Total Civil Services, Class VII. ... £34,462

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1879-80.

*COMMITTEE July 29—REPORT July 30*

Vote I. † £806,268, For the Salaries and Expenses of the Customs Department ... 967,268

Vote II. † £1,582,125, For the Salaries and Expenses of the Inland Revenue Department [248] 1615

After short debate, Vote agreed to 1,898,125

Vote III. † £2,806,825, For Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the expenses of Post Office

[cont.]

*Supply—cont.*

Total of  
Vote.  
£

Savings Banks, and of Government Annuities and Insurances, and of the Collection of the Post Office Revenue

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,806,825, be granted, &c."

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,806,725, &c." (*Mr. Gray*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn [248] 1615

Moved to report Progress (*Mr. Courtney*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Motion withdrawn [248] 1623

*Comm. Aug 2*—Vote again proposed, and, after short debate, agreed to 3,368,825  
*Report Aug 4*

*COMMITTEE July 29—REPORT July 30*

Vote IV. † £574,725, For the Post Office Packet Service ... 766,725

Vote V. † £834,528, For the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Telegraph Service

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £834,528, be granted, &c."

Moved to report Progress (*Major O'Beirne*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to ... 1,115,195 [248] 1624

Total Revenue Departments ... £8,116,128

*COMMITTEE Aug 1—REPORT Aug 4*

ADVANCES FOR GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND SCHOOL ... £145,836

EXCHEQUER BONDS

To pay off and discharge Exchequer Bonds which will become due and payable during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880

£500,000—*COMMITTEE June 19—REPORT June 20*

£2,500,000—*COMMITTEE July 29—REPORT July 30* ... 3,000,000

*COMMITTEE Aug 4—REPORT Aug 5*

WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (VOTE OF CREDIT)

Towards defraying the expenses, beyond the ordinary grants of Parliament, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa [249] 168

After long debate, Vote agreed to 3,000,000

**Supply of Drink on Credit Bill [H.L.]**

(*The Earl Stanhope*)

- l. Presented : read 1<sup>st</sup> May 13, [246] 229  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> May 29 (No. 84)  
 Committee June 17  
 Report June 23  
 Read 3<sup>rd</sup> June 24  
 c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> June 27 [Bill 224]  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1, [247] 1183  
 Bill withdrawn August 12

**Supreme Court of Judicature Acts Amendment Bill** (*The Lord Chancellor*)

- l. Presented : read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 18, [243] 1394  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> Mar 4, [244] 117 (No. 11)  
 Committee ; Report Mar 13, 794  
 Read 3<sup>rd</sup> Mar 31, [245] 3  
 c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Mr. Attorney General) April 25  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> May 12 [Bill 134]  
 Committee—*a.r.* June 9, [246] 1541  
*Court of Bankruptcy, London*, Questions, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Rathbone ; Answers, The Attorney General July 3, [247] 1286  
 Committee ; Report July 17, [248] 723  
 Committee, Mon. August 11  
 Question, Mr. Gregory ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 12, [249] 825

**Supreme Court of Judicature Acts [Salaries, &c.]**

- c. Considered in Committee—Resolution thereon May 16, [246] 652  
 Resolution reported May 19

**Supreme Court of Judicature (District Courts) Bill** (*Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ripley, Mr. Eustace Smith, Mr. Rowley Hill*)

- c. Ordered ; read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 12 [Bill 100]  
 Bill withdrawn July 16

**Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act, 1877**

*High Court of Judicature—Business in the Chancery Division*, Question, Mr. Sullivan ; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland June 12, [246] 1703  
*Re-organisation of the High Court of Judicature*, Question, Mr. Macartney ; Answer, The Attorney General July 21, [248] 846

**Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill [H.L.]** (*The Lord Chancellor*)

- l. Presented ; read 1<sup>st</sup> May 9 (No. 76)  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup>, after short debate June 19, [247] 133  
 Committee June 26 (No. 129)  
 Report July 1  
 Read 3<sup>rd</sup> July 3  
 c. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Mr. Attorney General) July 8  
 Read 2<sup>nd</sup> July 10 [Bill 235]  
*Salaries*, Question, Dr. Kenealy ; Answer, The Attorney General July 15, [248] 446

[*cont.*]

**Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Bill—cont.**

- Committee deferred, after short debate Aug 7, 249] 478  
 Order for Committee read ; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" August 13, 957  
 Question put, and agreed to ; Committee  
 Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Rylands*) ; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to ; Committee—*a.r.*  
 Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. Gregory ; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 249] August 14, 985  
 Committee ; Report ; read 3<sup>rd</sup> August 14, 990  
 l. Bill returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments ; Amendments considered Aug 14, 967  
 Moved, "That this House do agree to the Amendments made by the Commons in the said Bill" (*The Earl of Redesdale*)  
 On Question, agreed to  
 Royal Assent Aug 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 78]

**SUTHERLAND, Duke of**

West Donegal Railway, 2R. [244] 622

**SYMAN, Mr. E. J., Limerick Co.**

Africa, South—Zulu War—Sir Bartle Frere, Res. [245] 68  
 Clare County Writ, [245] 1158  
 Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal, 2R. [244] 1815  
 Irish Land Act, 1870, Res. [245] 1626  
 Law of Distress, Res. [246] 67  
 Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland), 2R. [248] 1132  
 National School Teachers (Ireland), Comm. [249] 895  
 Parliament—Orders of the Day, [243] 1328  
 Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [243] 1544, 1672  
 Supply—Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. [248] 1424  
 Public Works in Ireland, [248] 1470  
 Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [245] 954  
 University Education (Ireland), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, [246] 1000 ; [247] 596  
 University Education (Ireland) (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [249] 234, 245 ; cl. 4, 260, 264 ; cl. 11, 274 ; *add. cl.* 338 ; Amendt. 360 ; Consider. cl. 3, 731 ; cl. 9, 735 ; cl. 11, 738

**TALBOT, Mr. J. G. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), Oxford University**

Agricultural Statistics—The Week's Corn Averages—Act 28 Vict. c. 87, [244] 134 ; [245] 983 ; [247] 691  
 Board of Trade Returns, [244] 519  
 Burial Law Amendment, 2R. [243] 1485, 1487  
 Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [245] 921  
 "General Statistical Abstract"—Foreign Tariffs on British Produce, [244] 277  
 Mercantile Marine—Buoyage, [244] 522  
 Foreign Steamers, [244] 633

[*cont.*]

TALBOT, Mr. J. G.—*cont.*

Merchant Shipping Act—Miscellaneous Questions  
 “Albert Edward,” The, Motion for Adjournment, [249] 677  
 “Calais-Douvres,” The, [245] 450  
 Passenger Steamers, [248] 1525  
 Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Order (Blackwater, Essex), Comm. Schedule, Amendt. [244] 882  
 Private Bills—Standing Orders, [249] 388  
 Railway Commission—Continuance, [247] 1420, 1421; [248] 1850, 1851  
 Railway Commissioners, [243] 639  
 Railway Rates for American Produce, [248] 862  
 Railways—Continuous Brakes, [243] 633; [247] 691; [249] 393  
 Shipping Casualties Investigations Re-hearing, Amendments, [248] 1850  
 Supply—Harbours, &c. [244] 321; [245] 655, 658, 660  
 Lighthouses Abroad, [245] 661  
 Privy Council for Trade and Subordinate Departments, [245] 688, 690, 691, 693  
 Report, [245] 816  
 Thames River (Prevention of Floods), Nomination of Committee, [244] 805  
 Thames River Traffic Committee—The Report, [246] 1353  
 Tramways—Wantage Tramway, [247] 693  
 Tramways Orders Confirmation, Comm. [247] 925

TAYLOR, Mr. D., *Coleraine*

Blackburn and Over Darwen Tramways, 2R. [245] 1815  
 East India Railway, Consid. [247] 1197  
 Grand Juries (Ireland), [248] 27  
 Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. [247] 1228  
 Money Laws (Ireland), 2R. [247] 115  
 Poor Law (Ireland)—Children in Irish Workhouses, Motion for a Select Committee, [247] 903  
 Railway Commission, [243] 856  
 Railways—Railway Brakes, [243] 633

TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester Bo.*

Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 30, [246] 429  
 Criminal Law—Miscellaneous Questions  
 John Stanley, Case of, [246] 231  
 Manslaughter of a Game-Watcher—The Sentence, [246] 392  
 Punishment—Admission of the Press, [243] 1831  
 Stevenson, Case of, [244] 130  
 Theodoridi, Case of, [244] 402  
 Game Laws Amendment (Scotland), 2R. [245] 1672; Comm. 1775  
 Habitual Drunkards, 2R. [243] 1384  
 India—Corporal Punishment in Mysore, [245] 455  
 Criminal Law—Use of Torture, [245] 1399, 1400  
 Lunacy Laws, [243] 735  
 Married Women's Property Act, 1870, [243] 306, 853

TAYLOR, Mr. P. A.—*cont.*

Summary Jurisdiction, Comm. cl. 10, Amendt. [246] 90; cl. 11, Amendt. 93  
 Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment, 2R. [245] 508, 510  
 Valuation of Property, Comm. [245] 1671

Teachers Organization and Registration Bill (Mr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. Arthur Mills, Sir John Lubbock, Lord Francis Hervey)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 13 [Bill 101]  
 Bill withdrawn<sup>o</sup> July 30

Telegraphs, Electric—“The Government and the Telegraph Companies”—Purchase of the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company

Questions, Mr. Fortescue Harrison; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 25, [245] 1098; May 19, [246] 697

TEMPLE, Right Hon. W. F. COWPER-, *Hants, S.*

Medical Act, 1858, Amendment, 2R. [244] 765  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. [247] 1988

TEMPLETOWN, Viscount

Africa, South—Telegraphic Communication with the Cape, [245] 253  
 Metropolis—Dangers of the Streets, Motion, [248] 960  
 Metropolis—Street Accidents, Address for a Return, [244] 367

Tenant Right (Ireland) Bill [M.L.]

(*The Earl of Belmore*)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> Mar 27 (No. 35)  
 Moved, “That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>” May 20, [246] 795  
 Amendt. to leave out (“now,”) and add (“this day six months”) (*The Viscount Lifford*); after debate, on Question, that (“now,”) &c. resolved in the negative; and Bill to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on this day six months

Tenants Improvements in Towns (Ireland) Bill

(*Major Nolan, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. O'Sullivan*)

c. Motion for Leave (*Major Nolan*) Dec 9, [243] 403; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 50]  
 2R. [Dropped]

TENNANT, Mr. R., *Leeds*

Railways—Railway Accidents—Adoption of Continuous Brakes, [246] 1844

Terms of Removal (Scotland) Bill

(*Mr. Montgomerie, Sir William Cuninghame, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, Sir Windham Anstruther*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 19 [Bill 189]  
 2R. [Dropped]

[*cont.*]



*Thames River (Prevention of Floods) Bill*  
(by Order)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
243] (Sir James M'Garel Hogg) Feb 28, 1858;  
after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill  
read 2<sup>o</sup>

Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Select  
Committee of Eleven Members, Six to be  
appointed by the House, and Five by the  
Committee of Selection, and that the Report  
of the Select Committee of 1877 be referred  
to the said Committee:—That all Petitions  
against the Bill be referred to the Committee,  
and that such Petitioners as pray to be heard  
by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be  
heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit,  
and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill  
against such Petitioners:—That the Com-  
mittee have power to alter and modify the  
Bill as regards the incidence of taxation for  
the works proposed to be authorized by the  
Bill"

Amendt. in line 5, after "Bill," to insert "pre-  
sented on or before the 8th day of March"  
(Sir James M'Garel Hogg); Question pro-  
posed, "That those words be there inserted;"  
Question put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to  
244] Moved to nominate the Select Committee on  
this Bill" (Mr. Raikes) Mar 13, 1795

Moved, "That Mr. Goldney be a Member of  
the Select Committee;" Moved, "That the  
Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Cubitt);  
after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Original Question put, and agreed to  
Mr. A. Brown, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, and Sir  
C. W. Dilke nominated other Members of  
the Committee

Moved, "That Sir James M'Garel Hogg be a  
Member of the Select Committee;" after  
short debate, Motion agreed to

Lord Robert Montagu to be another Member  
of the Committee

Committee to consist of Twelve Members; Sir  
Trevor Lawrence and Mr. Maurice Brooks  
added to the Committee; Lord Robert Mon-  
tagu discharged from attendance; Five to be  
the quorum (*The Chairman of Ways and  
Means*) Mar 18

245] Minutes of the Evidence and the Proceedings  
taken before the Committee on the Thames  
River (Prevention of Floods) Bill, in Session  
1877, referred to the Committee on the  
Thames River (Prevention of Floods) Bill  
(Sir Charles Forster) April 25

246] Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into  
Consideration" May 20, 825

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon  
Tuesday the 24th of June next" (*Colonel  
Beresford*); Question proposed, "That 'now,'  
&c.;" after short debate, Amendt. with-  
drawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill, as  
amended, considered

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" (Sir  
James M'Garel Hogg) May 23, 1134; after  
short debate, Motion agreed to (Prince of  
Wales's Consent, as Duke of Cornwall, signi-  
fied); Bill read 3<sup>o</sup>

247] l. 2R. put off, after short debate June 19, 132

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
June 23, 404

*Thames River (Prevention of Floods) Bill—cont.*

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Com-  
mittee on the Bill, that they have power to  
alter the Bill so as to charge to the rates of  
the Metropolis the cost of all works carried  
out on public property and the expense of  
works of exceptional character and cost that  
may be ordered to be executed on private  
property" (*The Lord Truro*); Instruction  
withdrawn

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup>, and committed;  
the Committee to be proposed by the Com-  
mittee of Selection

Report \* July 11

248] c. Lords Amendts. agreed to, after short de-  
bate July 25, 1291

*Thames Traffic Regulation*

*Collision between the "Princess Alice" and the  
"Bywell Castle"—Recommendations of the  
Wreck Commissioners—Court of Inquiry,*  
Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Viscount  
Sandon Dec 13, [243] 743:—*The Inquest,*  
Questions, Captain Pim; Answers, Mr.  
Asheton Cross Dec 13, 737; May 27, [246]  
1353 (Return of Proceedings—P.P. 399)

*The Official Committee—The Report,* Question,  
Mr. Gourley; Answer, Viscount Sandon  
Feb 20, [243] 1520; Questions, Captain Pim,  
Lord Francis Hervey; Answers, Mr. J. G.  
Talbot May 27, [246] 1353; Question, Mr.  
Gourley; Answer, Viscount Sandon July 24,  
[248] 1178

Preliminary Report and Evidence P.P. [2198]  
Reports and Evidence . . . . ., [2338]

*THORNHILL, Mr. T., Suffolk, W.*

Sugar Industries, Res. [245] 905

*THURLOW, Lord*

Africa, South—Zulu War—Defeat at Isandlana,  
[244] 886

Sunday (Opening of Museums, &c.), Res. [245]  
1683

*Tipperary Boroughs Bill*

(Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Gray, Mr. Meldon,  
Mr. O'Shaughnessy)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* July 30 [Bill 271]  
Bill withdrawn \* August 11

*TORR, Mr. J., Liverpool*

Summary Jurisdiction, Comm. cl. 54, [246]  
219

*TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M., Finsbury*

Artizans' Dwellings Act (1868) Extension, 2R.  
[245] 1936; Comm. [248] 410; cl. 5, 413;  
cl. 21, 415; cl. 22, 417; Schedule A, id.,  
418; Consid. [249] 654

Education (Ireland)—The Commissioners of  
National Education and National School  
Teachers, [249] 912

Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [243]  
1576

[cont.]

**TOTTENHAM, Colonel C., *New Ross***  
Africa, South—Zulu War—Officers' Baggage,  
[244] 129  
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R.  
[246] 352

**TRACY, Hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-, *Montgomery***  
Copyright, Law of, [246] 1706  
Education (Wales), Res. [247] 1155  
England—Condition of the Country—Prevalent  
Distress, [243] 950  
Municipal Corporations, Report of Royal Com-  
mission, [243] 1655

#### *Tramways*

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the regulations which it may be desirable to impose in relation to the construction and use of Tramways (*The Earl of Redesdale*) Feb 20, [243] 1501

Moved after ("Tramways") to add ("and the relation of Tramways on which carriages are conveyed by steam to the present imposition of the passenger duty") (*The Lord Houghton*); on Question, "That the words, &c.?" resolved in the negative; original Motion agreed to, and the Lords following were named of the Committee:—M. Ripon, E. Derby, E. Devon, E. Cowper, E. Redesdale, V. Cardwell, L. Colville of Culross, L. Silchester, L. Hartismere, L. Carlingford, and L. Norton  
Report, &c. . . . . P.P. 15

***Tramways Act, 1870—Repair of Lines***  
Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Viscount Sandon July 17, [248] 625

***Tramways Act—Wantage Tramway***  
Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot June 26, [247] 692

***Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill*** (*Mr. Collins, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Bruen, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Gray*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 7 [Bill 163]  
2R. [Dropped]

***Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill***  
(*Mr. John G. Talbot, Viscount Sandon*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 16 [Bill 187]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 27  
Order for Committee discharged June 10  
Bill referred to the General Committee on Railway and Canal Bills June 13  
Report of Select Comm.\* June 20 [No. 241]  
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report, after short debate June 27, [247] 925 [Bill 215]  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 30  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord Henniker*) July 1 (No. 135)  
Moved, That the Order of the 4th of March last which limits the time for the Second Reading of Provisional Order Confirmation Bills be dispensed with with respect to the said Bill, and that the Bill be now read a second time July 8, 1822; after short de-

***Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill—cont.***  
bate, Motion agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection  
Committee July 17, [248] 604  
Report\* July 18  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> July 21 [Bill 261]  
c. Lords Amends. July 25  
l. Royal Assent Aug 11 [42 & 43. Vict. c. cxxlii]

#### *Treaty of Berlin*

***Articles 8 and 27—Serbia and Bulgaria—Commercial Treaties***, Questions, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Muntz; Answers, Mr. Bourke June 26, [247] 721

***Article 9—Rasure of the Fortresses***, Question, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 7, [247] 1713

***Article 23—The European Provinces of Turkey***, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 15, [246] 398; June 9, 1430; Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Bourke June 23, [247] 435; August 14, [249] 980

***Article 24***, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, Mr. Bourke Dec 6, [243] 198

***Execution of Articles***, Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury May 5, [245] 1674; Question, Sir William Harcourt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 16, [246] 567

***Russian Evacuation of Roumelia and Bulgaria***, Question, Observations, Lord Campbell; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury August 8, [249] 494

***Asiatic Provinces of Turkey—Secretary of State's Despatch 8th August, 1878***, Questions, Mr. Baxter, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. Bourke July 18, [248] 751

***Balkan Fortresses, The***, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 12, [246] 127; Question, Earl Stanhope; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury May 13, [246] 227

***The Evacuation***, Question, Earl Stanhope; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury July 31, [248] 1701

#### *The Eastern Question*

##### *Eastern Roumelia*

Questions, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answers, Mr. Bourke Mar 6, [244] 280; Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 27, 1863; Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 7, [245] 443; Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Bourke April 7, 453; Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Mr. Bourke April 28, 1240; Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Mr. Bourke May 9, [246] 9

***Eastern Roumelia and Occupation of the Balkan Passes by Turkey***, Question, Mr. C. Beckett-Denison; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 28, [245] 1247

***Russian Authorities in Eastern Roumelia***, Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 5, [245] 1709; Questions, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answers, Mr. Bourke July 21, [248] 845; July 24, 1181

*Treaty of Berlin—cont.*

- French Circular Despatch*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 17, [243] 1810
- Governor General of Syria*, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Bourke July 4, [247] 1417
- Greek Frontier, The*, Questions, Mr. Wait, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. Bourke 243] Feb 14, 1194; Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 21, 1603; Question, Sir John Kennaway; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 21, 245] 700;—*Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople*, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Bourke May 5, 1719; Questions, Mr. Monk, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answers, Mr. Bourke May 6, 1816; Questions, Mr. W. Cartwright, Mr. Monk, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bourke May 9, 246] 14; Question, Observations, The Earl of Morley; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury May 19, 654; Question, Mr. Laing; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 22, 1006; Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer August 16, 249] 1086
- Joint Occupation*, Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 8, [245] 269; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 17, 524
- Lord Salisbury's Despatch of January 26*, Questions, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 18, [244] 820; Questions, Lord Robert Montagu, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 14, 926
- Religious Liberty in Bulgaria*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 27, [243] 1886
- Servia and Roumania*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 4, [244] 133
- Speech of the Prime Minister at Guildhall*, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Dec 10, [243] 524
- The British Fleet*, Observations, Question, Lord Campbell; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury Mar 24, [244] 1499
- The French Commissioners*, Question, Mr. Otway; Answer, Mr. Bourke April 3, [245] 273
- The Porte—The Note Verbale*, Question; Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke August 4, [249] 40

*Treaty of Berlin—Article 22—Occupation of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia*

Moved, "That the Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and other Powers on Article 22 of the Treaty of Berlin be laid upon the Table" (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) May 19, [246] 655; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Treaty of Berlin—Article 61—Armenia*

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Correspondence respect-

[cont.]

*Treaty of Berlin—Article 61—Armenia—cont.*

ing the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, in respect of the Armenian people (*The Earl of Carnarvon*) June 27, [247] 811; after debate, Motion withdrawn

*Treaty of Berlin—Evacuation of the Provinces*

Moved, that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to exercise her diplomatic influence in the manner best calculated to secure the complete evacuation by Russian troops of all territory on this side of the Pruth, whether belonging to the Sublime Porte or to Roumania, at the time stipulated in the Treaty of Berlin (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) July 14, [248] 273; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Treaty of Berlin—Protocol 13—Turkey and Greece—Rectification of Frontier*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply April 17, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, tranquillity in the East demands that satisfaction be given to the just claims of Greece, and no satisfaction can be considered adequate that does not ensure execution of the recommendations embodied in Protocol 13 of the Berlin Congress" (*Mr. W. Cartwright*) v., [245] 526; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A, 63, N. 47; M. 16 (D. L. 64)

*Turkey and Greece—The Negotiations*, Observations, Question, The Marquess of Lansdowne; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury; short debate thereon April 8, [245] 254

P. P. [2330]

*Treaty of Berlin—The Congress (Unfulfilled Arrangements)*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to use Her influence to procure the prompt execution of those Articles of the Treaty of Berlin which relate to reforms in Turkey; and further praying that, in undertaking mediation under the 24th Article of the Treaty, She will endeavour to procure for Greece the rectification of frontier agreed upon by the Powers" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) July 22, [248] 1027

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House desires to express its gratification that the main portion of the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin has been successfully carried into effect, and approves the steps which Her Majesty's Government have already taken to secure the full accomplishment of those portions of the Treaty which are still in course of execution" (*Mr. Hanbury*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Monk*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

**TREMAYNE, Mr. J., Cornwall, E.**  
Contagious Diseases Acts—Select Committee,  
[245] 1716

**TREVELYAN, Mr. G. O., Hawick, &c.**  
Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. cl. 147,  
[247] 1752  
Household Suffrage (Counties), Res. [244] 137  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-  
swer to, Report, [243] 368

**Tring Poor's Land Bill [Lords] (by Order)**  
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°"  
(*Mr. Halsey*) April 18, [245] 592  
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add  
"it is inexpedient to sanction the sale of the  
Tring Poor's Allotment until a local and  
public inquiry has been held as to the expe-  
diency of the sale, and the possibility of ex-  
changing the allotment for other land more  
suitably adapted for purposes of recreation  
and for garden allotments for the labouring  
poor, as contemplated by the 19th section of  
'The Commons Act, 1876' " (*Mr. Shaw*  
*Lefevre*) v.; Question proposed, "That the  
words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt.  
withdrawn  
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

**Truck System—Nailers and Rivet Makers**  
Questions, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Mundella; An-  
swers, Mr. Assheton Cross June 26, [247]  
724

**TURRO, LORD**  
Africa, South—Zulu War—Miscellaneous  
Questions.  
Condition of the Regiments, [246] 606, 684  
Defeat at Isandlana, [244] 888;—Court of  
Inquiry, [248] 730  
Overtures of Peace, [247] 1406  
Queen's Message, [244] 1144, 1148  
Re-inforcements, [243] 1179, 1180, 1182,  
1640, 1642; [245] 1945; [246] 381  
Telegram—Victory at Ulundi, [248] 1096  
Africa, South—Re-inforcements, Address for a  
Return, [243] 1400  
Army—Miscellaneous Questions  
Army Education—Literary and Physical  
Competitions, [243] 1956  
Army Organization—The Committee, [246]  
1416, 1417, 1901;—Regimental Com-  
mands—Over-Regulation Money, [247]  
834  
Desertions—Report of the Inspector Gene-  
ral of Recruiting, 1878, [244] 119  
Officers on Half-Pay—The Circular Letter,  
May, 1866, [248] 159  
Range-finders, [245] 977, 1216, 1217  
Army—Brigade Depot System, Res. [246] 1224  
Army—Condition of the Army and Short Ser-  
vice System, Address for Papers, [246] 1421  
Army—Volunteer Force—Courts of Inquiry,  
Address for a Return, [243] 1600  
Army Discipline and Regulation, 2R. [248]  
840  
Brentford and Isleworth Tramways, 3R.  
Amendt. [248] 272, 956  
Cruelty to Animals, 2R. [248] 419  
London Bridge, 3R. [247] 681

**TURRO, Lord—cont.**  
Merchant Shipping—Explosives Act, 1875,  
[248] 1839  
Prince Imperial, The Late, [247] 1089;—  
Court Martial on Lieutenant Carey, Motion  
for Papers, [248] 1835, 1838  
Thames River (Prevention of Floods), 2R. [247]  
132, 133; Amendt. 404  
Volunteer Force—Finance and Organization,  
Report of Committee, [243] 1178  
Volunteer Force, Address for a Return, [244]  
882, 884

**Trustees Acts Consolidation and Amend-  
ment Bill** (*Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr.*  
*Gregory, Mr. Alfred Marten, Sir Henry*  
*Jackson*)

c. Ordered; read 1° \* Mar 19 [Bill 106]  
Read 2° \* April 23  
Committee; Report May 6  
Considered \* May 7  
Read 3° \* May 23  
l. Read 1° \* (*Lord Selborne*) May 26 (No. 98)  
Read 2° \* June 26

**Trustees Liability Bill**  
(*Sir George Bowyer, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr.*  
*Serjeant Simon*)

c. Ordered; read 1° \* May 6 [Bill 157]  
2R. [Dropped]

**Trustees Relief Bill**  
(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir George Bowyer, Sir Eardley*  
*Wilmot, Mr. Isaac*)

c. Ordered; read 1° \* April 30 [Bill 145]  
2R. deferred May 15, [246] 507  
2R. deferred July 7, [247] 1822  
Bill withdrawn \* August 11

## Turkey

### MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Amoosh Aga*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson;  
Answers, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Speaker July 14,  
[248] 312

### Anglo-Turkish Convention, The

*Reforms—The Anglo-Turkish Convention*,  
Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Mr.  
Bourke Dec 10, [243] 525

*Rumoured Anglo-Turkish Convention*, Que-  
stion, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor  
of the Exchequer Dec 16, [243] 858

*The Convention of Defensive Alliance—The*  
*Island of Cyprus*, Question, Mr. Dodson;  
Answer, Mr. Bourke April 3, [245] 263  
[See title *Cyprus, Island of*]

*Asia Minor—Consular Appointments*, Que-  
stions, Mr. J. Holms, Mr. Childers, Mr.  
Dodson; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer May 5, [245] 1713;  
Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Sir Henry  
Selwin-Ibbetson May 26, [246] 1237

*Chefket Pasha*, Question, Sir George Campbell;  
Answer, Mr. Bourke April 3, [245] 271;  
Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. H.  
Samuelson; Answers, Mr. Bourke July 14,  
[248] 305

[cont.]

[cont.]

*Turkey—cont.*

*Convention for the Suppression of the Slave Trade*, Question, The Earl of Shaftesbury; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury *Dec* 10, [243] 405; Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb* 24, 1858; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. Bourke *May* 26, [246] 1238  
*Commercial Treaties*, Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Dec* 17, [243] 952  
*Consul Blunt's Report*, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Bourke *May* 27, [246] 1362  
*Crete*, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Bourke *April* 28, [245] 1241;—*Reported Disturbances*, Question, Observations, Lord Colchester; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury *May* 29, [246] 1408;—*Murder of Mr. W. Anderson*, Questions, Mr. G. Howard, Mr. Vans Agnew; Answers, Mr. Bourke *June* 23, [247] 421  
*Egyptian Firman, The New*, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *August* 12, [249] 822

*Finance, &c.*

*Appointment of a Finance Commissioner*, Question, Mr. Cogan; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Mar* 6, [244] 278  
*Finance—Mr. Harrison—Loans*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 20, [243] 1518; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 27, 1829  
*Financial Reform—M. de Tocqueville*, Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 17, [243] 1307  
*Guaranteed Loan, 1855*, Questions, Mr. Dodson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 21, [244] 1433; Questions, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Monk; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June* 12, [246] 1704  
*Rumoured Guaranteed Loan*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec* 10, [243] 523; Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec* 17, 951

*Governor General of Syria*, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Bourke *July* 4, [247] 1417

*Jews in Eastern Roumelia*, Notice of Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon *July* 21, [248] 842; Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Bourke *July* 22, 964

*Murder of Mr. Ogle*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 31, [245] 17; *June* 23, [247] 424

*Papers and Correspondence*, Questions, Sir William Harcourt; Answers, Mr. Bourke *Feb* 20, [243] 1511; *Mar* 17, [244] 1038

*Protectorate of Constantinople*, Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec* 13, [243] 742

*Turkey and Greece—The Papers*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *June* 23, [247] 432; Question, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answer, Mr. Bourke *June* 30, 953

[See titles *Treaty of Berlin—Cyprus—Egypt*]

[cont.]

*Turkey—cont.*

Parl. Papers (*Turkey*), 1878—  
 Mount Rhodope Commission [2187] [2203]  
 Reforms in Asiatic Turkey . . . [2202]  
 Affairs of Turkey, Correspondence . . . [2204] [2205]  
 Parl. Papers, 1879—  
 Correspondence with Russian Government . . . [2226]  
 Demarcation of Frontiers . . . [2227]  
 Affairs of Crete . . . [2278]  
 Treaty of Berlin—Eastern Roumelia . . [2282] [2325] [2328] [2359]  
 Article XXIII. . . . [2354]  
 Principality of Bulgaria . . . [2357]  
 Consular Appointments, Asia Minor [2456]  
 The Greek Frontier . . . [2330]

*Turkey—The Rhodope Commission*

243] *Report*, Questions, Lord Elcho, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec* 9, 300; Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Dec* 10, 528  
*The Rhodope District—Grant in Aid*, Notice of Resolution, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Notice of Amendment, Mr. Anderson *Dec* 13, 785  
 Withdrawal of Notice *Dec* 16, 862  
 Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Thursday the 15th February next" *Dec* 17  
 Observations, Mr. Rylands, 958; after short debate, Moved, "That the debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Chamberlain*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn  
 Original Question put, and agreed to  
 Parl. Papers—  
 Mount Rhodope Commission . . [2187] [2203]

*Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1878*

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the Seventh Schedule of the Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1878" *April* 25  
 Committee nominated as follows:—Lord George Cavendish (Chairman), Mr. Beach, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Salt, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope  
 The Report—P.P. 243

*Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill*

(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Sclater-Booth*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *July* 8 [Bill 239]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> *July* 14  
 Committee; Report *July* 23, [248] 1138  
 Considered; read 3<sup>o</sup> *July* 24  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) *July* 25 (No. 163)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> *August* 4  
 Committee; Report *August* 5  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup> *August* 7  
 Royal Assent *Aug* 11 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 46]

*Ulster Tenant Right Bill*

(*Mr. Macartney, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. William Wilson*)

e. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Dec* 6 [Bill 37]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" *April* 23, [245] 946

[cont.]

*Ulster Tenant Right Bill—cont.*

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Sir John Leslie*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 131, N. 146; M. 15 (D. L. 72)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

**Ulster Tenant Right (No. 2) Bill**

(*Lord Arthur Hill-Trevor, Marquess of Hamilton, Viscount Castlereagh, Colonel Lowry Corry, Mr. Mulholland*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* June 18 [Bill 209]  
Bill withdrawn \* July 9

**United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company**

Questions, Mr. Fortescue Harrison; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer April 25, [245] 1098; May 10, [246] 697

**United States, The—Consular Convention**

Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Bourke August 15, [249] 1035

**United States of America, Trade with the**

Moved for, Statement of the trade of the United Kingdom with the United States of America for the years 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878, in continuation of the annual statement of trade for the year 1877, as presented to Parliament in June 1878 (*The Lord Cottesloe*) April 1, [245] 128; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Return ordered (P.P. No. 58)

**University Education—Legislation**

Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, [243] 1307; Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 14, [244] 924; Observations, Mr. O'Donnell, Major Nolan; Reply, Mr. J. Lowther; Observations, Mr. O'Clery April 17, [245] 577; Observations, The O'Connor Don; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Observations, The Marquess of Hartington May 6, 1895; Observations, The O'Connor Don; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer May 13, [246] 325

**University Education (Ireland) Bill**

(*The O'Connor Don, Mr. Kavanagh, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Parnell*)

Motion for Leave (*The O'Connor Don*) May 15, [246] 475; after debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* [Bill 188]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup> "  
May 21, 1930

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "while this House recognises that the funds set free by the disestablishment of the Irish Church should be devoted to the benefit of the people of Ireland, provided they are not again applied to the support of any sectarian religion, it is not desirable to devote additional public funds to the further promotion of higher education in Ireland till adequate

[cont.]

**University Education (Ireland) Bill—cont.**

provision is first made for elementary teaching in that Country without aid from Imperial funds exceeding that given to other parts of the United Kingdom" (*Sir George Campbell*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Synan*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Question, Observations, The O'Connor Don; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 246] May 22, 1920; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Shaw*); after debate, Motion withdrawn

. Debate resumed June 25, 1896; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The O'Connor Don*); after further short debate, Debate adjourned

Order for 2R. read, and discharged; Bill 248] withdrawn July 23, 1099

**University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Chancellor*)**

1. Notice, The Lord Chancellor June 26, 247] 670

Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup>, after short debate June 30, 931 (No. 134)

. Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Lord Chancellor July 3, 1246; Question, Observations, Lord Oranmore and Browne, Earl Granville; Reply, The Earl

. of Beaconsfield July 3, 1275  
. Read 2<sup>a</sup>, after debate July 8, 1823

248] Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" July 11, 151

. Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c. ? resolved in the affirmative; Committee

. Report, after debate July 14, 283

. Read 3<sup>a</sup>, after short debate July 15, 441

. *Alleged Proposal of the Government*, Questions, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther July 17, 630

c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Mr. J. Lowther*) July 17 [Bill 250]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup> "  
July 24, 1182

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "no measure of University Education can be considered satisfactory to the people of Ireland which does not provide increased facilities for Collegiate Education as well as for the attainment of University Degrees" (*Mr. Shaw*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 257, N. 90; M. 167 (D. L. 192)

Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup> "; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 28, N. 260; M. 232 (D. L. 193)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup> 10 Geo. IV. cap. 7, Question, Mr. P. J. Smyth; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland July 29, 1524

. Moved, "That the House will resolve itself into Committee upon Tuesday next, at Two of the clock" August 1, 1940

[cont.]

*University Education (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill—*  
cont.

- Amendt. to leave out "at Two of the clock" (*Mr. Courtney*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put: A. 70, N. 2; M. 63 (D. L. 203)
- Main Question put, and agreed to
- 249] Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" August 5, 187
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is inexpedient, at this period of the Session, to proceed with a measure of such high importance; and that the appointment of a Royal Commission, with instructions to confer with the heads of existing Universities and of collegiate institutions, affords the surest means of enabling Parliament to arrive next Session at a satisfactory solution of the problem of higher education in Ireland" (*Mr. P. J. Smyth*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn
- Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P., 228
- Committee—R.P. August 5, 232
- Committee; Report August 6, 290 [Bill 283]
- Considered; read 3<sup>o</sup>, after short debate August 11, 720
- l. Returned from Commons August 12 (No. 195)
- Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 65]
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*University Education (Ireland) (No. 2)*  
[*Fellowships, &c. Pensions, &c.*]

- c. Considered in Committee July 29
- Resolution reported July 30

*Vaccination Acts (Ireland) Amendment*  
*Bill (Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney*  
*General for Ireland)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 28 [Bill 90]
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" April 7, [245] 502
- Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Hopwood*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
- Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>
- Committee; Report April 25
- Question, Mr. G. E. Browne; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther August 1, [248] 1846
- Committee (on re-comm.); Report August 5
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 9 [Bill 135]
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord President) Aug 11 (No. 186)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> August 12
- Committee; Report August 13
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> August 14
- Royal Assent August 15 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 70]

*Vaccination Acts—Vaccination Prosecu-*  
*tions*

- Case of *Joseph Abel*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth Feb 20, [243] 1521
- Case of *Mr. Hawley*, Question, Lord Frederick Cavendish; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 27, [244] 1853

[cont.]

*Vaccination Acts—Vaccination Prosecutions—*  
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- Dewsbury Union*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth July 29, [248] 1826
- The Bingley Magistrates' Orders—Case of William Mitchell*, Question, Mr. Barran; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Mar 21, [244] 1432

*Valuation of Lands and Assessments*  
*(Scotland) Bill*

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> April 30 [Bill 144]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 12
- Committee; Report May 19, [246] 783
- Bill withdrawn July 17

*Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amend-*  
*ment Bill (Sir Windham Anstruther,*  
*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Graham Mont-*  
*gomery)*

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 16]
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 2
- Committee—R.P. April 21
- Committee; Report April 23
- Considered May 9
- Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 12
- l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (Lord Stewart of Garlies) May 13 (No. 83)
- Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 23
- Committee, after short debate June 17, [247] 13
- Report June 26, 682
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>" July 3, 1263
- Amendt. to leave out ("now," and add ("this day three months") (*The Earl of Camperdown*); after debate, on Question, That ("now," &c.) Cont. 66, Not-Cont. 29; M. 37 (Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont. 1271)
- Resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3<sup>o</sup> (No. 130)
- c. Lords Amendts. July 18 [Bill 251]
- l. Royal Assent August 13 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 42]

*Valuation of Property Bill*

(*Mr. Selater-Booth, Mr. Chancellor of the*  
*Exchequer, Mr. Salt*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 71]
- Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 28, [243] 2036
- Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "no Valuation Bill, providing in a Valuation List a common authority for the assessment of rates and taxes, can be satisfactory unless it provide a common measure of value for such assessment by levying Imperial taxes as well as local rates upon the rateable value" (*Mr. Hubbard*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
- Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>
- Committee—R.P. Mar 21, [244] 1481
- 245] Order for Committee read April 21, 816; after short debate, Committee deferred
- Order for Committee read April 28, 1853; after short debate, Committee deferred
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That this House will, upon Tuesday next, at Two of the clock, resolve itself into the said Committee" May 2, 1668

[cont.]

*Valuation of Property Bill—cont.*

Amendt. to leave out "at Two of the clock"  
(*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question proposed, "That  
the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt.  
withdrawn

Original Question put, and agreed to; Com-  
mittee deferred till Tuesday next, at Two of  
the clock

Committee—*r.p.* May 6, [245] 1818

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*Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill*

(*Mr. O'Clery, Major Nolan, Lord Francis  
Conyngham, Major O'Beirne*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Dec 6 [Bill 5]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after long debate May 7, [245] 1903

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*Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill—cont.*

Committee\*; Report June 9 [Bill 200]  
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Considered \* July 1

Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* July 16

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Viscount Monck*) July 17 (No. 154)  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>"  
August 7, [249] 367

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Dec 6 [Bill 29]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate April 23, [245] 924  
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WAYS AND MEANS

Resolved, "That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty Dec 13 Considered in Committee Feb 28

- (1.) Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise on or before the 31st March 1879, any sum of money not exceeding £4,250,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds
- (2.) Resolved, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of one year from the date of such Bonds
- (3.) Resolved, That the interest of such Exchequer Bonds shall be payable half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof
- (4.) Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1879, the sum of £4,250,000 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolutions reported Mar 3, [244] 105; after short debate, Resolutions agreed to; Bills ordered thereon

[See titles *Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill* — *Exchequer Bonds (No. 1) Bill*]

Considered in Committee Mar 19

- (1.) Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1879, the sum of £73,220 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom
- (2.) Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £8,494,195 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolutions reported Mar 20

Considered in Committee Mar 21

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1878 and 1879, the sum of £299,218 1s. 2d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported, and agreed to Mar 22

Instruction to the Committee on the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution

Considered in Committee April 3, [245] 275—  
 THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER on moving the first Resolution

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WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Duties of Customs now charged on Tea shall continue to be levied and charged on and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, on importation into Great Britain or Ireland (that is to say): on

|               |         |    |    |
|---------------|---------|----|----|
| Tea . . . . . | the lb. | s. | d. |
|               |         | 0  | 6" |

After debate, Resolution agreed to

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the following Duties of Customs shall be charged on and after the 4th day of April 1879, on Cocoa or Chocolate, ground, prepared, or in any way manufactured, imported into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in lieu of the Duties now payable on Paste or Chocolate (that is to say):

|                             |         |    |      |
|-----------------------------|---------|----|------|
| Cocoa or Chocolate, ground, |         |    |      |
| prepared, or in any way     | £       | s. | d.   |
| manufactured . . . . .      | the lb. | 0  | 0 2" |

Resolution agreed to

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the following Duties of Customs shall be charged on and after the 4th day of April, 1879, on Tobacco Manufactured, viz. Segars imported into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in lieu of the Duties now payable thereon (that is to say):

Tobacco Manufactured, viz.:—

|                  |         |   |    |    |
|------------------|---------|---|----|----|
| Segars . . . . . | the lb. | £ | s. | d. |
|                  |         | 0 | 5  | 6" |

After short debate, Resolution agreed to  
Resolutions reported *April 4*

Considered in Committee *April 28, 1848*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act

{*cont.*}

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*

of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of 'The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876,' for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds "

Moved to report Progress (*Mr. Gladstone*);

after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to

Resolutions reported *May 1*

Considered in Committee *May 5*

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the Customs and the Inland Revenue

Resolution reported *May 6*

Considered in Committee *May 15*

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £8,694,816 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported, and agreed to *May 16*

[See title *Consolidated Fund (No. 3) Bill*]

Considered in Committee *June 19*

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £6,667,023 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported *June 20*

Considered in Committee *July 31*

(1.) Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding £3,000,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills

(2.) Resolved, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bonds

(3.) Resolved, That the Interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof

Resolutions reported *August 1*

Considered in Committee *August 6*

(1.) Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding £1,200,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills

(2.) Resolved, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bonds

(3.) Resolved, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof

Resolutions reported *August 7*

{*cont.*}

**WAYS AND MEANS—cont.**

Moved, "That the Committee thereon be deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock" August 7. [249] 485; after short debate, Motion agreed to  
Considered in Committee August 8  
Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £34,986,621 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported August 9

**SUMMARY.**

**WAYS AND MEANS.**

**GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.**

| For the service of the years ending                      | £           | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------------|----|----|---|----|----|
| 31st March 1878 and 1879;                                |             |    |    |   |    |    |
| Under Act 42 Vic. cap. 2 ... ..                          | 4,250,000   | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
| Under Act 42 Vic. cap. 7 ... ..                          | 372,438     | 1  | 2  |   |    |    |
| For the service of the year ending 31st March 1880; viz. |             |    |    |   |    |    |
| Under Act 42 Vic. cap. 7 ... ..                          | 8,494,195   | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
| Under Act 42 Vic. cap. 14 .. ...                         | 6,694,816   | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
| Under Act 42 & 43 Vict. c. 20                            | 6,567,023   | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
| Under this Act ...                                       | 34,986,621  | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
|  | 56,742,655  | 0  | 0  |   |    |    |
| Total ...  | £81,365,093 | 1  | 2  |   |    |    |

**Ways and Means—Wine Duties**

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the system under which Customs Duties are now levied in this Country on Wine, and into its results, fiscal and commercial" (*Mr. Cartwright*) Mar 18, [244] 1162; after debate, Motion withdrawn

**Ways and Means—Wine Duties**

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the system under which Customs Duties are now levied in this Country on Wine, and into its bearings on the fiscal and commercial interests of the Country" April 3  
Committee nominated as follows:—*Mr. Cartwright* (Chairman), *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Jacob Bright*, *Mr. Cobbold*, *Mr. Christopher Denison*, *Mr. Ewart*, *Mr. William Edward Forster*, *Mr. Hanbury*, *Sir Joseph McKenna*, *Mr. Mulholland*, *Mr. Charles Palmer*, *Mr. Phipps*, *Mr. Clare Read*, *Mr. Ritchie*, *Mr. Samuelson*, *Mr. John G. Talbot*, and *Mr. Whitwell*

Report of Select Committee . P.P. 278

**WEDDERBURN, Sir D., Haddington Burghs**

Army—Auxiliary Forces—North Gloucester Militia, [247] 925  
Army Discipline and Regulation, Comm. [245] 1535; *cl.* 41, [246] 600; *cl.* 147, [247] 1750; *cl.* 180, Amendt. [248] 122  
Ballot Act—Continuance, [245] 449  
British Indian Association, Res. [246] 1144  
Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1878—Dog Licences, [245] 262  
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 25, [246] 1892  
East India (Duties on Cotton Goods), Res. Motion for Adjournment, [245] 432, 433  
East India Loan (£5,000,000), 2R. [246] 1803; Comm. [249] 583; *cl.* 1, 584; 8R. 810  
Fishery Laws—Violation by Steam Trawlers, [246] 1807  
Game Laws Amendment (Scotland), [248] 1298; Comm. 1941; Consid. [249] 476  
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [244] 1256; Comm. *cl.* 1, [245] 178  
Law Officers of the Crown—Prosecution of Offences Act, [249] 666  
Navy—Distinctive Badges of Engine-Room Artificers, [245] 1583  
Spain—Cuba—Importation of Coolies from the British West Indies, [249] 665  
Supply—Local Taxation in Scotland, [246] 189  
Suez Canal, [248] 1599  
University Education (Ireland) (No. 2), Comm. add. *cl.* Motion for Adjournment, [249] 284

**Weights and Measures Act, 1878**

41 & 42 Vict. c. 49—*Legislation*, Question, *Mr. J. Cowen*; Answer, Viscount Sandon Dec 13, [243] 736  
*The "Bushel" Measure*, Question, *Mr. Stanton*; Answer, Viscount Sandon May 1, [245] 1497

**Wellington College**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the origin, objects, and present administration of Wellington College; and to report to Her Majesty whether such administration is or is not in accordance with the conditions, or implied conditions, under which contributions were solicited and obtained from the army and the public when the College was founded; and, if not, to advise Her Majesty what alterations in the present system are required, and by what means they can be best effected" (*Mr. Reginald Yorke*) April 1, [245] 136; after long debate, Question put; A. 60, N. 67; M. 7 (D. L. 55)  
Question, *Mr. J. R. Yorke*; Answer, *Mr. Asheton Cross* May 27, [246] 1862

**West Donegal Railway Bill [H.L.]**

1. Read 2<sup>a</sup>, after short debate Mar 11, [244] 616  
Committee, after short debate May 27, [246] 1331

**West Donegal Railway Bill**

Moved, "That the House of Lords having affirmed the principle that it is expedient to sanction railways upon a narrow gauge in Ireland under certain circumstances, the Board of Trade do report upon the West Donegal Railway Bill with as little delay as possible" (*Viscount Lifford*) May 2, [245] 1580; after short debate, Motion amended, and agreed to

Ordered, That the House of Lords having by resolution of the 24th of April last affirmed the principle that it is expedient to sanction railways upon a narrow gauge in Ireland under certain circumstances, the Board of Trade do report upon the West Donegal Railway Bill with as little delay as possible, having regard to that resolution (*The Viscount Lifford*)

**West India Islands**

*Coolies in Grenada*, Questions, Mr. Errington, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Dec 9, [243] 304; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 17, [244] 1027

*Protector of Immigrants*, Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Mar 14, [244] 905

**West India Loans Bill**

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

- c. Resolution in Committee May 8  
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> May 9 [Bill 167]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 12  
Committee\*; Report May 13  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> May 14  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Lord President*) May 15 (No. 85)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> May 30  
Committee\*; Report June 13  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> June 16  
Royal Assent July 3 [42 & 43 Vict. c. 16]

**Westminster Improvement Commissioners**

Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel May 22, [246] 1014

**WETHERED, Mr. T. O., Great Marlow**

Law and Justice—Brewers as Justices of the Peace, [249] 662

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**WHEELHOUSE, Mr. W. St. James, Leeds**

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Army—Retirement of Officers, Res. [244] 22  
Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education), Comm. [244] 1962; cl. 3, [245] 590, 591; Consid. [249] 594; 3R. 812, 988  
Criminal Code—Memorandum of the Lord Chief Justice, [246] 1915  
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Habitual Drunkards, Comm. cl. 25, Amendt. [243] 1720

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**WHITWELL, Mr. J., Kendal**

Africa—Zanzibar—Slave Trade, [243] 951  
Africa, South—Miscellaneous Questions  
Cape Mounted Yeomanry, [247] 837  
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     Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, [245] 659  
     Inland Revenue, [248] 1615  
     Land Registry, [246] 708  
     Legal Charges, Ireland, [244] 1332  
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[*cont.*]

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ERRATA.

In Vol. [243], Page 693, lines 20 and 21 from top, *for* right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr Childers), *read* hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Hall).

In Vol. [243], Page 1619, Egypt—Finance—Observations—*for* Mr. H. Samuelson, *read* Mr. B. Samuelson.

In Vol. [245], Page 413, line 9 from bottom, *for* Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) *read* Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright).

END OF VOLUME COXLIX., AND SEVENTH AND LAST  
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